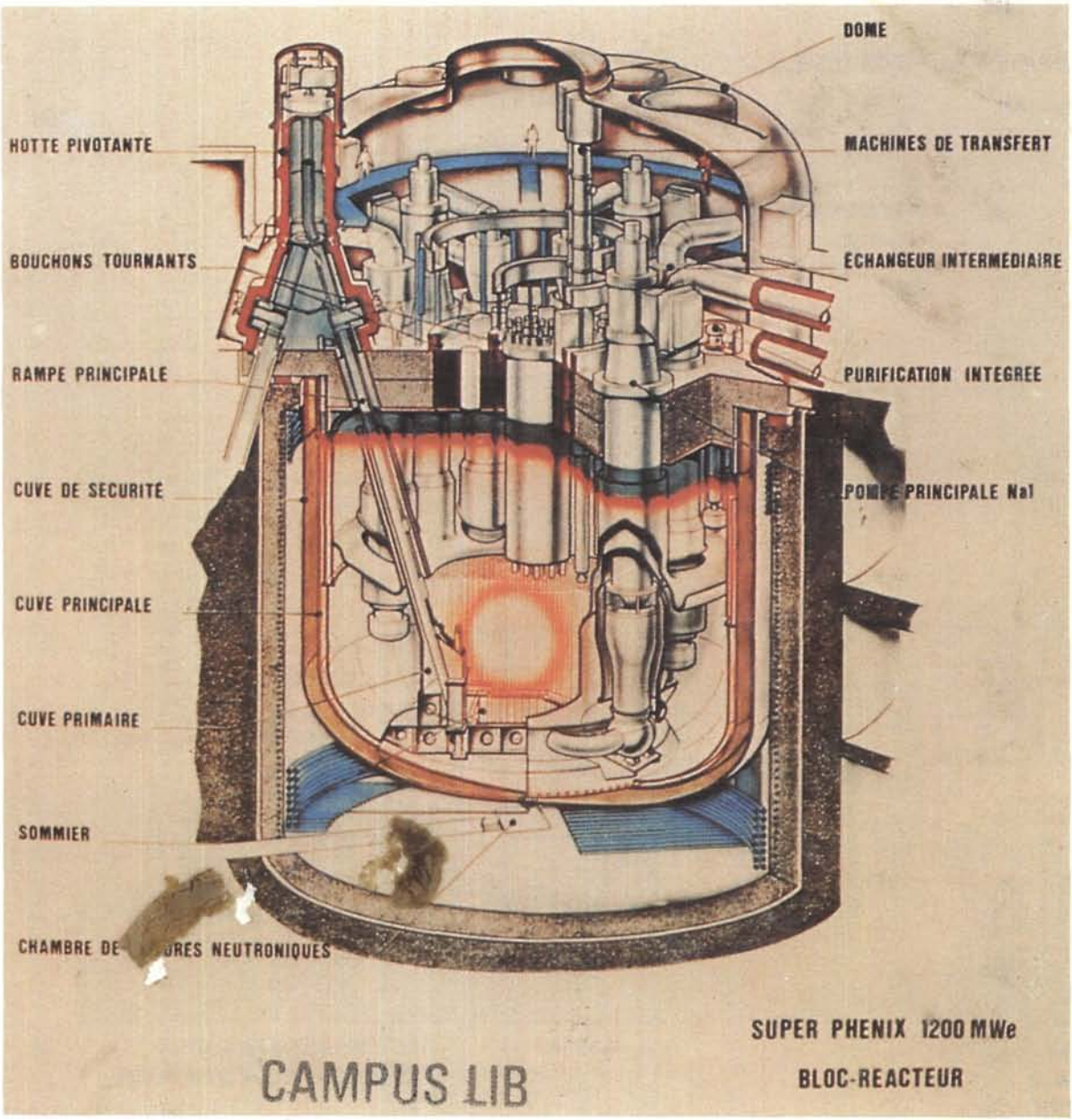
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VOLUME 95 • NUMBER 3 • JUNE 1990

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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On the Rhône River, sixty kilometers south of Léon, standing eighty-four meters high, sixty-four meters across, the 1,200-megawatt "Super-Phénix" started feeding power into the French grid on January 19, 1986, after a decade of construction. It was to be the first of a series of full-size, fast breeder reactors, which would burn the plutonium produced in ordinary reactors to convert otherwise useless natural uranium into even more plutonium, thus increasing the nuclear fuel supply from decades to centuries. France's energy reserves, predicted President Giscard d'Estaing in 1980, would be comparable to Saudia Arabia's. But, in April 1987, the exterior fuel storage vessel began to leak liquid sodium, causing an eighteen-month shutdown for costly materials testing, redesign, and repairs. The decision to build Super-Phénix II has been deferred.

This issue on technology and the history of science includes an article by Cecil O. Smith, Jr., "The Longest Run: Public Engineers and Planning in France," pp. 657–92.

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In This Issue

The history of technology is a rapidly expanding field in which competing versions of technology's past are provided by multiple protagonists—from major museums and corporate-sponsored exhibits at EPCOT to popular essayists and professional historians. Within this diversity, **John M. Staudenmaier** finds nine major areas of shared historical discourse. He also locates the history of technology's version of the Old History–New History debate in a disagreement about whether to define technology as primarily a rational or an ideological endeavor.

Echoes of that debate can be found in the pages of our first two essays. **Cecil O. Smith, Jr.**, describes France's long tradition of public engineering and centralized planning, which stretches from the construction of its eighteenth-century highway system and nineteenth-century railroads through its twentieth-century development of electric and nuclear power. Despite opposition from economic liberals, France's state engineers successfully promoted national planning and their version of rational public administration.

Smith is most interested in those who initiate technological change. In contrast, **Dolores Greenberg** focuses on popular responses to such innovations. She analyzes the emergence of an energy mystique during the early stages of Anglo-American industrialization, a perception of power as the primary source of well-being and beneficial social change. Misunderstanding of the relation of biological and nonbiological power produced an exaggerated view of the importance of energy to mechanization, industrialization, and modernization. The result, she argues, was a largely misleading paradigm, subsequently incorporated into social-science analyses, which erroneously equates unlimited energy use with growth and progress.

Until the fourteenth century, the assumption that the world is understood through the "mind's eye" dominated medieval natural philosophy. The result was a radical inductivism—"knowing things outside in." By the seventeenth century, however, the epistemological perspective of certain key natural philosophers had shifted from radical inductivism to radical deductivism—"knowing things inside out." **A. Mark Smith** explores both the historical basis and the implications of this fundamental shift in epistemological perspective.

Contemporary social scientists argue that political ceremonies should be viewed as expressions of governments' dominant values and the kind of support they seek from the population rather than as staged rituals of approval. **Richard Wortman** here uses the trips to the countryside made by Alexander II during the first decade of his reign to introduce nineteenth-century Imperial Russia's world of symbolic utterance and political ceremony. Alexander's trips served to demonstrate the affectionate bonds between tsar and people and to rally support behind the tsar during difficult crises. The sentiment thus generated emphasized the direct, personal basis of Alexander's power and obviated the need for representative institutions and public participation, which he resisted throughout his reign.

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Contributors

Dolores Greenberg, professor of history at Hunter College and the Graduate School, City University of New York, also directs Hunter's Energy Policy Program. She took her doctorate from Cornell University, where she studied with Paul W. Gates. She has published on problems of development and modernization, including the book *Financiers and Railroads, 1869–1889* (1980). In 1983, she was awarded the Berkshire Prize for "Reassessing the Power Patterns of the Industrial Revolution: An Anglo-American Comparison," *American Historical Review*, 87 (December 1982). She is now working on a study of perceptions of energy and social change from the 1780s to the 1920s.

A. Mark Smith, associate professor of history at the University of Missouri, Columbia, received his doctorate in history and the history of science from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, under David C. Lindberg and William J. Courtenay. Although his primary research focuses on the development of visual theory from antiquity to the early modern period, he has a general interest in the evolution of natural philosophy over that same time span. In addition to articles in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Isis*, and the *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, he has authored *Descartes's Theory of Light and Refraction: A Discourse on Method* (1987). He is currently at work on a critical edition of the medieval Latin version of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitab al-manazier* (or *De aspectibus*), which provided the basis for optical theory in the Latin west from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Cecil O. Smith, Jr., has taught general and technological history at Drexel University since 1963. Graduated from Wofford College, he took his Ph.D. in French history under Crane Brinton at Harvard, and, after a year in the MIT humanities department, he taught European history at Washington and Lee University (1960–1963). There Thomas P. Hughes persuaded him to study French engineers and join the Society for the History of Technology. He spent a year at the Smithsonian Institution as an assistant curator in the Museum of History and Technology. Over the next two decades, his focus shifted from social history to institutions, ideas, and the technical policy of nineteenth-century transportation. In the mid-1980s, he came upon archives on early twentieth-century electrification that allowed Pierre Massé of "the Plan" to be traced back to Perronet of the Pont de Neuilly. Smith's other study in hand is a comparison of the regulatory responses to steam boiler explosions in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States, 1830–1930.

John Staudenmaier, S.J., associate professor of the history of technology at the University of Detroit, studied under Thomas Parke Hughes at the University of Pennsylvania. The essay in this issue continues his study of the Society for the History of Technology that began with *Technology's Storytellers: Reweaving the Human Fabric* (1985). Two recent essays develop several of *Storytellers'* major arguments: "The Politics of Successful Technologies," Stephen Cutcliffe and Robert Post, eds., *In Context: History and the History of Technology: Essays in Honor of Melvin Kranzberg* (1988); and "The Perils of Progress Talk: Some Historical Considerations," Steven Goldman, ed., *Science, Technology and Social Progress* (1989). He is currently working on the symbolic construction of technology in Diego Rivera's and Henry Ford's creations of the River Rouge automobile production plant.

Richard Wortman is professor of history at Columbia University and the Averell W. Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago and has taught there and at Princeton University, where he served as director of Russian Studies from 1982 to 1987. The author of *The Crisis of Russian Populism* (1967) and *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness* (1974), he is currently engaged in a study of the role of ceremony and imagery in the expression and exercise of monarchical power in imperial Russia.

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The Longest Run: Public Engineers and Planning in France

CECIL O. SMITH, JR.

"THERE IS NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD where so small a proportion of the capital invested within the last forty years in canals and railroads has been wasted or where traveling is safer, or in which travel and trade are accommodated at more reasonable rates than in France." So Moncure Robinson told the American Philosophical Society in 1880. If his praise was suspect because he had studied in Paris over a half-century earlier, other leading American engineers assembled at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 had also admired the French transport exhibit. Whatever they thought of the layout of the main rail lines converging on Paris in the pattern known as the Legrand Star, they envied the monumental bridges, solid roadbeds, and especially the massive cuttings, fillings, and embankments French engineers had used to give their railroads the uniformly gentle grades and broad curves so rarely seen in America, where competing railway designs proliferated.[1]

At the Paris Exposition of 1900, the results of central transport planning were obvious to visitors. Displays showed the main lines of the Legrand Star leading to Paris, with secondary and branch lines reaching out to virtually every town. While Britain had sacrificed its canals to the railroad, France had invested 2 billion francs in a waterway system intended to complement the railroad: the 4,000 kilometers of waterways standardized to accommodate the 300-ton Flemish barge relieved the railroads of 5 million kilometric tons of encumbering bulk—almost a third of total freight.[2]

A Paris Exposition held today would display no less distinctive achievements of public engineering and planning. The national railroad company (SNCF) features the world's most highly integrated system of railroad electrification and its fastest train (the TGV), averaging 130 miles an hour from Paris to Lyon. The national electric company (EDF) has an equally well-coordinated system, in which the world's most advanced use of nuclear power supplies 75 percent of the country's electricity. While the proliferation of nuclear plant designs in the United States has

Earlier versions of this essay were given at the 1984 meeting of the Society for the History of Technology and, thanks to Barrie Ratcliffe, at the 1988 Society for French Historical Studies meeting. My special thanks to Reed Geiger for three years of fruitful discussion.

[1] Moncure Robinson, *Obituary Notice of M. Chevalier, Read before the American Philosophical Society, May 7, 1880* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1880), 6–7; Darwin H. Stapleton, *The Transfer of Early Industrial Technologies to America* (Philadelphia, 1987), 122–68; *Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, 2 (1876): 127–29; International Exhibition 1876, *Reports and Awards, Group XXVI* (Philadelphia, 1877), 62–66.

[2] Exposition Universelle de 1900, *Notices sur les modèles, dessins et documents divers relatifs aux travaux des ponts et chaussées réunis par les soins du Ministère des travaux publics* (Paris, 1900); D. Renouard, *Les Transports de marchandises par fer, route et eau depuis 1850* (Paris, 1960), 12, 37. On the British canals, Edwin A. Pratt, *British Canals: Is Their Resuscitation Practicable?* (London, 1906).

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recapitulated the disorder of nineteenth-century railroad building, French public engineers have standardized four series of pressurized water reactors, the fuel cycle, operating procedures, and personnel training in a national planning effort similar to that which produced the Legrand Star.[3]

Even more remarkable to those who remember French telephones of the 1950s has been the telecommunications revolution. For most of this century, it was the American Bell system that exemplified French ideals of uniformity and mass service in a national regulated monopoly, while France maintained its reputation for backward telephony. But, in fact, public engineers of France-Télécom began work on an all-electronic system in 1957 and installed the world's first digitized exchange in 1970. Since then, they have built a digitized national telephone system, comprising a fully integrated telematics network in which any computer in France can converse with any other. Meanwhile, the American response to the computer's technological convergence with the telephone was to revive the antitrust tradition and break up the Bell system in the name of innovation, unleashing a competitive free-for-all among incompatible systems.[4]

For a decade after World War II, observers dwelled on French economic retardation. Not until about 1960, when it became obvious that a major economic resurgence was under way in France, did scholars such as Charles Kindleberger perceive that a breed of "new men," paragons of dynamism like Pierre Massé of EDF and Louis Armand of SNCF, had risen from the ashes of defeat to modernize electricity and transport. In 1965, Andrew Shonfield praised postwar economic planning as more successful than that of Great Britain and attributed it to the genius of civil servants like Massé, but he also stressed the tradition of authoritative public administration and *dirigisme* going back to Jean-Baptiste Colbert and wondered why it had failed in the 1930s. In 1973, Richard Kuisel located the origins of planning in reports by engineers serving the Vichy regime. But, in 1987, Philippe Mioche demonstrated the continuity of people and ideas from pre-war to postwar planning, and Jean Bouvier cautioned against short-run history. Although the statist tradition of centralized France is well known, the continuous role of its engineering agencies lasting from Colbert to the present has been obscured and neglected, partly because of the vicissitudes of their long struggle with the countervailing ideology.[5]

Ever since the birth of the Corps des Ponts et Chaussées in the eighteenth century, French state engineers have promoted the complementary notions of

[3] Georges Ribeill, *Cent cinquante ans de chemins de fers français: Vues synthétiques sur le système technique . . . à l'épreuve de la longue durée; bilan d'une recherche* (Paris, 1982), 35–36; André Giraud, *et al.*, "Mise en oeuvre des programmes nucléaires: Une Première comparaison internationale France–Etats Unis," *Revue de l'énergie*, 36 (May–June 1985): 1–68; Simon Rippon, "Training at Electricité de France," *Nuclear News* (December 1985): 55–59.

[4] Didier Bailly-Caplan, *Postes et télécommunications et entreprise publique* (Paris, 1981), 61–103; Thierry Vedel, "Les Ingénieurs des télécommunications: Formation d'un grands corps," *Culture technique*, 12 (March 1984): 63–75; Jean Voge, "Le Temps de l'expansion, de 1947 à nos jours," in Catherine Bertho, ed., *Histoire des télécommunications en France* (Paris, 1984), 167–208; Pascal Griset, "Le Développement du téléphone en France depuis les années 1950," *Vingtième siècle* (October 1989): 41–54.

[5] Charles P. Kindleberger, "The Postwar Resurgence of the French Economy," in Stanley Hoffmann, ed., *In Search of France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 156–58; Andrew Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power* (London, 1965), 71–87, 121–51; Richard F. Kuisel, "Technocrats and Public Economic Policy: From the Third to the Fourth Republic," *Journal of European Economic History*, 2 (Spring 1973): 53–99; *Capitalism and the State in Modern France: Renovation and Economic Management in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), 202–12; Saul Estrin and Peter Homes, *French Planning in Theory and Practice* (London, 1983), 89; Philippe Mioche, *Le Plan Monnet: Genèse et élaboration, 1941–1947* (Paris, 1987), 29 n. 42, 97; F. Bloch-Lainé and Jean Bouvier, *La France restaurée: 1944–54: Dialogue sur les choix d'une modernisation* (Paris, 1986), 33–44.

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rational public administration in the general interest and planning on a national scale. From the beginning, they have lived in conflict with the proponents of decentralism, economic liberalism, anti-statism, and anti-elitism. After uprisings in 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871, economic liberalism prevailed from the 1880s to World War II, as graduates of the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques (known as Sciences Po) conquered the finance ministry and enforced a balanced budget. With the revolution of World War Two, as Charles de Gaulle called it, new institutions, nationalizations, and deficit spending replaced the liberal order, and public engineering came back into its own. The national economic planning of de Gaulle's Fifth Republic, EDF's nuclear power system, the Legrand Star rail plan of 1842, and the royal highways of 1770—not to mention the Pont de Neuilly, Concorde, Super-Phénix, Charles de Gaulle Airport, and France-Télécom—all manifest the ideal of public engineering, whose first abode was the Corps des Ponts et Chaussées.[6] This essay demonstrates that continuity, from the highway system built by the Corps in the eighteenth century through the waterways and railroads of the nineteenth century to electric power and economic planning in the twentieth.

THE CORPS, AS ALEXIS DE TOQUEVILLE SAW, was the creature of enlightened despotism. Building on the work of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the ministers of Louis XV organized the state highway engineers in 1716 and ordered them in 1738 to make detailed maps of each province. But national planning began only after 1747—the year Rodolphe Perronet was summoned to establish a central drafting office in Paris and do for the whole kingdom what he had done for his district at Alençon. The goal was a set of standardized maps to which, as Perronet said, "one can refer for the planning of new works that will enable us to move closer and closer to the completion of the highways so advantageous to commerce." The central office also gathered and compared different designs of bridges and other engineering works, seeking standard models and rules of best practice (*règles de l'art*) that could be imparted to pupils aspiring to the Corps. By 1775, his drafting office had become the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, the regulator of the first professionalized French elite of public engineers, who, now some two hundred strong, dressed in iron-gray uniforms with silver buttons displaying the Bourbon *fleur-de-lys* in gold as they faced provincial and parochial opponents of royal authority.[7]

[6] On the liberal economics of Sciences Po, see Thomas R. Osborne, *A Grande Ecole for the Grands Corps: The Recruitment and Training of the French Administrative Elite in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1983), 53–82, 91–103; Robert J. Smith, "Ideology at Sciences Po: Students' Examinations, 1879–1946," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 15 (1988): 313–21. On the anti-theoretical, empirical outlook of the founder, Emile Boutmy, see the speeches in "Le 50^{e} anniversaire de la fondation de l'Ecole libre des sciences politiques," *Revue des sciences politiques*, 44 (1921): 426–36. Jacques de Fouchier, "Le Rôle de l'inspection générale des Finances dans l'administration française," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 46 (August 1939): 272–80; N. Carré de Malberg, "Image de soi et légitimité chez les Inspecteurs des Finances de la première Guerre mondiale à nos jours," *Revue historique*, 265 (April–June 1981): 396–403.

[7] For the standard sources on the Academy and the schools, see Charles C. Gillispie, *Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 81–99, 479–98, 506–11, and notes. For the codification of engineering knowledge at the Ecole, see "Recueils de mémoires et de rapports relatifs à l'art de l'ingénieur, recueillis par Louis Bruyère (1758–1831)," 33 vols., MSS 232–64, Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées (hereafter, ENPC). Bernard Lepetit, *Chemins de terre et voies d'eau: Réseaux de transports et organisation de l'espace en France, 1740–1840* (Paris, 1984), 33. Josef Konvitz, *History of Cartography in France, 1660–1848: Science, Engineering and Statescraft* (Chicago, 1987), 112–13. Perronet is quoted by E. J. M. Vignon, *Etudes historiques sur l'administration des voies publiques en France aux 17^{ieme} et*

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Not that the Corps was the only embodiment of the *esprit géometrique* that Tocqueville decried in the rectilinear highways it laid out for the centralizing monarchy. The cradle of state rationalism was long since the war department. Not long after the comte d'Argenson founded the military engineering school at Mézières in 1748, General Gribeauval upgraded schooling in the artillery corps and developed his uniformity principle: for the first time, the parts of field artillery produced in different royal arsenals were to be standardized and thus interchangeable. Duhamel du Monceau took analogous steps to rationalize the design of warships and professionalize naval architects. Nor was any of this alien to the older institution Colbert had charged with the relief of man's estate—the Academy of Sciences, just then entering its golden age.[8]

Perronet's Corps aspired to bring all France under the uniformity and system of standardized maps. By 1786, after forty years of surveying and drawing, the Corps had produced atlases totaling 2,170 large sheets of detailed maps. Visualizing the kingdom as a whole, the Corps desired to plan on a national scale and rationalize in the "general interest," an expression often used by Colbert. Systems rhetoric was not limited to highways: "Since these divers waterways make up one and the same system, they must accommodate the same boats," intoned a commission of the Corps in 1810, "so their locks must be of a uniform size," which presumed the same abundance of water everywhere.[9]

The Corps also believed that the state must build and maintain what it planned. The wealth of the kingdom could be rapidly increased through indirect returns only if the highways and waterways were free to the user. Tolls like those in Adam Smith's England must never obstruct the 24,000 kilometers of French highways. When ordered to evaluate the various projects for the Burgundy Canal, Perronet envisioned a grand junction between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, traversing and benefiting the whole kingdom. For a public investment of 18 million francs, he estimated, the canal would save the country 3 million a year in transport costs—provided that tolls on the rest of the water route were reduced. "Enlightened public administration," wrote his star pupil Gaspard de Prony in the school's prize-winning essay for 1780, "will free the waterways of tolls, which impoverish commerce and choke industry," echoing the sentiments of Colbert a century earlier. Here was the national policy of social overhead capital investment for

18ieme siècles (Paris, 1862), vol. 2, *pièces justificatives*, 151. But André Guillerme, *Corps à corps sur la route: Les Routes, les chemins et l'organisation des services au XIXeme siècle* (Paris, 1984), 17–21, 65–69, shows that royal highways were of limited commercial use until myriad local feeder roads were completed a century later, by which time the railroad had intervened. For the uniform, Vignon, *Etudes historiques*, 2: 165; *pièces justificatives*, 250.

[8] On Gribeauval's uniformity principle, later taken by French émigré engineers to the U.S. Ordnance Department, see Howard Rosen, "Le Système Gribeauval et la guerre moderne," *Revue historique des armées*, 1–2 (1975): 29–36; Merritt Roe Smith, "Army Ordnance and the 'American System' of Manufacturing, 1815–1861," in *Military Enterprise and Technological Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 45–50. James Pritchard, "From Shipwrights to Naval Constructor: The Professionalization of 18th-Century French Naval Shipbuilders," *Technology and Culture*, 28 (1987): 1–25. For seventeenth-century beginnings, see Etienne Taillemitte, "Colbert et la marine," in Michel Antoine, ed., *Un Nouveau Colbert* (Paris, 1985), 225.

[9] On the maps, Vignon, *Etudes historiques*, 2: 109–10; Guy Arbellot, "La Grande mutation des routes de France au milieu du XVIIIe siècle," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 28 (1973): 772–86. For the quote on canal uniformity, P. S. Girard, *Mémoires sur le canal de l'Ourcq . . . et les divers canaux navigables qui ont été mis à l'exécution ou projetés dans le bassin de la Seine* (Paris, 1831), 120–22.

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indirect returns that the Corps was to advocate throughout the next century and beyond.[10]

In 1789, liberals who had long detested the Corps as a tool of bureaucratic despotism clamored for its abolition, but they succeeded only in decentralizing it, giving each of the eighty-three new *départements* authority over its own engineers. Under the exigencies of war and civil war, the Jacobins restored authority to Paris and in 1794 founded the Ecole Polytechnique as a new central school for the training of "national engineers." The Terror claimed remarkably few members of the Corps that had served the king, and, after another bout of liberalism under the Directory, the revolutionary peril ended with the advent of Napoleon's administrative state. In 1804, the Corps emerged with more centralized authority than ever before and a High Council of senior engineers in Paris empowered to rule on all projects submitted from chief engineers of each *département*. Now the Ecole des Ponts as well as the more recently founded Ecole des Mines recruited students only from the top-ranking graduates of the Ecole Polytechnique, which within a decade of its founding on egalitarian principles in 1794 had metamorphosed into an exclusive school of higher mathematics, requiring costly preparatory schooling of candidates for admission and becoming the gatekeeper of the several state engineering corps.[11] Thereafter at this first Grande Ecole, in the Rue Descartes, students pursued new logico-deductive, physico-mathematical studies. The graphical *esprit géometrique* gave way to the abstract *esprit algébriste*. "Today," boasted a student in 1840, "we have studied sciences at the Ecole Polytechnique that were unknown to the youths who used to aspire to the Corps . . . These abstract studies develop a rational and independent mind . . . Analysis has torn away the veil from the mysteries of nature. Mechanics, clarified and complemented by differential calculus, permits us to . . . regulate natural forces more advantageously." "Our predecessors," added another, "were like the English engineers of today: completely ignorant of theory." Here were the "lumières supérieures," the "higher lights," which Louis Navier, Professor of Transcendental Analysis at Polytechnique, believed entitled the Corps to plan in the general interest. Public engineers would walk by the light of Isaac Newton, P. S. Laplace, and Joseph Fourier.[12]

If Napoleon consolidated its permanent institutions, the lackluster Bourbon Restoration used the Corps to attack the high cost of transport. In August 1820, the Corps' director general, Louis Becquey, published a general plan for "the canalization of France." It featured seven grand "lines of junction" running from the

[10] J. R. Perronet, *Description des projets et de la construction des ponts de Neuilly, . . . le projet du canal de Bourgogne, pour la communication des deux mers par Dijon . . .*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1788), 356–75; Gaspard Riche de Prony, "Des inconvénients causés par les droits et autres charges imposées sur la navigation intérieure du Royaume, relativement aux ponts et chaussées et au bien générale de l'Etat," Concours de style, June 1780, uncatalogued archives, ENPC, for access to which I thank Jean Michel, director of the school's Centre de Documentation.

[11] For liberal attacks before the revolution, Jean Petot, *Histoire de l'administration des ponts et chaussées, 1599–1815* (Paris, 1958), 327–34; François Etner, *Histoire du calcul économique en France* (Paris, 1987), 15–84; for the Corps' defense of its "parfaite unité de système et d'action," superior knowledge, and public economics, see J. L. Chaumont de la Millière, *Mémoire sur le département des ponts et chaussées* (Paris, 1790), viii, 3, 39. On the revolutionary reorganizations, Gustave Brosselin, *Note sur l'origine, les transformations et l'organisation actuelle du Conseil général des ponts et chaussées* (Paris, lithograph at ENPC, 1886), 1–15; Petot, *L'Administration*, 337–436. On the metamorphosis of the Ecole Polytechnique in which the Laplacian algebrists prevailed over Monge's practical graphics, Terry Shinn, *L'Ecole polytechnique 1794–1914* (Paris, 1980), chap. 1; Theodore Olivier, *Monge et l'Ecole polytechnique* (Paris, 1850), 3–7; Janis Langins, *La République avait besoin de savants: Les Débuts de l'Ecole polytechnique* (Paris, 1987), 37–41.

[12] Concours de style, 1840. Louis Navier, "Considérations sur les travaux d'entretien des routes en Angleterre," *Annales des ponts et chaussées: Mémoires et documents* (hereafter, *APCMD*) (1831), 2: 153.

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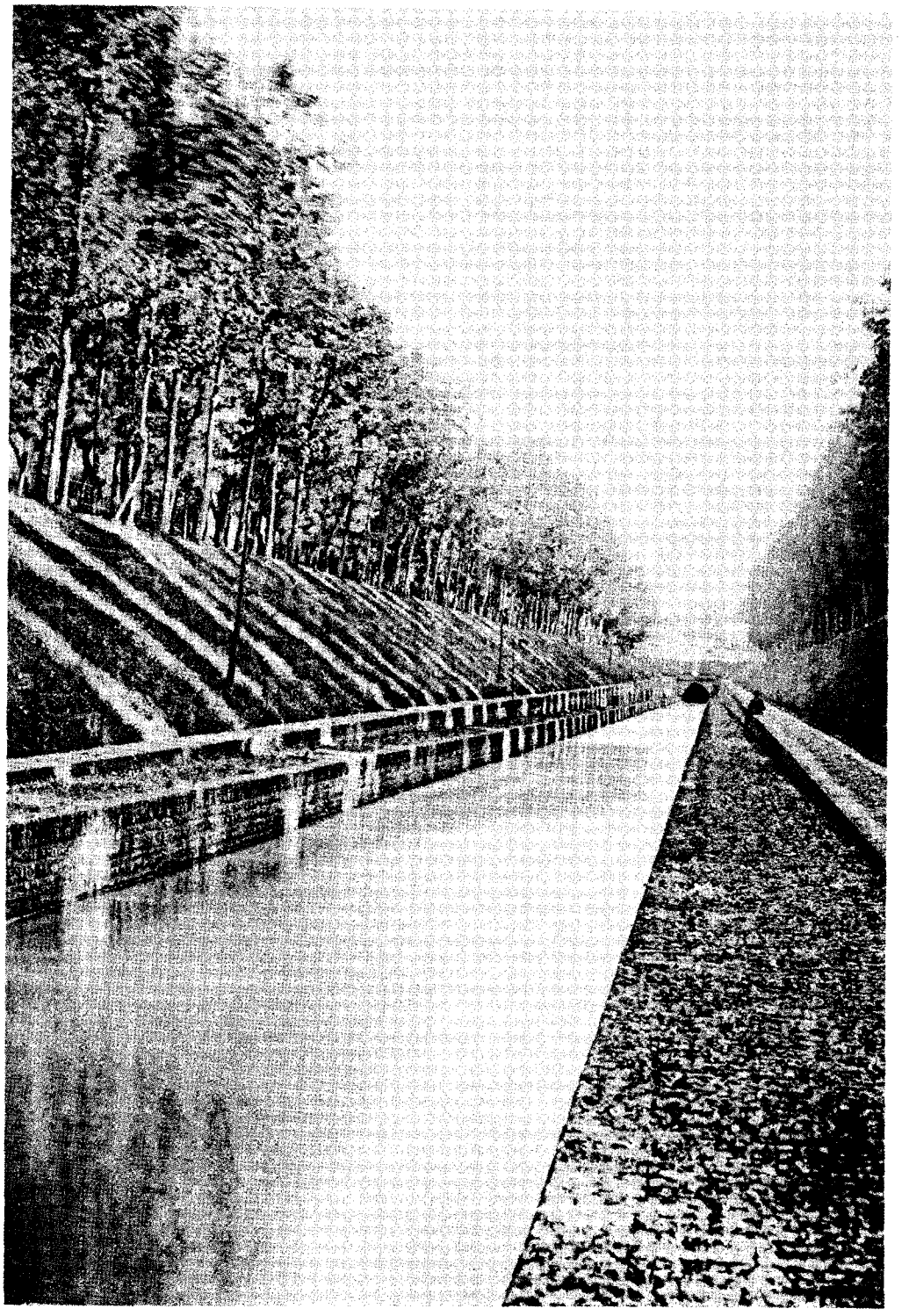


FIGURE 1: The summit level of the Burgundy Canal at Pouilly as completed in 1824–1830 (at a cost of 6.5 million francs) just as the British opened the railroad age. Some 378 meters above sea level, the tunnel is 3,350 meters long, with cuttings of 897 meters on one side and 917 on the other. By the time this photograph was taken, its traffic had long since gone to the Paris–Lyon railroad. Large reservoirs situated above the summit level were required to supply enough water to work the flights of locks on both slopes of the mountain divide. Léonce Reynaud, ed., *Les Travaux publics de la France* (Paris, 1883), vol. 3, plate 23. Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

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Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Using the same reasoning Perronet had used to justify the Burgundy Canal a half-century earlier, Becquey's planners estimated that an outlay of 458 million would save France 155 million a year in transport costs. While the Corps' stalwarts, notably Prony, now director of the Ecole, and Tarbé de Vauxclairs, chairman of the High Council, stood for transport as a public investment, Becquey himself read Adam Smith and listened to liberals and their accounts of how England's canal companies had built its inland waterways at no expense to the public treasury. So he sought a middle way, hoping to find private companies that would build the main canals according to a national plan under the Corps' engineering authority and settle for tolls moderate enough not to discourage traffic and indirect returns. In this way, France would enjoy a rational system of waterways, paid for by private capital but without the wasteful competition apparent in England.[13]

But, in 1821 and 1822, Becquey reported to Parliament that French capital had proved too weak to undertake the major canals and that the government had arranged to borrow 128 million from private financial companies to build 2,000 kilometers of canals. To solve the difficulties of supplying water to summit levels much higher and drier than in England, Becquey promised the unmatched ability of the Corps and its devotion to the public interest. Amid rhetoric likening Louis XVIII to Henry IV, Parliament approved the plan by large majorities, but not before liberals, including the bankers Jacques Laffitte and Casimir Périer, protested. "Is the Corps made for France?" cried Guillaume Ternaux, the textile magnate, "or is France made for the Corps?" Others prophesied ruinous cost overruns.[14]

Capitalists had proposed building major canals, including the Burgundy, but they demanded state subsidies, high toll rates, and their own cost-conscious engineers with the right to alter the Corps' projects. Rejecting subsidies, Becquey insisted that companies agree not only to the projects already drawn up but also to changes the Corps might deem necessary later; furthermore, there would be no indemnities if official cost estimates proved low. When a liberal deputy shouted from the floor that a company would need a "certificate of insanity" to accept such terms, Becquey assured the Chamber that they were in the public interest, for, without supervision, private companies would indulge in the "meanest economizing." The director general's experts showed him by meter and millimeter why their

[13] L. Becquey, *Rapport au Roi sur la navigation intérieure de la France* (Paris, 1820) 6–49; *Moniteur universel*, September 2, 1820. Pending Reed Geiger's forthcoming detailed study, see his "Planning the French Canals: The 'Becquey Plan' of 1820–1822," *Journal of Economic History*, 44 (June 1984): 329–39. For the doctrinaire liberal view, see J. B. Say, "Des canaux de navigation dans l'état actuel de la France," in *Oeuvres diverses de J. B. Say: Catéchisme d'économie politique . . . correspondences générales*, H. Say, ed. (Paris, 1848), 232–49; for heresy within the Corps, see J. L. E. Cordier, *Histoire de la navigation intérieure, et particulièrement de celle d'Angleterre, jusqu'en 1813, traduite de l'ouvrage anglais de Philippe* (Paris, 1819–20), 1: v–xv, cxxi–cxxxvi; and his letters to Becquey, Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN) F^{14} 2197^1, urging that France follow England's example; Joseph Dutens, *Mémoire sur les travaux publics de l'Angleterre, suivis d'une mémoire sur l'esprit d'association . . .* (Paris, 1819). On the preference of Becquey and his minister Lainé for concessionary companies and the High Council's aversion to same, see Girard, *Mémoires sur le canal de l'Ourcq*, 1: 170–75. On Becquey's liberal friends such as Charles Dupin, see A. A. Beugnot, *Vie de Becquey* (Paris, 1852), 178–208; on his effort to convert the High Council, Tarbé to Becquey, August 28, 1820, AN F^{14} 2328; on his eventual revulsion against Albion's laissez-faire ("Mais pour quelques succès, combien de naufrages"), *Moniteur universel*, December 22, 1828.

[14] For J. B. Say's opposition to lending money for the Corps to build "administrative canals," see his January 30, 1821 note to J. Laffitte urging him not to participate; Say, *Oeuvres diverses*, 564–70. On the deal with the lending companies, see Tarbé de Vauxclairs, *Dictionnaire des travaux publics* (Paris, 1835), 101; Geiger, "Planning the French Canals," 329–39. For the parliamentary response, see *Archives parlementaires* (hereafter, *AP*), 37: 272, 334–35.

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designs were in the public interest, and the companies that did take on the short canals were held to strict specifications.[15]

Liberal enemies of the Corps did not have to wait long for vindication. Because the canal routes had not been studied before the laws were passed, the acquisition of rights of way was delayed and money borrowed lay idle. In 1825, with construction finally under way, cost overruns seemed likely. Becquey's official reports blamed inflated land prices, bad weather, floods, and dishonest contractors. But the liberal victory at the polls in 1827 brought a hostile commission of inquiry, which deplored cost overruns of 60 million and regretted that such a white elephant as the Brittany Canal from Nantes across three summits to Brest with scant traffic between had ever been begun. Banker Périer demanded drastic reform of the Corps. Becquey and his lieutenant Victor Legrand, now secretary of the High Council as well as the canal commission, defended their canals as a public investment "highly beneficial to society." Although the commission urged privatization, no company took up the offer. The Corps kept its canals and went to Parliament time and again for funds to finish them.[16]

Not that all of the Corps' engineers had been happy with the grand assignment. With Becquey on the defensive in 1829, several publicly disclaimed responsibility—one going so far as to call Becquey a nullity and Legrand a mediocrity. Another senior engineer had dissented even earlier, in 1821. Citing the incomplete studies sure to contribute to cost overruns, G. J. Bouëssel questioned committing the country irreversibly to canals everywhere at once. Instead of this "*belle idée* of seven grand lines of junction" from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, he argued that France should proceed incrementally, improving the navigability of major rivers first and then joining them with canals, as Britain had done. The Paris Chamber of Commerce agreed, begging of course that its own river Seine come first. Becquey and his advisors were aware of such views, but the large parliamentary majority they enjoyed in 1820–1822 was a rare political opportunity not to be missed. Once major canals were being dug throughout the country, future governments would be committed to financing their completion and improving the poorly navigable rivers they joined. Future generations would be grateful to Louis XVIII and Becquey for removing the old transport barriers that kept France from the prosperity Britain enjoyed.[17]

[15] For the generous terms sought by private enterprise, see the June 9 and June 25, 1821 proposals, AN F^{14} 13859^{2}; J. J. Baude, *De la Loire au dessus de Briare . . . observations sur l'esprit du projet de loi sur les canaux* (Paris, 1822). For J. Manuel's comment in the Chamber, *AP*, 37: 272. That the canal commission, chaired by Tarbé with young Legrand as secretary, was strict is clear in the November 27, 1822 letter to Sartoris, AN F^{14} 7076. For Becquey trying to reconcile the public interest with the need of concessionaries for speedy, cost-conscious building, see his three letters of August 28, 1822, in the dossier of Bayard de la Vingtrie, AN F^{14} 2164^{1}. Many years later, Becquey recalled with pride his role as a "public man" at the head of the Corps resisting such "gens avides"; Beugnot, *Vie de Becquey*, 291.

[16] *Moniteur universel*, May 19, 1823; August 8, 1824; August 5, 1825; Ministère de l'intérieur, *Rapport au roi sur la situation au 31 mars 1826 des canaux* (Paris, 1826), 6–13; *Moniteur universel*, June 17, 1829. At the Ecole, Professor Barnabé Brisson told his students quite honestly that outside the flat, rainy lowlands in the north, "la grande plaie des canaux" was loss of water through seepage and evaporation, that it was all but impossible to find enough water at the high summit levels to work the locks, and that the rivers to be joined by the canals were poorly navigable; "Notes prises aux leçons de M. Brisson à l'Ecole des ponts et chaussées par M. Partiot," Navigation Intérieure, 1825, MS 3178, ENPC. "Commission des routes et des canaux," AN F^{14} 13859^{1}; Gabriel Lamé, E. Clapeyron, S. Mony, and E. Flachat, *Vues politiques et pratiques sur les travaux publics de France* (Paris, 1832), 53–63.

[17] "Observations sur le service des ponts et chaussées en France," *Journal du génie civil*, 3 (1829): 485–501; "Reflexions sur l'administration des ponts et chaussées," *ibid.*, 4 (1829): 129–38; L. D. Jousselin, "Lettre au directeur du Journal," *ibid.*, 4 (1829): 680–83. G. J. Bouëssel, "Observations sur le programme du gouvernement publié en 1820," February 15, 1821, AN F^{14} 13859^{2}; Procès verbaux de

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INSTEAD, BECQUEY AND THE CORPS were remembered for committing their country to waterways on the eve of the railroad age. By comparison, canal building in England reached its high point in the 1790s; by the time the railroads prevailed in the 1840s, canals had served their purpose. The Germanies were saved from obsolete waterway planning by their disunity. Even within the largest state, Prussia, transport initiatives originated at the district level. German waterway traffic developed on its slow-flowing rivers, mostly on the Rhine, where improvements were carried out incrementally. Not until the late nineteenth century were any major canals built and then only with large capacities in favorable locations. In the United States, Ohio did emulate France, opening a canal system in 1833, only to see it succumb to railroads in the next decade, and Indiana followed suit. Although New York's fabled Erie Canal still carried 2 million tons in 1860 despite the railroads, it was the magnificent exception proving the geographical rule that inland barge canals were not the way of the future. Nowhere else on earth was there the possibility of digging a long canal with a Great Lakes at one end and a slow, deep, naturally navigable Hudson River on the other, and, at the end of the route, the port of New York and the Atlantic Ocean—with no mountain divide to cross, few locks per mile, and, above all, plenty of water along the way. The Chesapeake and Ohio canal, an attempt to repeat the Erie miracle by tunneling through the Alleghenies some 1,800 feet above sea level, ended at Cumberland. Yet French canal builders never ceased to invoke the Erie's unique success to justify more investment in canals.[18]

This is not to suggest that the railroad's beginnings went unnoticed in France. In 1818, Becquey obtained a full report on the horse-drawn tramways the British had built to link coal mines to waterways. In 1823, with his canals approved, he encouraged private construction of a line to carry coal from Saint-Etienne across the hills to the Loire. In 1825, Professor Barnabé Brisson told students at the Ecole des Ponts that such railways were the rational substitute in terrain too difficult for canals, and Becquey encouraged the Seguins of Annonay to build a line from Saint-Etienne northeastward across the hills to Lyon. Extraordinarily innovative industrialists and self-taught engineers, the Seguin brothers had replaced the

la Chambre de Commerce de Paris, November 11, 1821. On Becquey seizing the day, not letting the "favorable moment pass," see Charles Bérigny, *Moniteur universel*, June 17, 1829; Becquey to Legrand, October 20, 1833; Beugnot, *Vie de Becquey*, 291. That the plan had been hastily drawn up is evident from the official papers, AN F^{14} 13859^2, and Dutens's dossier, AN F^{14} 2220^2. Compare Tarbé, *Dictionnaire des travaux publics*, 100. For canal fantasies under the empire, AN F^{14} 1252.

[18] On England, Baron F. Duckham, "Canals and River Navigations," in D. H. Aldcroft and M. J. Freeman, eds., *Transportation in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1983), 100–35. On Germany, see Richard Eger, *Die Binnenschiffahrt in Europa und Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1899); on Bavaria's counterpart to the Canal de Bourgogne, see the Deutches Museum exhibit of King Ludwig's Main–Danube canal, which opened in 1846 and was carrying only 196,000 tons when the railroad rendered it obsolete in the 1850s. On later German canals, see F. Dartein, *Les Travaux publics de l'Allemagne à l'exposition universelle de 1900* (Paris, 1901), 15–24; Marcel Jouanique, *Le Problème des transports fluviaux* (Toulouse, 1947), 32. On the absence of waterway planning in Germany before 1914, Gustav Poppe, "Die Binnenschiffahrt-strassen in den vergangenen 50 Jahren, 1914 bis 1964," *Jahrbuch der Hafenbautechnischen Gesellschaft*, 27 (1965): 281–307; F. J. Scroiff, "Die verkehrswirtschaftliche Bedeutung des nordwestdeutschen Wasserstrassen seit ihren Entstehen im 19. JH," *Technikgeschichte*, 35 (1968): 320–36. On the United States, see Harry N. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820–1861* (Athens, Ohio, 1969), 36 and following; Ralph D. Gray, "The Canal Era in Indiana," in *Transportation and the Early Nation*, the Indiana Historical Society, ed. (Indianapolis, Ind., 1982), 113–34; R. W. Filante, "A Note on the Economic Viability of the Erie Canal, 1825–1860," *Business History Review*, 48 (Spring 1974): 101; M. S. Sanderland, *The Great National Project* (Baltimore, Md., 1946), 138–61, 388–89. For the last of the Corps' admiring reports on the Erie, see Le clerc de Pulligny, "Le Barge-Canal de l'état de New York," *APCMD* (1914), 1: 329–55.

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cumbersome chains used in British suspension bridges with stronger iron-wire cables of their own devising and, despite the objections of the Corps' expert Louis Navier, won Becquey's permission to span the Rhône at Tournon with the world's first iron-wire bridge for vehicular traffic. The next year, in 1826, Becquey overruled the High Council to grant the Seguin brothers a liberal concession in perpetuity to build the Saint-Etienne railroad, declaring that "a railroad is a veritable machine, best left to private industry." At once, the Seguins imported their first locomotive from England and increased its steam production fourfold by installing the fire-tube boiler invented for their steamboats on the Rhône. While the arch-royalist Seguins benefited from having Becquey's son-in-law in their company, in 1828 J. N. Mellet and C. J. Henry secured an equally liberal concession from Becquey to build a railroad that would bring Saint-Etienne coal 67 kilometers farther down the upper Loire to more navigable water. Yet, even though the Seguins prophesied the triumph of the steam locomotive as early as 1826, the Corps continued until 1830 to regard these proto-railroads as "dry canals" within its national waterway system, not as a general innovation requiring new planning.[19]

As the Liverpool–Manchester line opened the railroad age in England, the French Revolution of 1830 threatened the Corps' authority over public works. Prominent in the new regime were the liberal bankers Laffitte and Périer, and the Anglophile Protestant François Guizot served as provisional minister of the interior. At the end of August, they installed the Anglophile Protestant banker Simon Bérard as director general of the Corps. While liberals in Parliament demanded a public inquiry into the errors of the Becquey years, Bérard retired a dozen senior engineers and packed the High Council with new members. He lectured Legrand on the "new order of things" and abolished his canal commission. The Corps must welcome "ideas from the outside," as it was the liberal regime's policy to offer private companies every inducement to undertake public works, especially with so many unemployed workers in the streets.[20]

[19] In general, Ernest Grangez, "Notice sur les chemins de fer de St-Etienne à la Loire, et de St-Etienne à Lyon," *Journal du génie civil*, 2 (1829): 531–52; L. J. Gras, *Histoire des premiers chemins de fer français* (St-Etienne, 1924), 194–95, 273–89, 305–09; Jacques Payen, *La Machine locomotive en France des origines au milieu du XIX^e siècle* (Lyon, 1988), 43–68. On the proto-railroad as a substitute for canals in difficult terrain, see the February 2, 1825 lecture in "Notes prises aux leçons de M. Brisson à l'Ecole." For the report of February 26, 1823, on Beaunier's tramways, Becquey's February 4, 1826 report on the Seguin railroad concession; and for Marc Seguin's December 4, 1826 enthusiastic report on steam locomotives, see AN F^{14} 9031; *Moniteur universel*, March 13, 1826. On the vigor of the Seguin brothers as innovative legitimists, see their papers of 1822–1828, especially Alexis Noailles to Seguin, August 16, 1825, and Edouard Biot (Becquey's son-in-law) to Seguin, October 9, 1826; on iron-wire cable for suspension bridges, see Marc Seguin, "Mémoire sur un pont en fil de fer à établir entre Tarn et Tournon, September 30, 1822; for Navier's opposition, see his report of April 20, 1822—all in the Seguin papers in the Archives Départementales de L'Ardêche, at Privas, consulted in July 1980, with the permission of M. Stanislas Seguin of Annonay. For Seguin's own recollections of encouragement by Brisson and Becquey, see Marc Seguin, *De l'influence des chemins de fer et de l'art de les tracer et de les construire* (Liège, 1839), 47–48; compare Charles C. Gillispie, *The Montgolfier Brothers* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 159–75; Tom F. Peters, *Transitions in Engineering: Guillaume Henri Dufour and the Early 19th-Century Suspension Bridges* (Basel, 1987), 66–70, 104. F. N. Mellet and C. J. Henry, *Mémoire sur les chemin de fer de la Loire, d'Andrézieux à Roanne* (Paris, 1828).

[20] *Moniteur universel*, December 1, 1830; October 25, 1830; for Bérard's packing of the High Council, compare the *Almanach royal* of 1830, 557, with that of 1831, 559; on August 20, 1830, Bérard informed Legrand that the "new order of things" meant the end of his canal commission, AN F^{14} 2262^2. As Legrand had been appointed general secretary of a new ministry of public works just before the July Revolution, this was a demotion; Tarbé to Legrand, June 21, 1830, warning of "vos adversaires," AN F^{14} 2328. Bérard's significance has been neglected: Georges Lefranc, "Les Chemins des fers devant le Parlement 1833–42," *Revue d'histoire moderne*, 5 (1930): 337–64; Arthur L. Dunham, "How the First French Railways Were Planned," *Journal of Economic History*, 1 (May 1941): 12–25; Barrie M. Ratcliffe, "The Origins of the Paris–Saint-Germain Railway: Some Entrepreneurial and Financial Problems in the

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Deploring Becquey's "vast plan" as a wasteful commitment to obsolete canals, Bérard gave assurances that rail projects of national importance would receive terms as generous as those granted the Seguins, who had begun trials of the latest English locomotives at Saint-Etienne. The "new order of things" of 1830 intended nothing less than that Adam Smith and J. B. Say were to replace Colbert in France. Private engineers rallying around the new Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures, France's first private engineering school, responded eagerly, as did certain mavericks in the Corps itself, such as J. Cordier, Antoine Polonceau, Pierre Arnollet, Bayard de la Vingtrie, and Fortuné de Vergès—all early converts to the railroad. By October 1830, Bérard had received five preliminary proposals to build from Paris to Orléans, while the Seguin brothers offered their practical experience to build from Paris to Versailles. A year later, Bérard pushed through the High Council a concession for Mellet and Henry—the only other experienced railroad engineers in France—to build a cheap line from Paris to Pontoise with an option to go on to Rouen.[21]

But the "new order of things" died aborning, smothered by the eternal institutions of the French state, aided by political contingency. The Conseil d'Etat, supreme administrative court of the Napoleonic state, where Tarbé sat for the Corps, quashed the Mellet and Henry concession. Bérard proved unable to manage the High Council he had packed; Tarbé fearlessly led the opposition, mincing no words in reminding Bérard that France was not Britain. Parliament, where many civil servants sat, had no stomach for an inquiry into the errors of the Becquey years. The bankers' government came to an end on May 16, 1832, when the cholera outbreak of that year carried off Premier Casimir Périer. When Simon Bérard opposed the regime's response to the uprising of June 5, he was removed and, on June 9, replaced with the apolitical secretary of the High Council as interim director. Thus did Victor Legrand, protégé of Bequey and Tarbé, survive Bérard's new order and begin the fifteen-year administration that shaped the transport geography of France. Nor was he waiting for the young Saint-Simonians Michel Chevalier and Emile Pereire to awaken him to the importance of the railroad in 1832, as historians have maintained hitherto, simply by ignoring Bérard's two years in office. The Corps was aware of the steam railroad, as internal reports of 1829–1830 and the first issues of the *Annales des ponts et chaussées*, launched by Bérard in 1831, amply show. What paralyzed the Corps for two years was the struggle against Bérard's privatization effort, which meant cheap, unplanned railroads, death for the canals, and an end to its monopoly of public works. Within a month of taking Bérard's place on June 9, 1832, Legrand reduced the High Council, ridding himself of Bérard's collaborators such as J. Cordier, L. D.

Launching of Railways in France in the 1830s," *Journal of Transport History*, n.s., 1 (September 1972): 206; Christopher Johnson, "The Revolution of 1830 in French Economic History," in *1830 in France*, ed. John M. Merriman (New York, 1975), 176; Yves Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible: La Résistance au système des grandes compagnies ferroviaires et la politique économique en France, 1820–1850* (Geneva, 1987), 179.

[21] Simon Bérard, *Observations sur les rapports de la Commission du Budget, 1832* (Paris, 1832), 54–60. For Bérard's encouragement of private railroad companies, see the papers of October 11 and September 19, 1830; July 19, August 4 and 9, 1831, AN F^{14} 8862; October 22, 1831, AN F^{14} 8900. On his faith in railroads over canals, see Fred Norman Affleck, "The Beginnings of Modern Transport in France: The Seine Valley, 1820 to 1860" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972), 65–66. On the response of private engineers, see E. Mouchelet, *Notice historique sur l'Ecole centrale des arts et manufactures* (Paris, 1913), 14; on the conditions under which an engineer of the Corps might work for a private company, under the "new order of things," see Eustache's February 20, 1831 report in the Régistre du Comité, AN F^{14} 15494.

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Jousselin, Joseph Dutens, and Polonceau and bringing Tarbé, Prony, M. C. Lamandé, Louis Favier, and F. A. Cavenne back to the fore. Within three months, he had utterly reversed Bérard's policy, declaring the canals sacred and choosing the engineers of the Corps that would plan the Legrand Star for France. "What a fine role for the State," he exclaimed, "if it can take charge and plan the main lines . . . and by this means of rapid, long-distance communications bring about the full integration of our fine country."[22]

To head the railroad commission, Legrand called on Louis Navier, the Corps' exemplar of scientific engineering. Having developed the first course in structural mechanics at the Ecole des Ponts since 1817 and won a seat in the Academy for his 1823 memoir applying Fourier analysis to vibrations in the suspension bridge, he told his students in 1826 that science would eliminate "caprice" from engineering. But, the next year, the Pont des Invalides he tried to build across the Seine failed because he forgot to take into account the friction of the chains on the anchorages. Despite this great embarrassment to the Corps, Legrand and the High Council continued to admire Navier's innovative intellect. Just as in 1822, when he had spotted the British suspension bridge as an empirical innovation that French science would reduce to its rational form, so in 1826 he boldly announced to the Academy that a railway from Paris down the Seine to Rouen was feasible. Yet neither Navier nor any other engineer appointed to the Legrand Star commission in September 1832 possessed any practical experience of railroad building. The "lumières supérieures" of mathematical analysis and study trips to England would suffice.[23]

Navier began by reaffirming the Corps' credo: a transport line was a public

[22] Saint-Simonian scholars have long entertained the myth that "Emile Pereire is . . . the man who did most to arouse the interest of Legrand, director of the Ponts et Chaussées since . . . 1830 [*sic*] in the building of railroads as a national problem"; Arthur Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France, 1815–1848* (New York, 1955), 60. For Jean Walch, *Michel Chevalier: Economiste Saint-Simonien, 1806–1879* (Paris, 1975), 55, it was the Saint-Simonian Star. But for railroad awareness besides Louis Navier, *De l'établissement d'un chemin de fer entre Paris et Le Havre* (Paris, 1826), see the more perceptive Antoine Polonceau, "Observations sur le canal proposé de la Seine au Rhin entre Paris et Strasbourg et exposé d'un nouveau projet," October 25, 1829, AN F^{14} 6957, proposing to substitute the rapidly improving steam railroad for much of the canal; and Joseph Cordier to Becquey on the Liverpool and Manchester, January 7, 1830, AN F^{14} 11140. Michel Chevalier's "Mediterranean System" articles of early 1832 and Emile Pereire's 1833 articles in *Le National*, both calling for state planning and investment for indirect returns, were attacks on the policies of Bérard, Laffitte, Périer, and company and music to the ears of a Legrand long since committed to national planning. On Pereire, Enfantin, and Chevalier, see Ratcliffe, "Origins of the Paris–Saint-Germain Railway," 202; Robert B. Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism and the Doctrine of Hope* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), 197–202. Compare Barrie Ratcliffe, "The Economic Influence of the Saint-Simonians: Myth or Reality?" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 5 (1978): 252–62. For Tarbé's resistance to Bérard, see the Régistre du Conseil Général, February 21 and April 2, 1832, AN F^{14} 10912^{87}. For Legrand's reorganization of the High Council, see the *Almanach royal* (1832), 566, and changes in the "Deuxième supplément"; Régistre du Conseil Générale des Ponts et Chaussées, July 3 and August 28, 1832, AN F^{14} 10912^{87}; Jousselin's speech, *AP*, 81 (March 13, 1833): 168–73. On the removal of Bérard, see his *Souvenirs historiques sur la Révolution de 1830* (Paris, 1830), 31. On the Legrand Star commission, and the sacred canals, see *Moniteur universel*, September 11, 1832, and the dossiers of its members; AN F^{14} 2250^{2}, 2289^{1}. For the quote, A. F. Villemain, "Legrand," in *La Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1862), 30: 435.

[23] Gaspard de Prony, "Notice biographique sur M. Navier," *APCMD* (1837), 1: 1–19; but for the fatal "oubli" in the Ponts des Invalides, see "Observations soumises à Mr le baron de Prony sur la biographie de Navier" (1836), MS 2763, ENPC; and Barré de Saint-Venant, *Résumé des leçons données à l'école des ponts et chaussées . . . par Navier* (Paris, 1864), 1: lxvi; compare Gillispie, *Mongolfier Brothers*, 165–68; and Eda F. Kranakis, "The Affair of the Invalides Bridge," *Jaarboek voor de Geschiedenis var Bedrijf en Techniek*, 4 (1987): 121–24. On Navier's authority to coordinate the main line surveys, see his "Evaluation sommaire de la force qu'il est nécessaire d'employer pour opérer le transport sur les chemin de fer projetés par MM Polonceau, Desfontaines, et Surville entre Paris et Orléans, 24 février, 1835," MS 2763, ENPC; "Sommier des chemins de fer," January 31 to May 19, 1836, printed in P. C. Laurent de Villedeuil, *Bibliographie des chemins de fer* (Paris, 1906), 287–93.

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service—its utility to be measured not by Adam Smith's direct returns but by indirect ones. He figured the indirect returns by subtracting the cost of transport on the new line from the higher cost on the one it replaced and multiplying the difference by the total value of the goods to be transported on the new line. For the greatest return, the state should build the railroad system and remain master of the ratemaking. If, for reasons of public finance, private companies had to be used, the state must carefully examine and regulate them. Such a policy did not augur well for the companies that had answered Simon Bérard's call to railroad enterprise. It recalled the canal policy of 1820–1822.[24]

Next, Navier stated the Corps' assessment of the railroad and deduced the engineering principles on which it was to be built. Its self-evident advantage over existing means of transportation was speed; therefore, the railroad's natural function was to carry passengers and light goods long distances at high speed. The Legrand Star layout followed: the straightest possible routes between Paris and other chief centers of population and the frontiers—not unlike the highway system. For speed and safety, the main lines of the Legrand Star were to be located so that the longest possible straight stretches would be joined by wide curves of no less than a thousand meters' radius. To save fuel and keep rates low, grades were to be no more than five millimeters per meter and preferably three. The prodigious cuttings and fillings necessary to build with such grade and curve limits would be paid for by future fuel savings in a country with limited supplies of coal. Although Navier understated the tractive power of the steam locomotive, he was not ignorant of the current trials showing locomotive feats on steep grades. As with the suspension bridge, so with the railroad: Navier sought the ideal system, in which steam power played an optimal rather than a maximal role. As the locomotive grew stronger, it could either pull longer and longer trains or use less fuel. Heavy initial investment in civil engineering would save on machines and fuel for a long time to come, he believed, taking a position opposite to the American wager on powerful locomotives and cheap fuel to compensate for light civil engineering—a contrast Michel Chevalier duly noted after his tour of the United States in 1835, when he dubbed Navier's principles "les mystères des ponts et chaussées." In fact, Navier was a brilliant forerunner of today's systems engineering. But he lacked, as later engineer-economists of his own Corps would make clear, two critical notions of economics: diminishing marginal utility and the time-value of capital.[25]

The Corps' assessment of the railroad as a revolution in speed only was welcome news to the Becquey canal builders, then entering on their second decade of

[24] Louis Navier, *De l'exécution des travaux publics et particulièrement des concessions* (Paris, 1832), 3–31.

[25] Louis Navier, "Avantages respectives de diverses lignes de chemin de fer," *APCMD* (1835), 1: 129–79. That Navier and the High Council spoke as one on grades is clear in their rejection of the March 26, 1833 Mellet and Henry project using grades of nine millimeters per meter for the Paris–Rouen, AN F^{14} 8862; Lefranc, "Les Chemins de fer devant," 361–62; *Situation des travaux au 31 décembre 1836* (Paris, 1836), 189. On locomotive trials on steep grades, *Moniteur universel*, September 19, 1833; June 23, 1834. For the American doctrine that "the difference in the interest of the capital invested must not be greater than the sum saved by the use of the more expensive road," see George Washington Smith, ed., Nicolas Wood's *Practical Treatise on Railroads* (Philadelphia, 1832), 475–76: For Chevalier's remark and the Corps' reaction, see H. C. Emmery, "Analyse et extraits: Chevalier, Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord . . . ," *APCMD* (1837), 2: 108–09. For the correction of Navier's mistakes by Dupuit and Minard, see Robert B. Ekelund, Jr., and R. F. Hebert, "Public Economics at the Ecole des ponts et chaussées: 1830–1850," *Journal of Public Economics*, 2 (1973): 241–53; John MacNeil's translation of Navier, *On the Means of Comparing the Respective Advantages of Different Lines of Railway; and on the Use of Locomotive Engines* (London, 1836), was lost on Robert Stephenson, who, in his opinion on the L. L. Vallée's project for the Paris–Belgium line, was appalled at the cost of building to Navier's rules; *Report to the Chairman and Directors of the South-Eastern Railway Company* (London, 1842), 6–7.

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construction. When, in April 1833, Legrand sought a half-million francs for the Navier commission's surveys of the main lines radiating from Paris, he also asked Parliament for 44 million to finish the canalization of France. To cries of outrage from a few railroad supremacists, Charles Bérigny stated the Corps' complementarity doctrine that was to inform water-rail policy for decades to come: the natural cargo of canals was heavy, bulky freight, while the natural traffic of the railroad was passengers and light goods. The railroad and canal would not compete but rather aid and help each other in a balanced system of transportation. Thus was the Paris center of the Legrand Star layout of main rail lines rationalized as a national rapid-transit system; industrial freight was to be transported by the waterway system, soon to involve much river improvement. That same year, Friedrich List returned home to Germany from the United States, arguing the contrary—that the railroad was for the transport of raw materials and manufactured goods.[26]

While the Navier commission surveyed the Legrand Star, all private proposals to build main rail lines were shelved. But, in mid-1833, liberal backers of Mellet and Henry introduced a bill in Parliament to extend their cheap railroad down the winding valley of the upper Loire to Orléans and from there to Paris. At 81,000 francs a kilometer, it would be all the Corps despised: an American improvisation with one track, steep grades, sharp curves, flimsy bridges, and slow trains. By this time, Legrand, having educated his newly installed public works minister Adolphe Thiers in his principles, had funded the Navier commission, and the government denounced and easily defeated Mellet, Henry, and company as private greed seeking to undercut rational planning.[27]

Laying out the railroad was too important to be left to businessmen. "Thinking of nothing but immediate profit," declared Thiers, parroting Legrand, "they would sacrifice the proper routing of a line either to avoid an expense or go out of the way to meet with great profit"—precisely what the Paris Chamber of Commerce had in mind when it called for the Paris–Channel railroad to be built in the winding valley of the Seine. But Legrand convinced the ports of Le Havre and Dieppe that their true interests lay with his direct route across the plateaus to the English Channel. The Corps' first project eastward to Strasbourg similarly ran straight out of Paris across the plateau of Brie, rather than follow the populous valley of the Marne. Not only was there scant traffic on the plateaus but the cost of crossing the intersecting valleys and mountains farther on with grades of five millimeters per meter was astronomical—including one 15-kilometer tunnel. Until 1837, while these projects

[26] For the speech of Charles Bérigny, Legrand's old mentor and patron in the secretariat of the High Council, *AP*, 84 (May 22, 1833): 114–28. Several dissidents in the Corps des Ponts as well as Mines championed the railroad as a total revolution in transport; Henri Fournel, *Du chemin de fer du Havre à Marseille, par la vallée de la Marne* (Paris, 1833), 11–31; Pierre Arnollet, *Projet de formation d'une société pour l'établissement d'un chemin de fer entre Paris et Lyon par Troyes et Dijon . . .* (Dijon, 1833), 78–79; Frédéric Le Play to Legrand, October 25, 1836, MS 6064, Le Play Papers, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris. On the canal diehards, James M. Oliver III, "The Corps des Ponts et Chaussées, 1830–1848," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1967), 157–72; for their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, see Neal Fitzsimmons, ed., *The Reminiscences of John B. Jervis* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1971), 111; *Autobiography of Sir John Rennie, F.R.S. Comprising the History of His Professional Life . . .* (London, 1875), 244. On List, see W. O. Henderson, *The Rise of Germany as an Industrial Power, 1834–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), 45.

[27] AN F^{14} 10014; Lefranc, "Les Chemins de fer devant," 345; François Noel Mellet and Charles Joseph Henry, *Chemin de fer de Paris à Roanne, ou complément de la communication de Paris à Lyon* (Paris, 1832), 1–25; *AP*, 84 (June 8, 1833): 717–26. For their bitter frustration, see *L'Arbitraire administratif des ponts et chaussées dévoilé aux chambres par MM Mellet et Henry* (Paris, 1835), which contrasts Bérard's promises with Legrand's obstruction: "Que la vie entière de M. Legrand, auteur des projets financiers des canaux de 1821 et 1822, a été consacrée à soutenir ce principe, que le governement doit exécuter"; AN F^{14} 8862.

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were being prepared, only three short lines out of Paris were conceded to private companies, and they were held to Navier's costly specifications. Legrand was more exacting than Becquey.[28]

In early 1838, Legrand seized an opportunity to present the Corps' ideal of public railroads in a bill before Parliament. Unlike the Americans, who improvised cheap and dangerous railroads to conquer a wild continent, the public engineers of civilized France, whose "sacred fire" still burned in an age of mammon, would build railroads the world would envy for their "solidity, beauty, and economy," for they would increase the nation's wealth "in a thousand indirect ways, if the State remains master of ratemaking"—2,000 kilometers of main lines for a billion francs. More like 2 billion if the Corps built them, cried the private engineers and liberals rallying around the Ecole Centrale: "Remember the canals of 1821–22!" And, though foreign diplomats thought the bill sure to pass, it failed, owing more to parliamentary factionalism and resentment of important localities that were left out, notably Strasbourg, than to economic liberalism. "We have lost the finest jewel in the crown," lamented A. J. Defontaine, author of two main line projects as well as superintendent of the Ecole des Ponts, where the next year a prize-winning student essay expressed the technocratic view that no such faction-ridden parliament should be entrusted with decisions on "immense public works, so important for the country, for the future of its civilization."[29]

WHILE CENTRALIZED FRANCE REACHED STALEMATE, the disunited Germanies raced into the railroad age. The fact that Prussian officialdom rebuffed early rail enthusiasts did not stop the independent kingdom of Saxony from showing the way in 1835 with a liberal concession to the Leipzig–Dresden railroad company. Consequently, rail promoters in Rhenish Prussia, working through local institutions that France lacked, prevailed on Berlin to decree the liberal railroad law of 1838: far from lodging planning authority in the central administration, it left companies the initiative to propose routes as well as engineering design. Not until

[28] *Moniteur universel*, April 3, 1835; Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Paris, report of September 22, 1836; Louis M. Jouffroy, *Une Etape de la construction des grandes lignes de chemins de fer en France: La Ligne de Paris à la frontière d'Allemagne, 1825–52* (Paris, 1932), 2: 55. For Legrand's skill in touting the direct routes, see Affleck, "Beginnings of Modern Transport," 124–50; Louis Girard, *et al.*, *La Chambre des députées en 1837–1839: Composition, activité, vocabulaire* (Paris, 1976), 116; Felix Ponteil, *Georges Humann, 1780–1842* (Paris, 1977), 146; Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible*, 18. For the terms imposed on the Paris–Saint-Germain and Paris–Versailles, *Annales des ponts et chaussées: Lois et ordonnances* (1835): 306–26; A. Perdonnet, "Sur les frais de l'exploitation des chemins de fer," *Journal de l'industriel et du capitaliste*, 6 (June 1839): 340–41. Compare Ratcliffe, "Origins of the Paris–Saint-German Railway," 197–219; "The Origins . . . in the 1830s and 1840s," *ibid.*, n.s., 2 (January 1973): 20–41; "Railway Imperialism: The Example of the Pereires' Paris–Saint-Germain Company, 1835–1846," *Business History*, 18 (1976): 66–84.

[29] For Legrand's speech, *Moniteur universel*, February 16, 1838; L. L. Vallée had given the same indirect returns argument; Direction Générale des Ponts et Chaussées, *Exposé général des études faites pour le tracé des chemins de fer de Paris en Belgique . . .* (Paris, 1837), vi–vii. Lefranc, "Les Chemins de fer devant," 360. For the liberal reaction, J. Burat, "De l'execution des chemin de fer par l'Etat," *Journal de l'industriel et du capitaliste*, 5 (February 1838): 48–75; J. Milleret, *Considérations sur l'établissement des chemin de fer en France* (Paris, 1838): 5–6; Jules Seguin, *Des travaux publics en France et particulièrement des chemins de fer* (Paris, 1838), 14–20. For the Baden envoy's mistaken report that the bill would pass, Badische General Landarchiv, Abteilung 232, nr. 10320. On the factional defeat of the bill, see Affleck, "Beginnings of Modern Transport in France," 115. For Defontaine's lament, see his dossier, AN F^{14} 2206^{1}; and for its reflection at the Ecole he ran, see Concours de style, 1839–40. On the perdurability of this "anti-parlementarisme administratif" to the present, Guy Thuillier, "Conclusion," in *Administration et parlement depuis 1815* (Geneva, 1982), 125.

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1843, with much cheap mileage under construction, did Berlin set up a small office of railroad technical affairs. In south Germany, Baden and Württemberg built state railroads, while Bavaria alternated between private and state building. Saxony eventually built about half private and half state. But all built cheaply, often with grades of ten millimeters per meter, drawing engineering lessons from England, Belgium, and the United States—not France. In no German state did a central corps of engineers impose a uniformly costly design, much less a master layout based on complementarity with waterways. Hence the several rail centers besides Berlin.[30]

Despite Legrand's defeat on public railroads, a few weeks later he was granted 85 million for two magnificent new canals. The Marne–Rhine, 310 kilometers long with 171 locks, was France's answer to the River Rhine; it would enable a rich overseas trade to debark at Le Havre and come up the improved Seine through Paris and on across two mountain divides to Strasbourg. The lateral canal to the poorly navigable Garonne River would join Bordeaux to the Mediterranean, at last making Colbert's canal of the two seas a reality. Both Bordeaux and Strasbourg rejoiced. Years later, both canals opened side by side with railroads.[31]

But defeat of the bill did oblige the Corps to entertain private bids for the main railroads. Of the two intrepid companies that quickly won concessions, the Paris–Channel expired immediately on learning from its own engineers that the required grades of three millimeters per meter and curves of a thousand meters' radius would cost twice the Corps' estimate. The Paris–Orléans company reached the same conclusion about Defontaine's estimates, but it secured parliamentary relief—a grade limit of five instead of three millimeters per meter to save 10 million francs and a state interest guarantee, while the Corps' liberal enemies obtained a law guaranteeing any prospective company the right to petition for changes in technical specifications.[32]

The nadir was reached in 1840, when an Anglo-French company obtained a concession to build from Paris to Rouen by the winding, commercial Seine Valley route. "Sir Guizot" himself intervened from his post as ambassador in London to secure the terms demanded by British capitalists. Most galling was the company's right to bring over Joseph Locke as its engineer, the former counting-house clerk

[30] For the controversy on Prussian rail policy and the 1838 law, see Wilhelm Gleim, "Zum dritten November," *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*, 11 (1888): 797–839. For Peter Beuth's July 17, 1843 appointment of one Baurat to take care of all railroad technical affairs at the Handelsministerium, see Oberpräsidium Koblenz, Abteilung 403, nr. 11876. In general, see Karl Ernst Maedel, *Das Eisenbahn-Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1973): 23–32; Albert Kunzetemuller, *Die Badischen Eisenbahnen* (Karlsruhe, 1959), 3–25; Hans J. Ulbricht, *Die Geschichte des Königlich Sächsischen Staatseisenbahnen* (Leipzig, 1935[?]), 66; Anton J. Liebl, *Die Privateisenbahn München-Augsburg (1833–1844): Entstehung, Bau und Betrieb* (Munich, 1982), 41–61; Horst Weigelt, *Bayerische Eisenbahnen* (Stuttgart, 1972), 93–183. On railroad designs the Germans had borrowed, *Festschrift über die Tätigkeit des Vereins deutscher Eisenbahnen-Verwaltungen in den ersten 50 Jahren seines Bestehens, 1846–1896* (Berlin, 1896), 46. On bureaucrats versus capitalists in the making of Prussian railroad policy, see Dietrich Eichholtz, *Junker und Bourgeoisie vor 1848 in der Preussischen Eisenbahngeschichte* (Berlin, 1962), 83–182; Colleen A. Dunlavy, "Politics and Industrialization: Early Railroads in the United States and Prussia" (Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988), 125–46, 185–232; and chapter 5 of Eric Dorn Brose's forthcoming study of Prussian state technical policy. On disunity as the reason for Germany's several rail hubs, see J. F. Gravier, *Décentralisation et progrès technique* (Paris, 1953), 41.

[31] *AP*, 120 (June 1, 1838): 605–23; *Moniteur universel*, June 29, 1852.

[32] Companie du Chemin de Fer de Paris à Rouen, *Lois de concession; cahiers de chargés; statuts, rapport* (Paris, 1840), 7–39, 69–96; "Observations sur les demandes presentées au gouvernement par la compagnie du chemin de fer de Paris à Orléans, avril, 1839," in AN F^{14} 8900; A. Audiganne, *Les Chemins de fer aujourd'hui et dans cents ans* (Paris, 1858–62), 1: 245; compare Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible*, 180–81. For the August 9, 1839 law, see Alfred Picard, *Les Chemins de fer français: Etude historique sur la constitution et le régime du réseau* (Paris, 1884), 1: 178.

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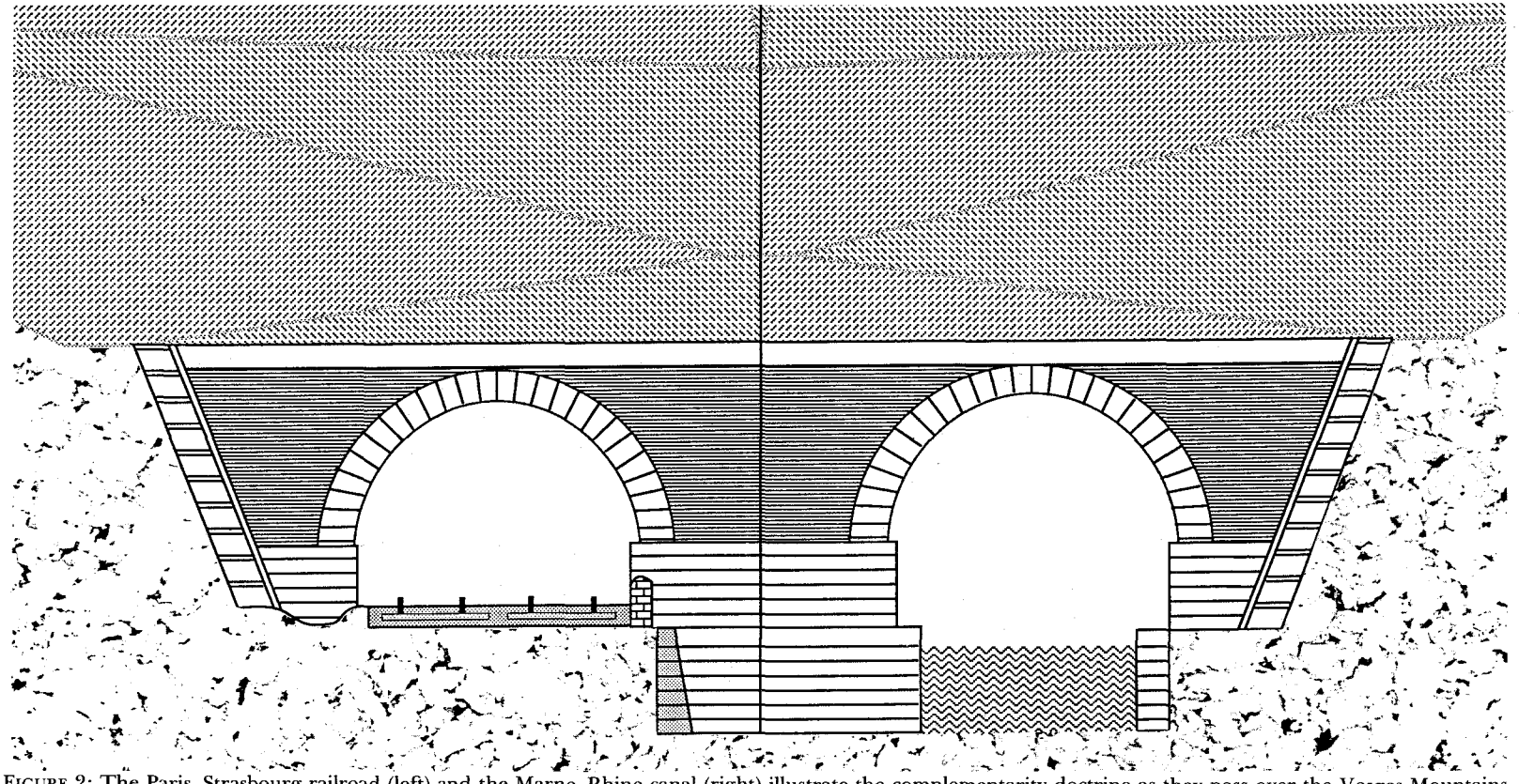


FIGURE 2: The Paris–Strasbourg railroad (left) and the Marne–Rhine canal (right) illustrate the complementarity doctrine as they pass over the Vosges Mountains through twin tunnels at Arschwiller. Both opened in the 1850s. Redrawn by Julia Aureden, Drexel University Graphics Lab, from the atlas of Emile Malézieux, *Cours de navigation intérieure, 1876–77* (Paris, n.d.), figure 7, plate 65.

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who had built the cheapest railroads in England. Although it held Locke to grades of five millimeters per meter in the valley of the Seine—and later gloated when his bridge at Barentin fell of its own weight—the Corps had to swallow much cost-cutting and give up the 10 percent limit on profits. The Anglo-Saxon mammonists and their French lackeys had seized a main line of the Legrand Star.[33]

At the same time, the Legrand Star was attacked from within the gates. Ranked so low at the Ecole Polytechnique that he qualified only for a position in the state tobacco monopoly, Edmond Teisserenc de Bort was drawn to Auguste Perdonnet, an apostate polytechnician who since 1831 had preached cheap railroads at the Ecole Centrale. Obtaining a clerkship in the public works ministry in 1837, Teisserenc took advantage of the Corps' defeat the next year to survey and report on the state railroads of Belgium. The cost-conscious state engineers of this new nation had built with sharp curves, steep grades, and single track. In 1842, marshaling British data showing that grades steeper than five millimeters per meter had little effect on total operating costs, he blasted the costly Navier principles as a waste of national capital. Finally, he asserted that the railroad was a total transport revolution, denouncing the complementarity doctrine as a figment of the Corps' logico-deductive discourse. And, if building both canals and railroads was a needless duplication of capital investment, then the Legrand Star layout was also wrong. Instead of Paris as the national rail hub, Teisserenc and others proposed "intermediate centers" between Paris and the extremities of the Hexagon. A common trunk from Paris would fork at Troyes, one branch going to Strasbourg and the other to Lyon—incidentally making his father-in-law's hometown a provincial rail center. In 1844, outraged at cost overruns on the Marne–Rhine and the Garonne lateral canals, Parliament followed Teisserenc's advice and cut off funds, thereby rejecting complementarity for the first time.[34]

Yet the Corps prevailed. Joseph Locke was the first and last British engineer to build a main line in France. One of the Corps' best, Adolphe Jullien, took charge of the Paris–Orléans route and built for fuel economy and low rates. Steep grades and sharp curves were not only uneconomic, he told students at the Ecole, but dangerous to passengers as well. In the commission that produced the railroad law of 1842, Legrand preserved the Corps' planning and engineering authority, despite the appearance of compromise. While the main lines were conceded to

[33] Defontaine to Legrand, May 26, 1839, AN F^{14} 2206. For a strong apologia for the Corps, H. C. Emmery, *Notice abrégée sur l'histoire, l'organisation et l'utilité sociale de l'institution des ponts et chaussées en France* (Paris, 1839), 4–25. On the Paris–Channel road, see Affleck, "Beginnings of Modern Transport," 153–85; D. Heullant, "Le Chemin de fer de Paris à la Mer: Sa phase finale, 1840–48," *Annales de Normandie*, 27 (March 1977): 37–56; J. A. Durbec, "Contributions à l'histoire du chemin de fer de Paris à la Mer, 1825–1843," *Actes du 81e congrès national des sociétés savantes* (Rouen-Caen, 1956), 663–77; N. W. Webster, *Joseph Locke* (London, 1970), 140–41; F. Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps* (Paris, 1862) 5: 118–19. On Locke's hasty building, the failure at Barentin, and British engineers *improvisés*, Régistre du Conseil Général, February 19 and 23, 1846, AN F^{14} 10912^{111}; *Journal du génie civil*, 4 (1846): 260. Compare the June 27, 1846 *Journal des chemins de fer*, which the *Journal du génie civil* called "Journal des Anglais." Arthur Helps, *Life and Labours of Mr Brassey* (1872; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 55, 68.

[34] J. Lenoble, *P. E. Teisserenc de Bort* (Limoges, 1917), 30–36; Edmond Teisserenc de Bort, *Les Travaux publics en Belgique et les chemins de fer en France: Rapport adressé à M. le ministre des travaux publics* (Paris, 1839), 148–588; *De la politique des chemins de fer et de ses applications diverses* (Paris, 1842), 314–16, 342–43, 566; *Rapport adressé à M. le ministre de travaux publics sur les chemins de fer* (July 1843); François Pothier, *Histoire de l'Ecole centrale des arts et manufactures . . .* (Paris, 1887), 169–70. A. Perdonnet, "Les Canaux et les chemins de fer," *Journal des chemins de fer*, 4 (April 26, May 3, 10, 1845): 270–72; 291–94; 324–25. In a more extreme liberal diatribe by a polytechnician turned industrialist, Adrien Féline, *Le Ministère devenu communiste sur la question des voies de communications* (Paris, 1842), 4–16, characterized the Corps' indirect returns as "un revenu invisible et inappréciable."

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private companies to operate and maintain, unlike the canals, the law of 1842 (in direct contrast to the Prussian law of 1838) reserved to the Corps the layout, location, and the civil engineering—no matter whether the capital to build was furnished by private companies or the state. Subsequently, in 1845 and 1846, Legrand's office elaborated a regulatory regime subjecting every aspect of construction and operation to state inspection.[35]

In the special commission charged with implementing the 1842 rail law, the Corps allied with the military engineers to defeat the common trunk idea. The direct route from Paris to the eastern frontier was a strategic necessity, as well as a commercial advantage for Strasbourg. To the objection that the convergence of main lines on Paris would create a national bottleneck, Legrand replied that the Corps was projecting a belt line ("chemin de fer de ceinture") to allow through traffic to go around the capital. Even though it was well known that the Germans were putting down hundreds of kilometers of single track, with sharp curves, steep grades, inclined planes, and wooden bridges, the commission persuaded Parliament that France did not want makeshift railroads that would have to be rebuilt—"pas de provisoire"—no matter what the Belgians, Germans, and Americans might be doing. When lay members of the commission feared that a Paris–Lyon line running side by side with the Burgundy canal would take its traffic, Legrand intoned the complementarity doctrine once again.[36]

The proof of the Corps' 1842 victory was in the building. Its engineers constructed the Northern line to Belgium with maximum grades and minimum curves that cost much more than preeminent British railroad engineer Robert Stephenson had found reasonable. The Paris–Strasbourg line finally went by the valley of the Marne, but maximum grades across the Vosges Mountains were also held to eight millimeters per meter. To begin the Paris–Lyon in 1844, Legrand chose Adolphe Jullien, back in the Corps after finishing the Paris–Orléans. Never had so much earth been moved, boasted Legrand, "not even in England." Although Jullien and his team were building for posterity, not profit, in 1846 a bold company took the concession with the official cost estimates and the Jullien team as its engineers. During the depression of the next year, Jullien informed the company that costs would be 50 percent more than estimated. In the crisis following the revolution of 1848, the company expired, and the road reverted to the state, while

[35] Victorin Chevalier, "Considerations sur l'influence des pentes des chemins de fer," *APCMD* (1839), 2: 1–5, 75–83, argued for a relaxation of Navier's rules. But Jullien explains, in his June 1839 "Réponse à la compagnie du chemin de fer de Paris à Orléans," that the High Council imposed gentle grades to save operating costs and reduce rates; AN F^{14} 8900; see also "Notes prises au cours de chemins de fer, 1842–43: Leçons faites à l'Ecole des ponts et chausées ayant pour objet la description des travaux exécutés sur la chemin de fer de Paris à Orléans," ENPC. For the rationale of the 1842 law, incorporating the Legrand Star, see *Moniteur universel*, April 19 and May 27, 1842; A. Audiganne, "Les Chemins de fer: Les Chemins de fer sous le gouvernement de Juillet," *Revue des deux mondes*, 2d ser., 9 (February 15, 1855): 853, saw that the law was a victory for Legrand's Corps, as had bankers at the time including James de Rothchild; Ratcliffe, "Railway Imperialism," 77; François Bartholony, *Résultats économiques des chemins de fer, ou observations pratiques . . . sur le meilleur système d'application de la loi du 11 juin 1842* (Paris, 1844); compare A. J. Tudesq, "Parlement et administration sous la Monarchie de Juillet," in *Administration et parlement depuis 1815*, 26; David H. Pinkney, *Decisive Years in France: 1840–1847* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 36–37. For the inefficacy of the law's original financial provisions, Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible*, 185–90. For Legrand's success in preserving the Corps' role, see "Commission des chemins de fer," AN 12 AQ 8. For the regulatory regime of 1845, E. J. F. Lamé-Fleury, *Receuil méthodique et chronologique des lois, décrets, ordonnances, arrêtés . . . concernant le service des ingénieurs au corps impérial des mines* (Paris, 1857), 2: 581–87, 606–26, 931–32.

[36] May 31, July 18, December 9, December 11, 1843, "Procès verbaux des séances de la commission supérieure des chemins de fer," AN F^{14} 9005; *Moniteur universel*, July 17, 1844. A. G. A. Baumgarten, *Notice sur l'état des chemins de fer allemands en 1844* (Paris, 1846), 2–20.

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Jullien's team worked on for much less pay. When a new company formed in 1852, once again the Jullien team became its engineers. Among them was the young American-born James Irénée Bidermann, who had appalled his Dupont relatives on the Brandywine when he wrote that, rather than return to the land of the free and practice "charlatanism" to please the "vile multitude" of railroad stockholders, he would remain in France to serve under the "enlightened men" of the Corps. Enlightened or not, they realized the Navier-Legrand vision of the railroad as rapid transit. When in 1850 the Northern hosted a delegation of German rail officials after a 30 km-per-hour ride from Aachen through Belgium, they were amazed to be whisked to Paris behind the great driving wheels of a Crampton at 65 kms per hour.[37] The high-speed TGV was only 130 years in the future.

Nor did the Corps lose the Marne–Rhine and Garonne lateral canals. Personifying the complementarity doctrine as engineer of the both the Marne–Rhine canal and the parallel Paris–Strasbourg railroad, Charles Collignon entered the rail-water pamphlet war heaping scorn on the "housewife" mentality of Teisserenc, Perdonnet, and company. France was "quite far from this principle of Adam Smith that no transport lines should be built except those that can pay for themselves with their direct revenues . . . For the State, looking perforce to the future from the same height from which it looks down upon the narrow combinations of private interest, the railroad is not the antagonist, it is the complement of the canal." In 1846, Legrand returned to Parliament, citing the improvements on the Erie Canal related to him by its chief engineer William McAlpine on a visit to Paris, and won new canal monies to avoid wasting the capital already invested. The river improvement necessary for the national waterway system to become a functioning whole was already under way. Becquey's commitment of 1821–1822 had worked as intended.[38]

In 1848, liberalism roared louder than in 1830. Under the early Second Republic, graduates of the Ecole Centrale, now several hundred strong, organized a society of private engineers, calling for English-style "industrial liberty" as well as the virtual dissolution of the Corps. L. L. Vallée, author of Legrand's project for the Paris–Belgium railroad, retorted that they and their school were born and bred in the English cult of private greed. When in May the government presented a bill to nationalize the distressed rail companies, F. A. Cavenne, seventy-five-year-old head of the High Council, welcomed it as proof that Legrand had been right in 1838. But the bill failed, and in the reaction following the June Days, liberals went on the offensive, attempting to reform the curriculum at the Ecole Polytechnique and charging a commission with leasing the canals to rail interests. This was an old mammonist proposal Legrand had battled for years. In the spring of 1847, at last finding himself fatally at odds with a new minister, he summed up his public philosophy. Looking back, he regretted that the financial agreements of 1821–1822

[37] For the maximum grades, see *Enquête sur les moyens d'assurer la régularité et la sûreté de l'exploitation sur les chemins de fer* (Paris, 1858), 17. Jouffroy, *Une Etape de la construction des grandes lignes*, 2: 204–06, 219–20. On the Paris–Lyon, see A. Picard, *Les Chemins de fer français*, 2: 6. Legrand to Jullien, August 4, 1844, AN F^{14} 2250^{1}. Also see the dossier of F. Jacqmin, AN F^{14} 2246^{1}. For Legrand's boast, see *Situation des travaux au 31 décembre 1845* (Paris, 1845), 369. For liberal attacks on Jullien, the *Journal des chemins de fer* of September 5, 1846, and December 16, 1848. For access to the May 30, 1842 letter of J. I. Bidermann, a Dupont on his mother's side who repatriated to France and went through the Ecole Polytechnique and into the Corps, I thank Mme. Fauvargues, his descendent. On the rapid Northern, J. M. Jouffroy, "Aperçu du développement du réseau ferré en Europe de 1830 à 1848," *Annales de géographie*, 40 (1931): 518.

[38] Charles Collignon, *Du concours des canaux et des chemins de fer et de l'achèvement du canal de la Marne au Rhin* (Paris, 1845), 175–76,189; *Moniteur universel*, May 9, 1846.

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had let the bankers block the reduction of tolls on the canals. Looking forward, he implored the government not to abandon the canals to these interests that already owned mining companies and railroads. The state itself might be unable to control such a concentration of financial might. The same rhetoric reappeared in the abortive railroad nationalization bill of 1848: big companies were "feudal," aristocratic; public transport was democratic. Even though Legrand left office in December 1847 and died the next summer, his protégé Ernest de Franqueville carried on his fight in the canal commission of 1849 and prevailed in the Council of State. The Corps kept its canals, coming through yet another revolution intact, except for the usual retirements and new buttons on its uniform. Just as Victor Legrand in 1832 had taken charge and pressed on with Becquey's canals while beginning the railroads, so in the early 1850s Franqueville took charge, completed the Legrand Star, and kept the canals alive.[39]

To German observers ashamed of the fifty railroad administrations that persisted in their own disunited country, Franqueville's consolidation of the twenty-eight French railroad companies of 1852 into six big regional monopolies was rationalism triumphant. Not only would France avoid the wasteful competition so evident among the Anglo-Saxons but his requirement that the natural rail monopolies provide service beyond the main routes was also an application of the Corps' public economics. When profits on the busy main lines reached a certain limit, the railroad *qua* regulated monopoly had to use the surplus to build the less profitable secondary lines needed to distribute the railroad's benefits. To attract investors, the state guaranteed the stockholder a minimum return, with the result that nine-tenths of rail investment during the Second Empire was private. To run these public enterprises, Franqueville sent forth his best men, numbering eighty-six by 1867, while 270 others administered the regulatory regime Legrand had set up in 1845–1846—all of them slipping back and forth from the companies to their corps with an ease known as *pantouflage*. During the 1860s, they spent 2 billion francs building the secondary lines with gentle grades and wide curves, regardless of how much traffic was expected, thus completing the Legrand Star in the spirit of Navier—at a cost well above that of other Continental railroads. At Philadelphia in 1876, American engineers admired the handsome results, but Eugène Flachat—seven times president of the French society of private engineers—charged that cost-conscious engineering could have saved the billion francs needed to enlarge the main-line facilities now clogged with traffic from the new secondary lines. True to Legrand's precept and example of defending the public against private greed, however, Franqueville remained proud to have forced the "big purses," as he called

[39] On the society of private engineers and their demands, see John H. Weiss, "Bridges and Barriers: Narrowing Access and Changing Structure in the French Engineering Profession, 1800–1850," in G. L. Geison, ed., *Professions and the French State, 1700–1900* (Philadelphia, 1984); *Société des Ingénieurs Civils de France: Mémoires et Documents* (hereafter, *SICMD*) (Paris, 1848), 12–15, 95–96; *Observations presentées au comité des travaux publics de l'Assemblée nationales par la Société Centrale des ingénieurs civils sur le project de décret relatif au mode de recrutement du Corps des ponts et chaussées* (Paris, 1848), 9–13, 29–30. L. L. Vallée, *Changements d'organisation proposées pour l'Ecole polytechnique et pour les ponts et chaussées* (Paris, 1848), 18–30. On the rail nationalization bill, Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible*, 201–06. For Franqueville's veneration of Legrand, see Charles de Franqueville, *Souvenirs intimes sur la vie de mon père* (Paris, 1878): 140–41, 189–208. For Legrand's policy testament of April 27, 1847, AN F^{14} 7076. For Cavenne at Legrand's funeral, *APCMD* (1848), 2: 370. For Franqueville's canal victory, see the proceedings of July 28 and August 15, 1849; and the Conseil d'Etat, November 13, 1850, in AN 138 AP 225.

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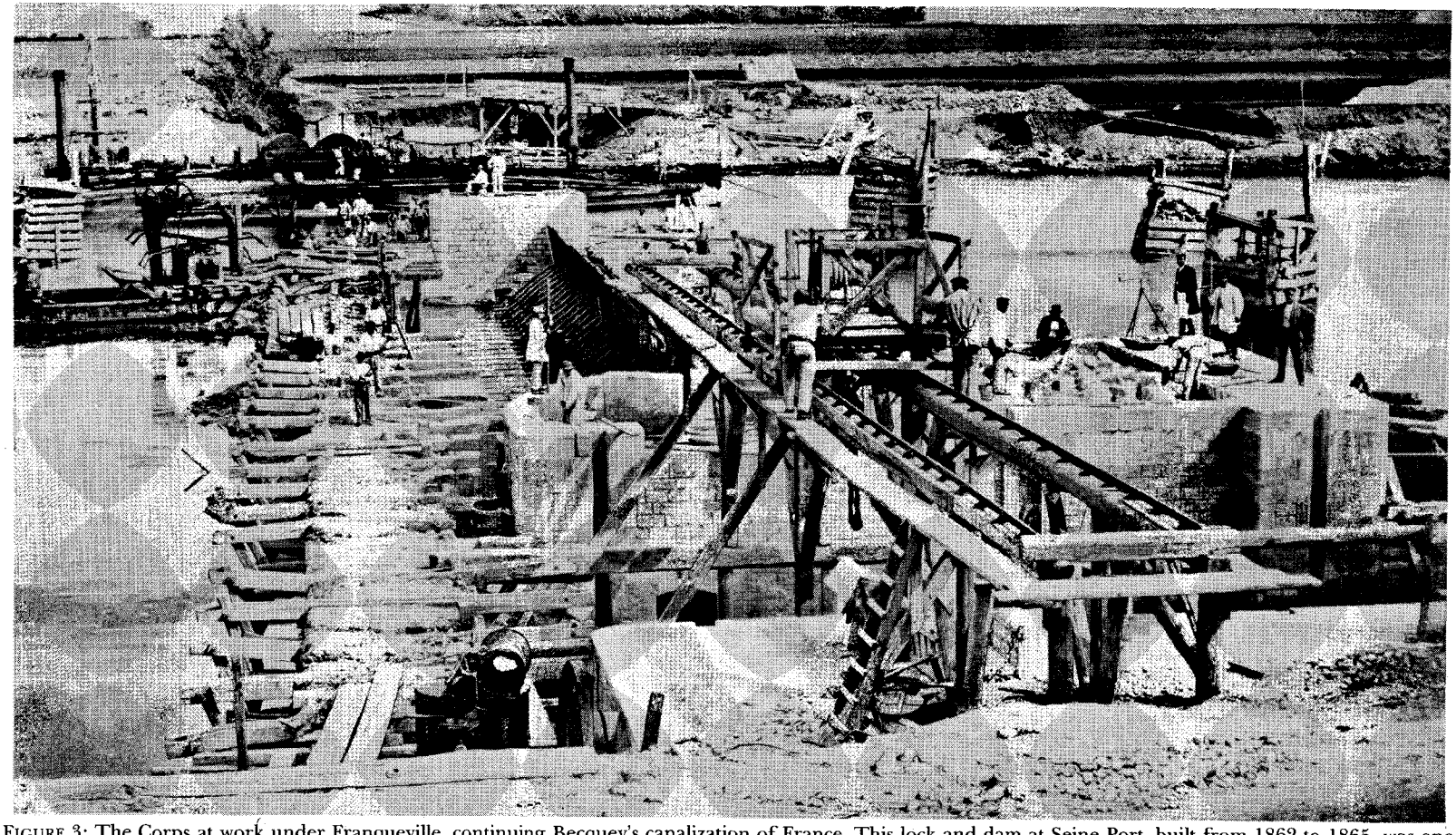


FIGURE 3: The Corps at work under Franqueville, continuing Becquey's canalization of France. This lock and dam at Seine-Port, built from 1862 to 1865, was one of twelve intended to maintain a depth of two meters from Paris upstream to Montereau. From Léonce Reynaud, ed., *Les Travaux publics de la France* (Paris, 1883), vol. 3, plate 1. (The ministry of public works prepared a collection of these photographs for the Vienna Exposition of 1873 and almost certainly displayed them again at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in the Corps' pavilion in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.) Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

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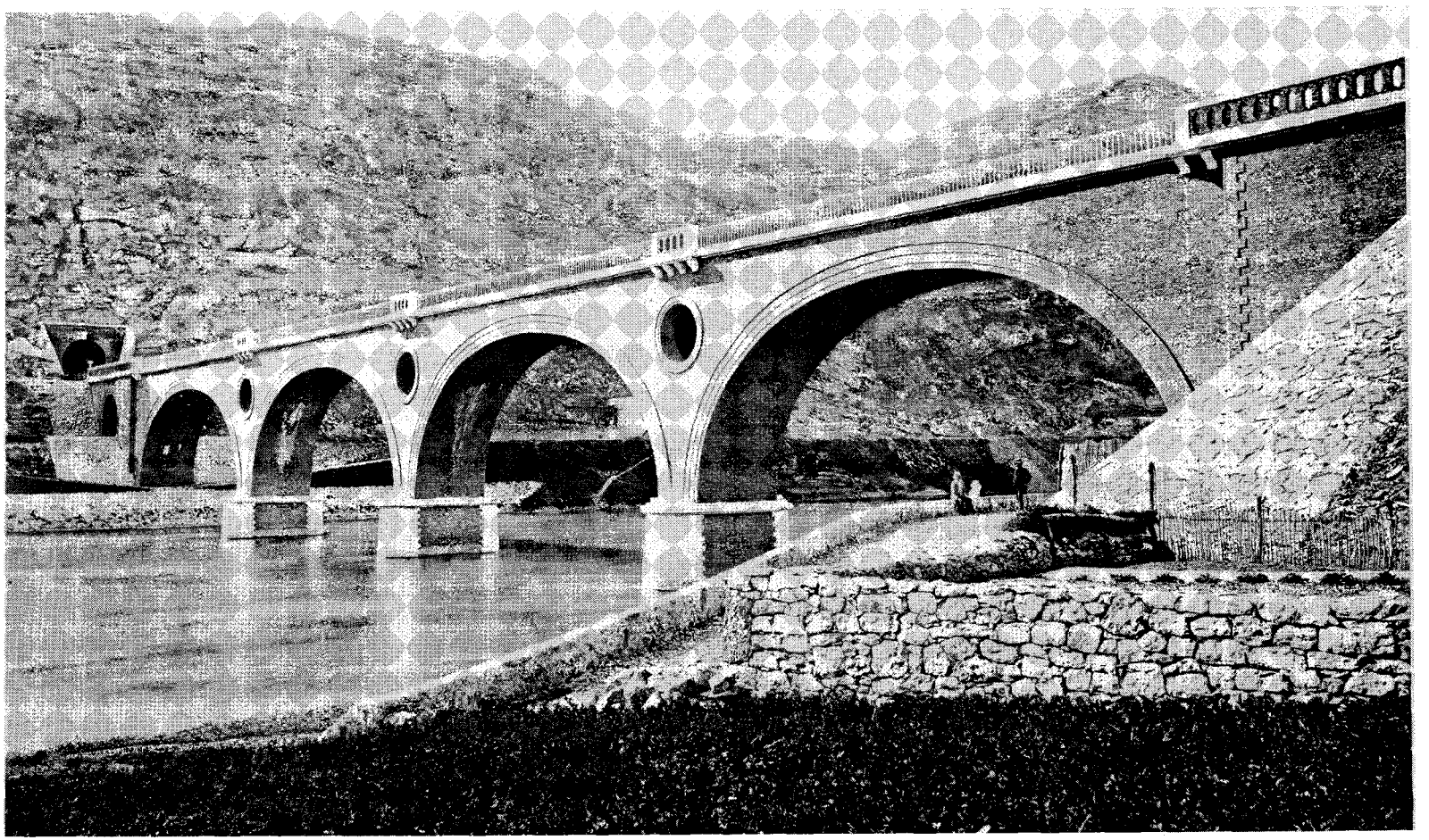


FIGURE 4: The elegance of the Franqueville railroads is evident here in the four 25–meter basket handle arches of the masonry bridge at Luzech, built in 1868–1869. From Léonce Reynaud, ed., *Les Travaux publics de la France* (Paris, 1883), vol. 2, plate 22. Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

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Pereire and James de Rothchild, to provide railroads for the neglected parts of the country.[40]

Yet, no sooner had the trunk lines been opened than one chamber of commerce after another complained that freight rates remained too high and that differential rates were unfair to small shippers. The Corps responded by updating its complementarity doctrine, and Franqueville attained Legrand's goal of buying out the toll-sharing rights of companies that had lent money for the Becquey canals. Now, as third-year students explained in unison in the 1859 essays assigned at the Ecole, the state could lower the canal tolls enough to moderate the railroad monopoly. But, unable to secure the much larger sums needed to standardize bigger locks with increased water supply, Franqueville watched as the canals lost ever more traffic to the rapidly improving railroads.[41]

IN THE SUMMER OF 1870, France collapsed before the onslaught of a foe whose railroads the Corps did not admire. Bismarck's armies arrived first with the most, transporting three soldiers to the war zone for every two French soldiers that arrived in time. The proximate reason was that, although German railroads were still run by fifty private and public administrations, the Prussian military had coordinated them better than the French had theirs. But a more fundamental reason, as General von Moltke observed just before the war, was the Legrand Star itself. Whereas no fewer than six lines would convey troops from the North German Confederation to railheads in the war zone between the Moselle and the Rhine, only the Paris–Strasbourg was ready to move the bulk of French troops to the front, where they could detrain only at Strasbourg or Metz, with the Vosges Mountains in between. The high-speed Eastern delivered French troops already garrisoned on its route to Alsace before Bismarck's army stirred—but without their reserve units and supplies. Reservists often lived far from their regimental depots, owing to the French doctrine that every regiment should be an amalgam of the

[40] Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Die Moderne Technik und die Deutsche Industrie* (Freiburg, 1965), 185–86. For the rationale of the fusions and the *déversoir*, AN F^{14} 11170; *Moniteur universel*, May 18–31, 1859; Franqueville, *Souvenirs intimes*, 240–52; Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris, 1952), 155–283. On the state engineers in the companies, see Jules Brunfaut, *Etudes sur les voies de transports en France* (Paris, 1876), 316; speeches by Eugène Flachat, *SICMD* (1867), 42–43; *ibid.* (1872), 300–01. On costs of railroad building in different countries, Dionysius Lardner, *Railroad Economy; A Treatise on the New Art of Transport* (London, 1850), 69, 342, 367, 376, 401; Octave Chanute, "Engineering Progress in the United States," *Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, 9 (1880): 227; "Tableau successif des longueurs de chemins livrés à l'exploitation et des dépenses kilométriques de premier établissement (c. 1830–1860)," ENPC; Ministère des travaux publics, *Enquête sur les moyens d'assurer la régularité et la sûreté de l'exploitation sur les chemins de fers* (Paris, 1868), 414–23; 425–28; Zerah Colburn and Alexander Holley, *The Permanent Way and Coal-burning Locomotive Boilers of European Railways* (New York, 1858), 17–20. For Eugène Flachat's criticism of the Franqueville railroads, see his speech, *SICMD* (1872), 299–304; compare Helps, *Life and Labours*, 333–34; A. Brunot and R. Coquand, *Le Corps des ponts et chaussées* (Paris, 1982), 257–73. On the six companies as public enterprises, see Yves Leclercq, "Les Transfers financiers Etat-compagnies privées de chemin de fer d'intérêt général (1833–1908)," *Revue économique*, 33 (September 1982): 896–923.

[41] Henri de Ruolz, *Rapport sur les réclamations des chambres de commerce et de divers conseils généraux, concernant le principe et l'application des tarifs différentiels* (Paris, 1858); L. Girard, *La Politique*, 246–47; François Caron, *Histoire de l'exploitation d'un grand réseau: La Compagnie du chemin de fer du Nord, 1846–1937* (Paris, 1973), 500–50. Leclercq, *Le Réseau impossible*, 50–62, argues that small and medium producers had held up progress during the July Monarchy. Concours de style, April 16, 1859. Some of the fifteen seniors submitting essays on April 17, 1861 ("Déterminer le rôle et le caractère distinctif des routes, des voies navigables, et des chemins de fers dans le système de la circulation générale") had difficulty reaching the conclusion that tripartite complementarity would be eternal.

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grande nation, so they crowded into stations everywhere waiting to criss-cross the country. In 1870, the Legrand Star ensured that many passed through Paris, some reservists in Strasbourg journeying via the capital to don their uniforms in Bordeaux before returning to fight in Alsace. And, as the Germans demonstrated, once Paris was captured, the Legrand Star was headless. After the war, the French high command insisted that, for rapid mobilization and more direct movement to the northern frontier, transversal lines were vital. By 1899, ten lines led to the war zone. Meanwhile, the need for freight to move directly between the north and the east without going by way of Paris also became obvious. By 1913, the northeast rail corridor, built piecemeal after 1880 from Dunkirk to Nancy, carried more freight than any other—noisy testimony to the Legrand Star's error.[42] Just as the Becquey plan came out of the Restoration of 1815, the Legrand plan out of the Revolution of 1830, and the Franqueville out of 1848, so out of the defeat and civil strife of 1870–1871 came the Freycinet plan of the Third Republic—the Corps' golden opportunity to realize Legrand's vision of the railroad as the instrument of national civilization and the waterway as its natural complement. True, the French Revolution of 1870–1871 once again encouraged private engineers to call for an end of the "système polytechnique," while the monarchist National Assembly's decentralization commission of 1871 posed a threat reminiscent of 1848, 1830, and 1789. But the Corps not only suffered little from the transfer of local road building to the *départements*, it soon prepared for expansion.[43]

Legend has it that the Republic's grand program of public works sprang full blown from an evening meeting of Léon Gambetta, Léon Say, and Charles Freycinet soon after they won the elections of 1877. Their plan proposed to invest unprecedented sums, but its use of public works to stimulate employment and divert attention from politics was nothing new. In addition to Freycinet, a railroad engineer of the mining corps catapulted to fame as Gambetta's lieutenant in the National Defense, the Corps was well represented in Parliament by Eugène

[42] For the Conseil Supérieure de la Guerre's perception that the Legrand Star was dysfunctional, see Allan Mitchell, *Victors and Vanquished: The German Influence on Army and Church in France after 1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), 49–70. For Helmuth von Moltke's pre-war perception that, owing to the Legrand Star, most of the French army would have to be detrained at Strasbourg and Metz, "getrennt durch den Vosgen Gebirgen," see his "Denkschrift vom Winter, 1868–1869," in *Moltkes Militärische Korrespondenz* (Berlin, 1897), 123. On the rapid transport of 220,000 troops along the Eastern to Strasbourg, see Alfred Ernouf, *Histoire des chemins de fer français pendant la guerre franco-prussienne* (Paris, 1874), 12–13. Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871* (New York, 1962): 44, 60–69; and Richard Holmes, *The Road to Sedan: The French Army, 1866–70* (London, 1984), 170–78, only allude to the importance of the rail layout. Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (New York, 1977), 86–87, 106, adduces the superior construction and speed of the Legrand Star while ignoring its strategic flaw. Most informative, except on the strategic liability of the Legrand Star, is Thomas J. Adriance, *The Last Gaiter Button: A Study of the Mobilization and Concentration of the French Army in the War of 1870* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 24 and n. 21, 32–34, 48, 68, 70, 104–05. For the efforts to correct the Legrand Star, H. Budde, *Die Französischen Eisenbahnen im Krieg, 1870–71: Ihren Seitherigen Entwicklung in militärische Hinsicht* (Berlin, 1877); Edwin A. Pratt, *The Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest, 1833–1914* (London, 1915), 170–74. If in 1914, ironically, the Legrand Star proved ideal for concentrating troops in Paris for the battle of the Marne, it was not appropriate for the race to the sea that followed. Joseph Le Hénaff and Henri Bornecque, *Les Chemins de fer français et la guerre* (Paris, 1922), xii, 22, 92–93, 151. On the northeast freight corridor, A. Labaste, "Les Relations par voie ferrée entre l'Est et le Nord de la France," *Annales de géographie*, 41 (January 15, 1932): 242–57.

[43] For the private engineers' attack, see "Communication du comité sur le système de recrutement des ingénieurs de l'Etat," *SICMD* (1871), 506–12; and *ibid.* (1872), 78–246. On decentralization, Guy Thuillier, "La Commission de révision des services administratifs, 1871–1873," *Revue de droit publique*, 4 (1976): 956–76. In defense of the Corps, Théodore Lévy, *Mémoire sur l'administration des ponts et chaussées: Considérations sur son rôle dans l'organisme politique, administratif et militaire de la France* (Paris, 1872), 5–97; Régistre du Conseil de l'Ecole, May 27, 1873. Guillerme, *Corps à corps sur la route*, 58–63.

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Caillaux, Henri Varroy, Ernest Cézanne, J. B. Krantz, and Sadi Carnot, later president of the Republic. Dominating the transport commission set up by the royalist parliament in 1871, Krantz and Cézanne used widespread complaints about the inadequacy and high price of transport to revive the complementarity doctrine and call for modernization of the waterways. Concurrently, while a high military commission featuring the royalist Marshall Macmahon debated army reform, a special civil-military commission reorganized railroad mobilization, making it clear that, whether monarchists or republicans finally took power, new rail lines would be built, if only for military reasons. "When it comes to developing transport," declared the minister of public works Deseilligny shortly before the approval of the Canal de l'Est to reconnect waterways mutilated by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, "there are no parties in this Assembly." Nor in the Corps. In 1875, conservative Eugène Caillaux, the Corps' first minister of public works, proposed new railroads in thirty *départements*, and republican Sadi Carnot soon afterward proposed that it be voted the money to build them. When Freycinet became republican minister of public works at the end of 1877, a nonpartisan public works movement was well under way in Parliament and the bureaucracy. Immediately, he named his fellow graduate of Ecole Polytechnique, Carnot, undersecretary of the ministry. Varroy succeeded Freycinet as minister at the end of 1879, followed in 1880 by Carnot, who summoned Franqueville's favorite, Alfred Picard, initiating his rise through a succession of key posts to the virtual headship of the Corps by 1900. With this team at work, Freycinet campaigned across the country in the fall of 1878, touting the plan's republican beneficence—a trip reminiscent of Becquey's travels for an earlier plan. So strong was the lure of contracts and a thousand jobs in a corps of auxiliary engineers that even the private engineers' president welcomed the Republic's initiative to counter the stagnation of French industry. The Corps benefited, too. Classes entering the Ecole des Ponts from Polytechnique were doubled in 1878–1882 and hurried through in two years instead of three.[44]

Nearly a billion francs was allocated to waterway modernization. All of France was to benefit from canals enlarged and standardized for the 300-ton Flemish barge that had done so much for the flat and rainy north. When Isaac Pereire objected to this duplication of capital investment that would also deprive the railroads of traffic needed to utilize their plant and reduce rates, Gambetta scorned him as a Bonapartist speculator. And, as would be expected, shippers were not averse to lower rates on waterways built and maintained at taxpayer expense. When the Republic removed all tolls from French waterways in 1880, the minister of public works Carnot applied Colbert's ideal of no tolls as passed down by Perronet,

[44] For the economic rationale of the plan as well as the early revulsion against it by Say and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, see Yasuo Gonjo, "Le Plan Freycinet, 1878–1882: Un Aspect de la grande dépression économique en France," *Revue historique*, 128 (1972): 49–86. For the republican ideology of the *grand programme*, see Charles de Freycinet, *Souvenirs, 1848–1878* (Paris, 1912), 2: 6, 10–11; *Le Temps*, January 10, 1878; *La République française*, July 15 and 28, 1879. On the parliamentary Ponts and the Freycinet team, see Franqueville, *Souvenirs intimes*, 466; Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 252–53, 307–08, 331, 340 n. 1; personnel dossiers of Carnot and Picard, AN F^{14} 12565; Christophe Charle, *Les Elites de la République, 1880–1900* (Paris, 1987), 193. For Krantz and the waterway revival in the transport commission, 1871–1875, AN C 3005; reports in *Annales de l'Assemblée nationale*, 31 (June 3, 1874): 501, 513; *Annales du Sénat et de la Chambre des Députés* (hereafter, *ASCD*) (March 14, 1878), and (July 10, 1879): 82–133. Deseilligny is quoted by Caron, *Histoire de l'exploitation*, 178; on the military and the railroad, Mitchell, *Victors and Vanquished*, 37, 60–64. On the Canal de l'Est, see Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 402. On the Corps' expansion, and the auxilliary corps, *Revue générale des chemins de fer*, 1 (December 1878): 429; C. Freycinet, "Rapport sur l'exécution du programme de travaux publics," *Journal officiel*, December 31, 1879; Régistre du Conseil de l'Ecole des Ponts, April 30, 1879, April 30, October 14, 1880, June 3, 1881, ENPC, Paris. For the private engineers' response, *SICMD* (1879), 86–92.

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Prony, Legrand, and Franqueville. Becquey's error was finally corrected, and canal traffic picked up.[45]

Freycinet also burdened France with Europe's densest rail network. The High Council of the Corps, to its credit, prudently recommended an addition of only 5,000 kilometers allocated according to need, but, once the prospects for local benefits opened up, Parliament voted three times as much. Harking back to Navier and Legrand, Freycinet and Varroy promised that the indirect returns of the new lines would be four times their direct returns because they would reduce transport costs by four-fifths—a gross violation, as Jules Dupuit, the Corps' engineer-economist, had demonstrated in the 1840s, of the principle of diminishing marginal utility. Yet, when opposition deputies cried nonsense, Freycinet and Gambetta called them merchants and concierges. Whatever his grasp of marginalism, Freycinet the statesman aimed higher than the economic truth: the new railroads would carry the Republic to the villages of rural France, stimulate the sluggish economy in general, and make mobilization of the army far more effective than in 1870.[46]

Just as one large majority had voted for the Becquey plan under the Restoration, so now fifty years later another voted for the Freycinet plan to promote the general welfare of the Third Republic. Many of the new lines proved no more economic than the Brittany Canal. But, to the extent that they circulated the people and ideas that turned backward peasants into citizens of the Republic, Freycinet's new lines realized Victor Legrand's early vision of the railroad as a carrier of civilization. And, when in 1914, they sped more troops to Paris for the battle of the Marne, marginalism would not have been statesmanship.[47]

Just before his death in 1913, having defended complementarity for forty years, doyen of the Corps Alfred Picard finally concluded that no more canals should be built. Unlike the student of unintended consequences, he saw no use in dwelling on past mistakes: France must make the best of what it had inherited. Naturally, the private engineers were less philosophic. The Corps, charged Eugène Flachat, had immobilized scarce national capital in premature highways, obsolete canals, and overbuilt railroads. It had, continued Emile Marché in 1883, "made the country poorer while trying to make it richer." In 1889, Gustave Eiffel saluted Flachat and attributed the real prosperity of France to private engineers like himself—not to the mandarins of the state.[48]

[45] Isaac Pereire, *La Question des chemins de fer* (Paris, 1879), 19, 58–60; *La République française*, August 1, 1879. Caron, *Histoire de l'exploitation*, 572.

[46] On the High Council's priorities, *Avis du Conseil général sur le classement du réseau complémentaire des chemin de fer d'intérêt général* (Paris, 1878); Paul Guillemain, "Le Corps des ponts et chaussées," in *Ecole Polytechnique: Livre du Centénaire*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1894), 39–49; J. B. Krantz pointed out that ever more railroads would turn neither Russia nor France into a bigger Belgium; *ASCD*, 8 (July 10, 1879): 82–92. On the active military support for the dense rail network, Mitchel, *Victors and Vanquished*, 60–64. For the speeches of Varroy and Freycinet, *ASCD*, 8 (July 10 and 11, 1879): 102–16, 130–31. On the failure of Dupuit's marginalism to influence policy, see François Etner, "Note sur Dupuit," *Revue économique*, 34 (1983): 1021–35; Tarbé de Saint-Hardouin, *Notices biographiques*, 231; Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 215; Caron, *Histoire de l'exploitation*, 178–79.

[47] Freycinet, *Souvenirs*, 83; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), chap. 12; Alain Corbin, *Archaïsme et modernité en Limousin au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1975), 1: 119–51. Mitchell, *Victors and Vanquished*, 64, dubs Freycinet the victor of the Marne; yet if his capillary lines picked up soldiers far and wide, it was the Legrand–Franqueville main lines that sped them to Paris.

[48] Alfred Picard, *Les Chemins de fer français* (Paris, 1918), 671–72. On Picard's distinquished thirty-year career at the top of the Corps, in the Conseil d'Etat, and on most transport commissions, see AN F^{14} 12565. For Flachat's attacks, see his presidential addresses in *SICMD* (1849), 203–10; (1858), 29–37;

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But the private engineers had never posed a serious threat to the Corps. For, although their alma mater, the Ecole Centrale, was a private institution and anti-Polytechnique in educational philosophy, its liberalism faded once the state took it over in 1857. In any case, as engineers for private industry, its graduates lacked any leverage within the state administration. Sciences Po, a new school of liberalism whose graduates conquered the state by 1890, was the Corps' nemesis. Founded in 1871 in the aftermath of the national disaster that also gave rise to the Freycinet plan, Sciences Po aimed to impart the modern knowledge needed to run the Republic. In contrast to Polytechnique, it drew inspiration from J. B. Say, Guizot, Tocqueville, and Hippolyte Taine, teaching a love of historical fact and a distrust of theory. Its political economy was derived from the works of Adam Smith and J. B. Say as taught by Léon Say and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Anti-statism, the free market, private enterprise, and above all, a balanced budget were the watchwords. It was fateful that the 1876–1881 campaign to nationalize it—led by Hyppolyte Carnot, father of Freycinet's lieutenant Sadi Carnot—did not succeed. Sciences Po institutionalized the antithesis of the Corps' economics, and its liberal professors and graduates soon leveled a drumfire against public investment. They not only countered Gambetta's move to nationalize all the rail companies but took advantage of the stock market crash of 1882 to roll back the Freycinet plan, "conceived" as Leroy-Beaulieu remarked, "in a moment of hallucination." When what remained was turned over to the railroad companies the next year and the waterway revival terminated, droves of engineers left the Corps, and the Ecole cut its enrollment sharply. In 1903, Leroy-Beaulieu and Henri Chardon led the resistance that gutted the Baudin plan, yet another attempt to modernize French waterways. Besides the Council of State and key spots in ministerial cabinets, Sciences Po ran the all-powerful ministry of finance, imposing the balanced budget that thwarted the Corps for decades to come.[49]

Yet the Corps itself proved largely immune to liberal doctrine, even though one of its own converted and became an apostle of classical economics. Graduated near the bottom of his class, Clément Colson left the Ecole to study law and became an auditor of the Council of State. Assigned to the central administration, he reacted against the excesses of the Freycinet plan and turned to Sciences Po. His appointment in 1892 as professor of political economy at the Ecole des Ponts and at Polytechnique in 1914 was indeed a measure of liberal predominance. But Colson had little more success inside the seminaries of public engineering than St. Paul preaching to the Pharisees. His subject, professed at the Ecole des Ponts since 1846 by Joseph Garnier and then Henri Baudrillart, counted for little in class rankings, while the engineering professors continued to impart the traditional views. The dismal empiricism with which Colson extolled the free market and

(1859), 25–34; (1861), 34–40; (1862), 29; (1867), 39–62; (1872), 289–309; Marché (1883), 28; Eiffel (1889), 24–25.

[49] Osborne, *Grande Ecole for the Grands Corps*, 53–82, 91–103. On Sciences Po rail policy, Gabriel L. Jaray, "La Question du rachat et la gestion financière des chemins de fer de l'Etat français," *Annales des sciences politiques*, 17 (November 1902): 683–708; Emmanuel Chadeau, *Les Inspecteurs des Finances, 1850–1914: Profil social et role économique* (Paris, 1986), 7–16. On the Baudin plan, see J. Monestier, *Rapport au Sénat* (Paris, 1903); Pierre Saly, *La Politique des grands travaux en France, 1929–1937* (Paris, 1975; New York, 1977), 56–57; Daniel Bellet, "Les Canaux: Un Instrument de transport du passé," *ibid.*, 22 (1907): 471–502; Henri Chardon, *Les Travaux publics: Essais sur le fonctionment de nos administration* (Paris, 1904), 168–87; 237–41. On the budget cuts and subjugation of the state engineers under Sciences Po's liberal order, see *Bulletin du PCM* (the association of engineers of the Ponts et Chaussées and Mines) (July 1906): 17–24; (May 1907): 4; (January 1908): 14–32; (July 1908): 10–13.

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attacked the state cannot have held much fascination for Polytechnique's brightest in the mathematical sciences. The failure of his mission is evident in the proceedings of X-Crise, the polytechnicians' economics study group of the 1930s. Only Jacques Rueff, who succeeded to Colson's chair at Sciences Po, fully supported the free market, defying the *volontaristes* and *dirigistes* to master the countless variables necessary for good planning. Against Rueff, Jules Moch organized a group of thoroughgoing socialists who called themselves the "anti-Colson" group, while the rest of X-Crise favored varying degrees of state intervention.[50]

IF FRANCE'S UNIQUE ACHIEVEMENT IN NUCLEAR POWER is a result of the nationalization of electricity after World War II, the vision of a national power system planned in the general interest goes back to World War I. Even earlier, the Corps had attempted to take charge of hydroelectricity, but the same Sciences Po liberalism that throttled the Freycinet plan also defeated public power. When, in 1881, Gambetta created a ministry of agriculture, it was Picard who protested the administrative irrationality of leaving only the lower, navigable stretches of a river like the Dordogne in the public domain, while abandoning its upper reaches to the private domain under Agriculture. Privatists soon rejoiced that the best hydroelectric sites in France were thus excluded from the public domain and the Corps' supervision. They were at liberty to buy and exploit them without state supervision. By the late 1890s, René Tavernier voiced the Corps' concern about this "encroachment of private interests" on a national resource whose nature was "eminently collective." "White coal" must be exploited rationally in the general interest no less than the "black coal" for which it could be substituted. In language reminiscent of that used by Legrand to refuse railroad or coal mining concessions, Tavernier inveighed against the private exploitation of hydroelectric sites without the general hydrological studies necessary to choose the best sites for plants. Ignorant greed threatened to squander a national resource, he charged. In 1900, while the Corps drew up a bill placing hydroelectric power under its jurisdiction with authority to plan its exploitation for maximum future benefit, the Ecole des Ponts replaced Perronet's venerable architecture prize with a senior design project in electrical engineering. But the private engineers and Sciences Po liberals raised the hue and cry against "Etatisme" in the name of the water rights of French farmers, and the bill died. Forced to settle in 1903 for an ad hoc service funded jointly with Agriculture, Tavernier and Pierre de La Brosse organized comprehensive regional hydrological studies of the Alps, Pyrénées, and the Massif Central but with little authority to enforce the results.[51]

[50] On Colson as a pillar of the liberal order, see Kuisel, *Capitalism and the State*, 6, 8. On political economy at the Ecole, see the Régistre du Conseil de l'Ecole, October 21, 1881; February 29, 1892; and Henri Baudrillart's mildly anti-statist *Cours d'économie politique* (Paris, 1882), 148–58. For Colson's administrative career and his distrust of mathematical reasoning, see Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 341–42; E. Divisia, *Clément Colson, 1853–1939* (Paris, 1939), 5–6. On the persistence of the Corps' public economics in engineering courses, see "Notes prises au cours de chemins de fer de M. Bricka" (1891–1892), 5–7, ENPC, where students learned that Dupuit had not calculated the far more important social returns, and that the railroads were a public service—Legrand pure and simple; see also A. Debauve, *Les Travaux publics et les ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées depuis le 17ième siècle* (Paris, 1893), 152–59, 214, 248. *X-Crise: Centre polytechnicien d'études économiques: Son cinquanténaire, 1931–1981* (Paris, 1982), 63–71 and *passim*; Jules Moch, *Une Si longue vie* (Paris, 1976), 80–81.

[51] Henri Morsel, "Panorama de l'histoire de l'électricité en France dans la première moitié du XXe siècle," in Fabienne Cardot, ed., *1880–1980: Un Siècle d'électricité dans le monde* (Paris, 1987), 87–117; Jean-Claude Colli, "Cents ans d'électricité dans les lois: Essai de chronologie commentée des principaux

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Meanwhile, private industry and localities initiated the coal-fired generation of electricity. After 1880, anyone was free to install a power plant without prior authorization and then sell electricity to other users at will. Only when the public way was needed for distribution could the state intervene and then only to guarantee safety on the streets. Municipalities granted franchises to electric utilities according to local preferences. When in 1906 Parliament finally passed a national electricity law, it dealt exclusively with the granting of local franchises, which the liberal Council of State interpreted in favor of private companies. It gave the state no authority to plan, and electrification progressed only in response to local demand. It was as individuals sharing a common ideal that engineers such as Eugène Bruniquel in 1880, Albert Petsche in 1896, Jean Paul in 1899, and Gabriel Cordier in 1901 left the Corps to take charge of electric companies. And it was at the municipal level that the ideal of electric supply as public service appeared, most notably when the city of Paris and its engineers from the Corps imposed stringent conditions on the six companies to which it granted concessions by 1889. In any case, in 1906, electric power was still where the railroad had been in about 1829. Rare was the visionary like André Blondel, who saw beyond the technical obstacles to the long-distance transmission that would entail the kind of national planning the Corps had applied to the railroad after 1832. His 1907 project for a high-voltage line from Génissiat on the Alpine Rhône to Paris proved to be at least two decades ahead of its time.[52]

Only under the full impact of the Great War did the liberal order weaken enough for the Corps to gain some authority over electrification. In 1914, as in 1900, liberals in league with the ministry of agriculture blocked a bill placing all sources of hydroelectricity in the public domain under the Corps. Even after the Germans occupied the northern coalfields, making hydropower vital to the war effort, the response was merely to grant the armaments ministry ad hoc authority to fund new plants. Not until 1917 was an extraparliamentary commission empowered to settle the question, "after 23 years of vain efforts and after 34 months of war," as the chairman said. Citing the Corps' "haute culture scientifique," the minister of public works recapitulated the reasons why it must direct the exploitation of hydroelectric

textes législatifs," *Bulletin d'histoire de l'électricité* (numéro spéciale, 1986): 16–47. René Tavernier, "Rapport: Une Nouvelle répartition du service entre M. de la Brosse et nous," June 26, 1907, AN F^{10} 4440; "Le Projet de loi relatif à l'utilisation de l'énergie hydraulique," *La Houille blanche* (September 1917): 41–64. On the abortive 1900 bill, "Rapport à M. le ministre de l'agriculture," AN F^{10} 4406. For electrical engineering at the Ecole, Régistre du Conseil de l'Ecole des Ponts, October 3, 1890; October 24, 1893; June 7, 1898; June 6, 1899; October 30, 1900.

[52] See the February 6, 1909 note on the law of 1906, AN F^{10} 4491; Jean Knight, "La Houille blanche," *Annales des sciences politiques*, 21 (1906): 335–56; Alain Beltran, "Une Conquête difficile: Energie électrique à Paris de 1878–1907," *Histoire, économie, société*, 3 (September 1985); on technical obstacles, Robert Moise and Maurice Daumas, "L'Electricité industrielle," in M. Daumas, ed., *Histoire générale des techniques*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1978), 435–89; Thomas P. Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 129–39; 274–24, 294 n. 18. The jurisdictional conflict between the ministries of public works and agriculture fills their correspondence in 1907–1917; AN F^{10} 4410; for the ultimate in "centralisation without integration" that paralyzed power planning, see the three conflicting versions of the July 24, 1917 bill by the ministries of public works, agriculture, and commerce; AN F^{10} 4411. For the early role of individual Ponts, see [Ernest Mercier], *Albert Petsche, 1860–1933* (Paris, 1933), 13–30; Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 482–95; Dominique Barjot, "Une Réussite technique à valeur de symbole: Génissiat (1937–1949)," in Fabienne Cardot, ed., *La France des électriciens, 1880–1980* (Paris, 1986), 63–70.

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power in the general interest. At last, in 1919, Parliament placed all sources of "white coal" under the Corps' jurisdiction.[53]

But hydroelectric power was only regional. It was the concept of "Super-réseau" ("super grid") that gave the Corps scope for the comprehensive planning it had applied to highways, waterways, and railroads. In the euphoria of victory over Germany and in hopes of making the Germans pay for it, the Corps envisioned a veritable Legrand Star of high-voltage lines that would interconnect the coal-fired plants of the northern half of France with the hydroelectric plants of the south. One enthusiast referred to "our grand highways of electric power." The vastly increased efficiency of a balanced national grid would make current cheap enough to electrify every village. As electrification of the main railroads was also contemplated, the high-voltage lines would follow them to Paris—now France's main industrial agglomeration and user of electricity as a result of the first Legrand Star. Pierre Le Verrier played Louis Navier as he moved from directing reconstruction in the war-ravaged north to planning a full-scale national grid of public power.[54]

Such dreams of boundless prosperity from cheap electricity were not unique to France. On home fronts everywhere, total war had forced engineers and managers to meet unprecedented power demands. In Britain, they came out of the war campaigning for a central authority to rationalize electricity supply. In 1919, the new German government enacted a law calling on local public and private utilities to collaborate in the creation of an all-German high-voltage grid, which would also feature a natural complementarity between a coal-fired north and a hydroelectric south. But this vision of a national high-voltage system had little more chance amid the state and local liberties of the new federal republic of Weimar than Friedrich List's vision of an all-German railroad system had had in the 1830s. In Britain, private and local interests also demanded a return to normalcy, and the National Grid was put off until after 1927.[55]

In France, "Super-réseau" went further on paper because the Corps was there, but it took only the mention of an investment of 15 billion francs to elicit cries of "Etatisme" from Sciences Po liberals, now back in power and demanding a sane peacetime budget after the years of wartime socialism. And, even though Parliament in 1922 approved the goal of a high-voltage grid in principle, it never voted the necessary annual appropriations. Still, the legislation of 1919–1927 affirmed the Corps' responsibility to promote interconnection and supervise the electrification of France. A bureau of electricity now functioned in the ministry of public works alongside the traditional ones for highways, waterways, railroads, and mines; just as Franqueville's staff had colonized the railroads, so in the booming 1920s their successors ventured out to direct the electric companies in regional interconnection and rationalization. "Where disorder reigned," exulted Ernest Mercier, who had worked with a team of Ponts engineers under Albert Petsche to unify the

[53] "Commission extraparlementaire des forces hydrauliques," May 23 and 31, 1917, AN F^{10} 4411; Léon Perrier, "Rapport fait au nom de la commission de l'énergie hydraulique," January 17, 1919, AN F^{10} 4414.

[54] On wartime planning in France featuring Louis Loucheur but not the Corps, see Kuisel, *Capitalism and the State*, 31–58; Morsel, "Panorama de l'histoire," 99–101. For the Corps' master plan, see the notes on Gabriel Cordier's commission from October 7, 1918, to October 15, 1920, Conseil Supérieur des Travaux Publics, dossier 34, AN F^{14} 12599; the July 9, 1919 bill proposing that the state build interconnecting high-voltage lines, and Léon Perrier's April 8, 1922 report to the Senate on the revised plan for a *réseau national*, with a "vision claire et précise"; AN F^{10} 4491. On Paris as the center of interconnection, see "Un Inédit de Paul Ramadier sur la nationalisation de l'électricité en France," *Bulletin d'histoire d'électricité*, 8 (December 1986): 134–35.

[55] Hughes, *Networks of Power*, 313–23.

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Paris power supply, "we imposed a higher order—one system, one frequency, and 80,000 new motors." In the 1930s, other Ponts students such as Pierre Massé joined Roger Boutteville and Gustave Mercier at Ernest Mercier's Union d'Electricité, a trust dedicated to interregional connections, and Petsche lived to see the first 220,000-volt line in 1932 bring hydroelectric power from the Massif Central to supplement the coal-fired plants of Paris. When, in 1935, the national electricity commission began its deliberations, it harked back fifteen years to "Super-réseau," and Mercier's team worked closely with Pierre Simon and Roger Gaspard of the Corps' electricity bureau. In 1938, they won approval of a mixed public-private plan to spend 3 billion francs on national high-voltage transmission. But for World War II, the Corps might well have been realized "Super-réseau" before the creation of the national electric company (EDF). As it was, in 1941, the Vichy regime took another step toward interconnection. So if the nationalization of 1946 was a political and social novelty, it marked no discontinuity in technological ideas or leaders. The EDF modernizers who completed interconnection and went on to standardize local distribution by 1955 were the same as those of 1938. Pierre Simon and Roger Gaspard, apprentices of the "Super-réseau" planners of 1918–1920 and architects of the plan of 1938, were the first two presidents of EDF. Although, in 1946, the Pereire of electric trusts, Ernest Mercier, was unacceptable to the Left, and Roger Boutteville had compromised himself under the Vichy regime, Pierre Massé and many others easily returned to the public fold at EDF.[56]

Without a change of heart at the finance ministry, EDF would have been stillborn. It was no accident that the demise of the old Sciences Po and the birth of the National School of Administration coincided in 1945–1946 with the nationalization of electricity and other industries. Now faced with the challenge of national regeneration, key officials in the finance ministry were converted by the gospel of public investment that X-Crise and the Corps had long preached. As treasury chief from 1947–1953, F. Bloch-Lainé was determined that no postwar return to normalcy would block progress. "Electricity will be the salvation of France," cried Albert Caquot, the Corps' polyvalent engineer *par excellence*, who—having gone from military balloons in World War I to reinforced concrete bridges and dams and to military aviation in the 1930s—now in 1948 toured the prostrate country, pointing to billions of kilowatts of "white coal" waiting to be harnessed in the mountains. Bloch-Lainé agreed and released the credits (partly derived from American aid), which Pierre Massé and EDF used to realize what the Corps had dreamed of since 1900. Pouring 13 million cubic meters of concrete in over a hundred magnificent dams that would still supply half of France's electricity in 1960, the public engineers of EDF built for posterity—untrammeled by the short-term constraints of private profit.[57]

[56] For the Mercier quote and his early career, see his *Albert Petsche*, 42–43; Richard F. Kuisel, *Ernest Mercier: French Technocrat* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 8–21. For a count of Ponts on leave from the Corps in the interwar companies, see Pierre Lanthier, "Les Dirigéants des grandes entreprises électrique en France, 1911–1973," in M. Lévy-Leboyer, ed., *Le Patronat de la seconde industrialisation* (Paris, 1979): 107–36. For Pierre Simon's crucial role in the Conseil Supérieur de l'Electricité of 1935–1938, AN F^{10} 4495–96. On the 1930s, see Pierre Massé, *Aléas et progrès: Entre Candide et Cassandra* (Paris, 1984): 34–50; Pierre Feintuch, "L'Interconnexion Massif Central-Paris du réseau electrique dans les années trente," *Bulletin de l'histoire de l'électricité*, 7 (June 1986): 93–106; Pierrette Stahl, "Les Débats politiques sur l'électricité dans les années trentes," *ibid.*, 8 (December 1986): 55–86; Charles Malégarie, *L'Electricité à Paris* (Paris, 1947), 158–67.

[57] Pierre Rain and Jacques Chapsal, *L'Ecole libre des sciences politiques* (Paris, 1963), 109–32; Osborne, *Grande Ecole for the Grands Corps*, 117–19; Kuisel, *Capitalism and the State*, 212–18, 255; P. Lalumière, *L'Inspection des finances* (Paris, 1959), 179–200; F. Bloch-Lainé, *Profession: Fonctionnaire* (Paris, 1976),

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But, even before "white coal" was fully harnessed, leading public engineers of the atomic energy commission and EDF in 1955 advised the Fourth Republic that true salvation for fuel-poor France lay in atomic power. The commission was already committed to the graphite-gas reactor because it produced plutonium using France's own natural uranium, and, when de Gaulle came to power in 1958, it cashed a blank check to make the Fifth Republic independent in all things nuclear. But EDF bore the less glorious responsibility of supplying the country electric power at the least cost. So, in 1959, while dutifully undertaking to install the graphite-gas reactors, it insisted on joining the Belgians in building a Westinghouse pressurized water reactor. By 1966, EDF was pointing out that the graphite-gas was more costly to build and operate, but it took the financial stringencies brought on by the events of May 1968 together with the ever-falling price of oil to cause a general reassessment in which EDF persuaded even de Gaulle that light water was cheaper. In 1969, the Fifth Republic decisively abandoned graphite-gas, and EDF proceeded to acquire the American technology against the day of rising oil prices expected in the 1980s.[58]

The OPEC embargo of 1973 advanced that day. But EDF rose to challenge, quintupling its annual installation of nuclear power. By 1985, not only was standardization of the American reactor complete; EDF designed its own 1,400-megawatt reactor, leaving Westinghouse behind while phasing out France's last fossil-fuel power plants. While in the United States and West Germany nuclear power was caught in the toils of federalism, the legatees of Louis Navier at EDF naturalized the American reactor in a Cartesian system, and, as the shade of Colbert applauded, began exporting electricity to France's neighbors. Like earlier planning, it was the hedgehog's vision not only of the whole but of the future as well. Unlike the fits and starts in Britain, the United States, Germany, and Italy, the constancy of nuclear energy policy in France would have been no surprise to Legrand or Tarbé; as they said, only France possessed the institutions of rational public administration.[59]

Nor was it any surprise that Louis Armand modernized the railroad. Here again, national planning for modernization originated at the end of World War I when the Corps proposed to electrify 8,839 kilometers of main lines, standardizing

103–08; Bloch-Lainé and Bouvier, *La France restaurée*, 49–52, 147–15; Hubert Bonin, *Histoire économique de la IV^e république* (Paris, 1987), 161–72. On Caquot's 1948 crusade, Jean Kérisel, *Albert Caquot, 1881–1976: Créateur et précurseur* (Paris, 1978), 92–93. For EDF's program, see J. F. Picard, A. Beltran, and M. Bungener, *Histoires de l'EDF: Comment se sont prises les décisions de 1946 à nos jours* (Paris, 1985), 1–29, 59–72; Robert L. Frost, "The Flood of 'Progress': Technocrats and Peasants at Tignes (Savoy), 1946–1952," *French Historical Studies*, 14 (Spring 1985): 127–29. Bonin, *Histoire économique de la IV^e république*, 164.

[58] J. F. Picard, *Histoires de l'EDF*, 185–208; Pierre Ailleret, *25 ans de vie technique et économique d'EDF* (Paris, 1971), 41–42; "EDF: quarante ans d'électricité," *Revue générale nucléaire* (March–April 1986). Philippe Simonnot, *Les Nucléocrates* (Grenoble, 1978), 1–162; 187–92; Bénédicte Vallet, "The Nuclear Safety Institution in France" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1986), 78–114; Georges Lamiral, *Chronique de trente années d'équipement nucléaire à Electricité de France* (Paris, 1988), 1: 17–119.

[59] L. Gouni, "L'Avenir de l'énergie électrique," *Revue d'économie politique*, 85 (March–April 1975): 52–63. On standardization, see J. Bellet, *et al.*, "Culmination of French PWR Experience," *Nuclear Engineering International* (February 1985): 26–28; Rémy Carle, "When France Departs from Standardization," *ibid.* (October 1984): 31–36; M. Tesseraud and P. Regnier, "Etat d'avancement du programme de construction des centrales à eau sous pression de 900, 1300, et 1400 MW^e," *Revue générale nucléaire* (September–October 1986): 406–12; Lamiral, *Chronique de trente années*, 1: 125–86; 199–424. On Germany, see Michael T. Hatch, *Politics and Nuclear Power: Energy Policy in Western Europe* (Lexington, Ky., 1986), chap. 5; Roger Williams, *The Nuclear Power Decisions: British Policies, 1953–78* (London, 1980), 312–31.

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current and equipment, fixed and rolling. But the capital costs of electrification were heavy, and the restored liberal order would no more pay for rail electrification than for "Super-réseau." When in 1938, as if to celebrate the centennial of Legrand's bill, the state finally merged the depression-ridden rail companies into one public enterprise (SNCF), public engineers led by Raoul Dautry and Louis Armand took over, bent on unification. After World War II destroyed much old rolling stock and infrastructure, Louis Armand persuaded the national planning commission and the finance ministry that SNCF no less than EDF should modernize for posterity. By 1959, he had electrified 40 percent of freight traffic, halving the capital costs in two masterstrokes. First, he adopted the standard 25,000-volt industrial current readily available from EDF. But, while alternating current was cheaply transmitted over long distances as alternating current, the best electric locomotives ran on direct current, which necessitated frequent and costly rectifying stations all along the line. Determined not to settle for slow-starting, alternating-current engines, as the Germans had done, Armand recommended the Westinghouse ignitron he had seen on a visit to the United States in 1946. With the installation of one of these small static rectifiers to convert alternating to direct current on board each locomotive, the costly rectifying stations disappeared from the drawing boards, enabling SCNF's engineers to standardize highly efficient electric locomotives. Thus appeared the "French system of electrification," whose "rational character explains its continuity and unity, for if particular techniques soon grow obsolete," explained one of its designers Robert Géais, "doctrines constructed by ascending from particulars to general ideas are easily passed along to the next generation, who are astonished by their richness." By 1983, SNCF electrified over 80 percent of traffic, in harmony with EDF's motto—"all electric" and "all nuclear."[60]

If the twentieth-century masterpiece of public engineering was electrification, the national planning commission, known as "the Plan," was its apotheosis. Born together in 1946, EDF and the Plan flourished in symbiosis. While they perfected linear programming to optimize investment choices at EDF, Pierre Massé and his top managers also served on the Plan's energy commission that endorsed their massive investments. Why, then, asked Massé, should methods so successful in optimizing investments in one national industry not be generalized to allocate the resources of the whole country? The Plan embodied the vision of the rational state determining the general interest for posterity, the visible hand of reason, immeasurably strengthened by the computer's power to simulate reality, to make models of complex systems in a world of uncertainty. "Splendid!" cried de Gaulle, elevating EDF's Massé to be commissioner general of the "ardent obligation" of his Fifth Republic as soon as he returned to power in 1958; and Massé's Fourth Plan ascended from economic to vast social investments. The ideal of the public engineer as economist was fulfilled. Pierre Massé was an early admirer of Maurice

[60] For the Corps' rail electrification plan of 1920, see the January 18, 1919 "Note sur les travaux effectués par le comité d'électrification des réseaux d'intérêt général," and the final report of July 8, 1920; AN F^{14} 12599, dossier 23. On the formation of SNCF, see Georges Ribeill, "Y a-t-il eu des nationalisations avant la guerre?" in Antoine Prost, *et al.*, *Les Nationalisations de la libération: De l'utopie au compromis* (Paris, 1987), 46–52. Robert Géais, "L'Electrification des chemins de fer français," *Bulletin du PCM* (February 1959): 5–14; and "L'Accomplissement de la solution française; La Traction en courant de fréquence industrielle 25,000 volts," *ibid.* (March 1959): 13, for the quotation. See also Yves Stourdzé, "De la vapeur à l'électricité," *Culture technique* (February 1981): 139–53; Ribeill, *Cent Cinquante ans de chemins de fer français*, 19–70; J. Jones, *The Politics of Transport in Twentieth-Century France* (Montreal, 1984), 195. *Louis Armand: 40 ans au service des hommes* (Paris, 1986): 53–60; Henri Teissier Du Cros, *Louis Armand: Visionnaire de la modernité* (Paris, 1987), 181–224.

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Allais' work on the pricing of public goods. When Allais won the Nobel Prize in 1988, it was largely for generalizing the marginalism that Jules Dupuit discovered in the 1840s.[61]

If antecedents of the Plan are evident in the electricity plan of 1938, the Tardieu plan of 1929, "Super-réseau," and even in the more distant mirrors of Freycinet, Franqueville, Legrand, Becquey, and Perronet, the lineage of public engineers involved is no less traceable. In 1947, the Plan's commissions were run by men who had cultivated the same fields in the 1930s, having begun their careers after World War I under elders who in their turn had been novitiates under Alfred Picard. If their planning came to little from 1880 until World War II, the Corps argued, it was the fault of Sciences Po, whose graduates immobilized the state with their dismal ideology: J. B. Say stymied Descartes and Colbert. Although they clamored for action against the Great Depression, and some joined Léon Blum's short-lived ministry of national economy as planners, public engineers were still confined to their little ministry of public works under the oppressive "superministry of finance."[62]

But when the cataclysm of World War II had broken Sciences Po's hold, the legatees of Legrand, Franqueville, and Freycinet came forward to play new roles on a stage far grander than ever before. Within the state administration, men of prowess migrated from old habitats to colonize new agencies. As their collective influence spread, they acted as planners, economists, urbanists—"inter-ministerial generalists," drafting legislation and then the decrees to implement it. Beyond the state administration, the same influence spread throughout the greatly enlarged para-public sector of electric power, gas, coal, banks, airlines, telecommunications, Renault, SNCF, the atomic energy commission, and into their quasi-private affiliates. When the Plan goaded outmoded firms to merge and modernize for international competition, once again the intellectual progeny of Prony, Navier, and Dupuit—now armed with computers able to handle scores of variables—went out to manage them by the light of systems engineering and operations research. By 1980, polytechnicians were more than the "national engineers" envisioned at the birth of their Grande Ecole in the Rue Descartes.[63]

[61] M. Bungener, "L'Electricité et les trois premiers plans: Une Symbiose réussie," in Henri Rousso, ed., *De Monnet à Massé* (Paris, 1986), 107–26; Saulgeot and Robin, "Le III^{e} Plan et l'énergie," *Bulletin du PCM* (April 1957): 5–16; Pierre Massé, "Investment and the Aggregate Economy," *Optimal Investment Decisions: Rules for Action and Criteria for Choice* (1959; rpt. edn., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962), chap. 9; *Le Plan, ou l'anti-hazard* (Paris, 1965); *Aléas et progrès*, 153–303; Robert Delorme and Christine André, *L'Etat et l'économie: Un Essai d'explication de l'evolution des dépenses publiques en France, 1870–1980* (Paris, 1983), 249–56; F. de Baecque and J. L. Quermonne, *Administration et politique sous la Cinquième République* (Paris, 1981), 187. Compare J. Rueff, *De l'aube au crépuscule* (Paris, 1977), 226–40, and 270–71, for liberal strictures on the "young technocrats" and their professors. On mathematical economics at the schools, F. Divisia, "Les Ecoles techniques," in Charles Rist, ed., *L'Enseignement économique en France et à l'étranger* (Paris, 1937), 41–45; Jean Ullmo, "Rôle d' X-Crise dans l'évolution économique," *X-Crise: Centre polytechnicien*, 273–85; on the seminal role of Allais, see Etner, *Histoire du calcul économique*, chap. 8; Bertrand Munier, "Portée et signification de l'oeuvre de Maurice Allais, Prix Nobel d'Economie, 1988," *Revue d'économie politique*, 99 (January–February 1989): 1–27.

[62] For the Corps' stillborn plans after World War I, see AN F^{14} 12599 and F^{10} 4449. For interwar lamentations, see the *Bulletin du PCM* of January, February, and April 1935, and July and December 1936; on the liberals' refusal to violate the sacrosanct budget, Pierre Saly, "La Politique française des grands travaux (1929–1939) fut-elle keynésienne?" *Revue économique*, 31 (July 1980): 706–42. On the pre-war origins of the planners, Mioche, *Le Plan Monnet*, 97, 29, n. 42. Compare Gérard Brun, *Technocrates et technocratie en France, 1918–1945* (Paris, 1985), 101–16, 162–80; J. F. Biard, *Le Socialisme devant ses choix: La Naissance de l'idée de plan* (Paris, 1985).

[63] Osborne, *Grande Ecole for the Grands Corps*, 117–19. On postwar migration and colonizing by the "ingénieur polyvalent et supérieur," see *Bulletin du PCM* (January 1957): 23; Brunot and Coquand, *Le Corps*, 616; Raymond Fichesser, "L'Enseignement à l'école des mines de Paris," *Bulletin du PCM* (July

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Lest this history be too whiggish, the liberal complaint echoes through the years, from the misbegotten canals and the overcentralized, overbuilt railroads of the last century to the extravagant Charles de Gaulle Airport of today. While, unlike the Concorde, the magnificent TGV pays its way, the other railroads electrified at such great expense are under-utilized. Not only did EDF incur enormous debt to build a nuclear electricity supply for a projected demand that failed to materialize but the expected foreign market for its expertise failed to develop even before the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl shook public confidence. And it is accused of standardizing design errors. The unique telematics system that France-Télécom built is inflexible and unreceptive to innovation, and the Minitels it placed in thousands of residences free of charge are technocracy rampant. Finally, not only is the Plan now useless, it always was a Chantecler, the cock that thought the sun rose because he crowed.[64]

As true as it is that public engineers from Perronet to Massé acted as an elite all too confident in the power of "lumières supérieures" to determine the "general interest," it is no less true that for 250 years they sustained an ethos of public service rarely found elsewhere. For better or worse, they strove, as Georges Besse put it, "to build something for France."[65]

1959): 4–10; Dominique Dejeux, "Le Corps des mines, ou un nouveau mode d'intervention de l'Etat," MS at the Ecole des Mines, Paris (October 1970), 58–66; Ezra N. Suleiman, *Politics, Power, and Bureaucracy in France: The Administrative Elite* (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 270–77; M. S. Campbell and M. J. Laporte, "Les Rapports actuels . . . ," *Administration et Parlement depuis 1815* (Geneva, 1982), 109–13; Jean-Claude Thoenig, *L'Ere des technocrates: Le Cas des Ponts et Chaussées* (Paris, 1987), 35–43; *Annuaire des ponts et chaussées* (Paris, 1983), 743–45; *Annuaire des écoles nationales supérieures des mines* (Paris, 1985). E. Ventura, "Recherche opérationelle," *Bulletin du PCM* (June 1959): 4; Pierre L'Hermitte, "La Vocation économique des ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées et des mines," *ibid.* (January 1960): 7–10; "Secteur public/secteur privé," *ibid.* (March 1972): 21–38; Charles Kindleberger, "Technical Education and the French Entrepreneur," in Edward Carter II, *et al.*, eds., *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century France* (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 26–27.

[64] Daniel Bellet, "Les Canaux: Un Instrument de transport du passé," *Annales des sciences politiques*, 22 (1907): 471–502. For the geographers' lament over rail centralization, beginning in 1877, Michel Chesnais, "La Géographie des chemins de fer en France," in *La Pensée géographique française contemporaine: Mélanges offerts à André Meynier* (Saint-Brieuc, 1972), 587–602; J. F. Gravier, *Paris et le désert français* (Paris, 1947); *Décentralisation et progrès technique* (Paris, 1953), 41–42; and *La Question régionale* (Paris, 1970), 34–36; on SNCF's loss of heavy freight traffic, see "Contrat de plan, Etat—SNCF, 1985–1989," *Revue générale des chemins de fer* (July–August 1985): 374; Phileas Fogg, "Le TGV et les echelles du temps," *Regards sur l'actualité*, 116 (December 1985): 32–47; Emile Quinet, "Le Chemin de fer en surmultiplié," *Le Monde*, December 15, 1987. On nuclear overcapacity, see Nigel Evans and Chris Hope, *Nuclear Power: Futures, Costs, and Benefits* (Cambridge, 1984), 27; "L'Evolution du progrès nucléaire français," *Revue générale nucléaire* (November–December 1986): 531–32; S. D. Thomas, *The Realities of Nuclear Power: International Economic and Regulatory Experiences* (Cambridge, 1988). On inflexibility at France-Télécom, Jean Pierre Coustel, "Telecommunications Services in France: The Regulated Monopoly and the Challenge of Competition," *Telecommunications Policy*, 10 (September 1986): 229–43; Jean Voge, "Des structures à rude épreuve: Le Pluralisme," in Catherine Bertho, ed., *Histoire des télécommunications*, 235–54; Elliot J. Feldman, *Concorde and Dissent: Explaining High Technology Project Failures in Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1985), 19–45; 83–120. Arch-liberal Jacques Rueff likened Massé's Plan to Chantecler, "Quelque remarques sur la programmation économique," Actes du Colloque de Rome, novembre, 1962, reprinted in E. M. Claassen, ed., *Les Fondements philosophiques de systèmes économiques* (Paris, 1967), 227; Paul Fabra, "Faut-il supprimer le Plan?" *Le Monde*, July 8, 1986; "Le Plan en question," *ibid.*, November 4, 1986.

[65] Georges Besse, Ingénieur des Mines, exemplified the public engineer "polyvalent et supérieure." Joining the Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique (CEA) in 1956, he headed isotopic separation from 1958, moved over to telecommunications as head of Alcatel, 1969–1973, returned in 1974 to head Eurodif (uranium enrichment), then in 1976 took charge of the whole fuel cycle as head of COGEMA. When the socialist government nationalized Péchiney (metals) in 1982, Besse became its head. Called to bring Renault out of the red in 1985, he was murdered by terrorists the next year; *Le Monde*, November 19, 1986.

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Energy, Power, and Perceptions of Social Change in the Early Nineteenth Century

DOLORES GREENBERG

IN 1833, A YOUNG GERMAN ENGINEER recently arrived in the United States published a utopian treatise promising a *Paradise within the Reach of All Men, without Labor, by Powers of Nature and Machinery*. The inscription on the frontispiece offered an immediate gloss to this social ideal: "Toil and poverty will be no more among men, Nature affords infinite powers and wealth."[1] Within the decade, English utopian socialists extolled the author, John Adolphus Etzler, as a genius: "A renovator of the universe," wrote Robert Owen, twice reprinting his plans for a world of abundance without labor, the product of harnessing the energy of the sun, the tides, the water, and the wind.[2]

Etzler's paradise recast in technological terms an archetypal dream, perhaps the oldest in the history of the West. Fantasies of leisure coupled with plenty can be found in ancient legends of fertile Western lands, Hellenic myths of a heavenly city, and Judeo-Christian religious texts. In the modern period, the active quest for an earthly Eden is a phenomenon unparalleled in other cultures.[3] Moreover, Etzler's specific strategy to capture natural forces as the basis for a more perfect society also had centuries-old antecedents. Lynn White pointed to a "power fantasy" during the "industrial revolution" of the medieval period, and, by the seventeenth century, major utopian texts such as *Christianopolis*, *The City of the Sun*, and *The New Atlantis* celebrated the union of artifice with inanimate force for eliminating toil. Jonathan Edwards, the most important New England theologian of the Great Awakening,

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[1] John Adolphus Etzler, *The Paradise within the Reach of All Men, without Labor, by Powers of Nature and Machinery: An Address to All Intelligent Men* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1833).

[2] George Holyoake, *The History of Cooperation*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), 2: 213–14, as quoted in Patrick R. Brostowin, "John Adolphus Etzler: Scientific-Utopian during the 1830s and 1840s" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1969), 57, vii–viii, 140, 149; see also Joel Nydahl, "Introduction," *The Collected Works of John Adolphus Etzler* (New York, 1977), xvii–xviii. Even Henry David Thoreau, who satirized Etzler's materialism, acknowledged the significance of the proposal; Thoreau, "Paradise (to Be) Regained," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 13 (1843), in Henry S. Canby, ed., *The Works of Thoreau* (Boston, 1937), 774; see also Robin Linstromberg and James Ballowe, "Thoreau and Etzler: Alternative Views of Economic Reform," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, 11 (1970): 20–29. The energy basis of Etzler's utopia is omitted in Howard P. Segal, *Technological Utopianism in American Culture* (Chicago, 1985), 2, 58–59, 74–97.

[3] Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 1–17; see also Mircea Eliade, "Paradise and Utopia: Mythical Geography and Eschatology," in Frank E. Manuel, ed., *Utopias and Utopian Thought* (Boston, 1966), 261–69; George Kateb, "Utopia and the Good Life," in *ibid.*, 240–41; François Bloch-Lainé, "Utopia for Reformers," in *ibid.*, 204–05.

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called for "contrivances" multiplying the "efficacy of human effort," to create "Paradise on Earth."[4]

Since the 1950s, social scientists have increasingly emphasized the significance of energy in the history of change.[5] The school of cultural anthropology launched by Leslie White and led by Marvin Harris designates energy use as the single determinant of cultural evolution. Even Claude Lévi-Strauss, hardly a materialist, found the limited energy consumption of "primitive" societies their distinguishing feature, the reason why they appear "as societies without history and progress."[6] The idea that energy—in physics, the ability to do work—can measure the difference between "primitive" and "civilized," traditional and modern, undeveloped and developed, has been articulated across the interdisciplinary spectrum of scholarship. In what suggests an "energy stage" theory of history, increases in per capita energy use are treated as a prerequisite for the "advance" from "simple" horticultural to complex industrial societies. Rising levels of energy use become indicators of individual and social well-being and are calculated as indices of "progress." At the same time, technology is schematized in linear evolutionary terms according to the exploitation of successive and allegedly more productive energy sources.[7]

[4] Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York, 1962), 78, 124–39; Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis* (1619), trans. Felix Held (New York, 1916); Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun* (1602, 1623), trans. William J. Gilstrip, in Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, eds., *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies* (New York, 1952), 314–47; Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* (1624), in James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath, eds., *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5 (Boston, 1862), 359–413; Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution: A Feminist Reappraisal of the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco, 1980), 64–94; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 1–32, 581–84; Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption* (London, 1774); Harvey G. Townsend, ed., *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards from His Private Notebooks* (Eugene, Oreg., 1955), 207; C. C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology," *Church History*, 28 (1959): 38–39; for a fuller explication by a theologian a century later, see Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium: Showing from Scripture and Prophecy, That It Is Yet to Come: In What It Will Consist; Events Which Are First to Take Place, Introductory to It* (1793; rpt. edn., New York, 1972), 57, 59, 71–72; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York, 1983), 27; Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, 1934), 41–51.

[5] Energy is found in different forms—for example, chemical, thermal, solar, mechanical. It is available from different sources—for example, food, fossil fuels, falling water—and is converted from one form to another by people, animals, and machines. Power is the rate at which energy is expended or work is done.

[6] Georges Charbonnier, *Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss*, John Weightman and Doreen Weightman, trans. (London, 1969), as quoted by Peter Caws, "What Is Structuralism?" in E. Nelson Hayes and Tanya Hayes, eds., *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 200–01; Leslie A. White, *The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome* (New York, 1959); Marvin Harris, *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture* (New York, 1979); Marshall D. Sahlins and E. R. Service, *Evolution and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960). Anthropologist Richard Adams, at the materialist extreme, maintains that social organization conforms to the laws of thermodynamics and ecological succession, that human history conforms to the same processes that dominate natural history; Richard Adams, *Energy and Structure: A Theory of Social Power* (Austin, Tex., 1975); Adams, *Paradoxical Harvest: Energy and Explanation in British History, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); also see my review of Adams's book in *Victorian Studies*, 29 (1985): 357–58. For variations on this view, see R. G. Wilkinson, *Poverty and Progress: An Ecological Perspective of Economic Development* (London, 1973); Dan Rose, *Energy Transition and the Local Community: A Theory of Society Applied to Hazelton, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1981).

[7] For example, see Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*; William Frederick Cottrell, *Energy and Society: The Relation between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development* (New York, 1955); C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York, 1967); Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); William R. Burch, "Resources and Social Structure: Some Conditions of Stability and Change," *The Annals*, 389 (1973): 27–34; Roy A. Rappaport, "The Flow of Energy in an Agricultural Society," *Scientific American*, 225 (September 1971): 117–32; Dean Sheils, "The Importance of Agriculture from the Perspective of Neoevolutionary Theory," *Rural Sociology*, 37 (1972): 167–88; Simon Kuznets, *Modern Economic Growth:*

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Such commonly accepted interpretations of energy and social change are based on misconceptions first formulated in the early nineteenth century. By the 1830s, manufacturers and mechanics, scientists and engineers, politicians and political economists had put their faith in the potential of increased energy supplies to remake society. An energy mystique, part exaggeration, part misinformation, blurred the distinctions between what was desirable, what was possible, and what was happening. On both sides of the Atlantic, expectations for the future distorted descriptions of the present, and the belief that harnessing nonbiological power to new technologies would realize ideals of automation and abundance became integral to assumptions about work, wealth, and human history. An array of symbolically assigned meanings became embedded in a simplistic, quantitative, evolutionary dynamic, which was then incorporated into social science analyses. And these fundamentally misleading suppositions decisively shaped working paradigms for assessing mechanization, industrialization, and modernization.

My concern here is to clarify the early nineteenth-century energy mystique that permeated major strains of public discourse, showing how it reappeared in a variety of different contexts. I examine the perception of power as a means to achieve a paradisaical dream, a utopian ideal that both reflected inherited values and crystallized the aspirations and misunderstandings of the era. I also show how this vision of utopia was assimilated in a range of formulations that presented escalating energy use as a primary source of change but misrepresented its role in the workplace and, in extolling its evolutionary consequences, misread its relation to industrialization. Set against key scientific and intellectual preoccupations of the period, an analysis follows of how both an engineering classification of machines and passionate polemics added further to the confusion about the relation of human effort to mechanization. Finally, we will turn to the many reassessments of Adam Smith's labor theory of value, as mechanics, manufacturers, politicans, and theorists tried to reconcile their basic tenets about work and wealth with the increasing adoption of inanimate sources of power.

BY THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, the question of what work was and how it related to private well-being and national abundance dominated natural and political philosophy. A basic problem in natural science, how to define work in theoretical terms, was addressed in a growing literature on the subject of mechanics. According to the emergent consensus, work was conceptualized as the product

Rate, Structure, and Spread (New Haven, Conn., 1966); Walt W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1971); David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change, 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); D. S. L. Cardwell, *Technology, Science and History: A Short History of the Major Developments in the History of Western Mechanical Technology and Their Relationships with Science and Other Forms of Knowledge* (London, 1972), esp. 84–85; Asa Briggs, *The Power of Steam* (Chicago, 1982); Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1976). George Basalla focuses on successive energy sources, arguing they were initially each seen as a source of abundance but then found wanting; Basalla, "Some Persistent Energy Myths," in George H. Daniels and Mark H. Rose, eds., *Energy and Transport* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1982), 27–38. On energy schematization, see Terry Reynolds, *Stronger than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 1–5; Earl Cook, *Man, Energy, Society* (San Francisco, 1976), 1–20, 165–86. For reconsideration of the link between modernization and industrialization, see E. A. Wrigley, "The Process of Modernization and the Industrial Revolution in England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 3 (1972): 226–59; for a seminal addition to the unresolved debate over "industrial progress," see Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets and Technology in Nineteenth Century Industrialization," *Past and Present*, 108 (1985): 133–76.

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of force multiplied by distance and as a measure of mechanical energy. This formulation became the basis for thermodynamic investigations of work and power that preoccupied a generation of engineers and physicists.[8] At the same time, what Adam Smith had designated the "production problem" stimulated myriad speculations about the social significance of work in the new science of political economy. Heated debates on both sides of the Atlantic explored the relation of work to wealth, plenty to productivity, and self to society. A panoply of utopian texts provided the major slogans of the French and British working classes, and the creation of utopian communities from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the suburbs of Paris to the forests of Romania, evidenced the most direct, immediate efforts to resolve the problem of labor and the distribution of its products.[9]

Of the many nineteenth-century visions about how to reconcile work and well-being, Etzler's reflected, as it reaffirmed, the great expectations of the first two nations of the world to industrialize: the shared faith in the capabilities of power to produce plenty and eliminate human labor. Like his contemporaries, this civil engineer and former student of Hegel believed that applying more of natural forces to more and improved non-animate "prime movers" would fulfill the Hegelian view of history as growth and progress.[10] His *Paradise*, promising an age of energy and abundance, is built on the premise that "there are powers in nature at the disposal of man, million times greater than all men on earth could effect, with their united exertions, by their nerves and sinews."[11] As a philosophical study of "man," society, and the possibilities of power, it expresses much of the inchoate energy determinism of the period. It also offered a technological and political plan for model communities on federal land grants west of the Mississippi, communities where infinite amounts of energy would be available from fossil-fuel alternatives, where wind, water, and the heat of the sun would be harnessed to efficiently designed energy technology.[12]

A century later, the benefits of fossil-fuel dependence had become so completely accepted that Bernard De Voto used the centennial of Etzler's *Paradise* to editorialize on Etzler's energy choices, calling his ideas for massive development of

[8] P. M. Harmon, *Energy, Force and Matter: The Conceptual Development of Nineteenth Century Physics* (Cambridge, 1982), 36–37.

[9] See the section below on political economy; for examples of the context that gave meaning to work, see Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (New York, 1987); for the influence of utopian texts on workers, see Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 10; see also Marion Lockwood, "Experimental Utopia in America," in Manuel, *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, 186–89; Segal, *Technological Utopianism*, 97–100; David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York, 1985), 125–37; John F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York, 1969); Dennis Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England* (London, 1979); see especially J. A. Etzler, *The New World or Mechanical System* (Philadelphia, 1841); Robert Owen, *The Book of the New Moral World, Containing the Rational System of Society, Founded on Demonstrable Fact, Developing the Constitution and Law of Human Nature and of Society* (London, 1836).

[10] A prime mover is that which converts energy into work (a person, animal, or machine) and produces power; it also denotes an initial force (water, wind, or muscle power). Etzler, like his friend John Roebling, selected the United States as the land of the future; Alan Trachtenberg, *Brooklyn Bridge, Fact and Symbol* (New York, 1965), 44–50; John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York, 1976), 42; Nydahl, "Introduction," xv; Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York, 1980), 276.

[11] Etzler, *Paradise*, part I, 3.

[12] After Etzler emigrated to England in 1842, he recounted his failures in the United States in *Two Visions of J. A. Etzler* (1844), reprinted in Nydahl, *Collected Works of John Adolphus Etzler*; also see Brostowin, "John Adolphus Etzler," vii–viii, ix, 33–42, 140; Nydahl, "Introduction," vi–viii, xvi–xviii. Etzler, *Emigration to the Tropical World for the Melioration of All Classes of People of All Nations* (Ham Common, Surrey, 1844), led to over thirty branches of the Tropical Emigration Society in England and Scotland, but the attempt to set up communities in Venezuela in 1845 again ended in fiasco.

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diverse, renewable energy sources "preposterous," a reversion to the "primitive," a perfect example of reactionary utopianism. Historians have subsequently reflected this same single-source mentality and similarly characterized Etzler's proposals as "idealistic" and "eccentric," evidence of the "mystical vision" typical of the "complete utopian."[13]

Such appraisals indicate a misunderstanding of early nineteenth-century energy options and discourse. Placed in context, Etzler's rejection of coal and steam expresses prevailing patterns of choice based on economic and engineering criteria. For manufacturers, the costs, dangers, and operational problems of steam engines discouraged their adoption and encouraged careful selection among competing options. In both the United States and England, as late as the 1860s, more than half the demands for power in manufacturing were supplied by people and animals, and by increasingly efficient windmills, water wheels, and turbines.[14] With the many constraints delaying widespread adoption of coal and steam, expectations of beneficial social transformation were hardly confined to a single power source or prime mover. Similarly, Etzler's technological proposals, such as his plans for clusters of tilted mirrors to use solar energy for steam, were hardly eccentric; they reflected the early nineteenth-century interest in energy innovation and efficiency. Etzler's expectations were typical in yet another way. His belief that increased power would soon eliminate drudgery and create a society "where everything desirable for human life may be had for every man in superabundance" echoed widely shared, if utopian, suppositions about the pace of technological adoption and the immediacy of the social consequences.[15]

Etzler was, in fact, synthesizing ideas that had shaped transatlantic values and objectives for at least half a century. After the American and French revolutions, the promise of power had emerged as an organizing principle for a better world. Wonder at what it could achieve and at its potential for fulfilling the social good became dominant cultural themes. Physical power rivaled military power as an acclaimed instrument of national supremacy and revolutionary change. In the elaboration of this mystique, inventions that harnessed energy and produced work were heralded as promising a new world and a new era.

American political leaders in the newly independent nation, fresh with the success of colonial revolution, looked to the power of water mills, windmills, fire, and horses to revolutionize modes of production. Although early attempts at water-powered spinning had proved abortive, by 1790, according to Tench Coxe, the performance of inanimately powered inventions exceeded the expectations even of the most "visionary enthusiast."[16] Despite the fears of artifice as a sinister, disruptive force endangering the equilibrium of rural society, greater reliance on

[13] Bernard De Voto, "What the Next Hour Holds," *Harper's*, 173 (1936): 109–12; Brostowin, "John Adolphus Etzler," vii, 66; Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 42; Trachtenberg, *Brooklyn Bridge*, 46.

[14] Dolores Greenberg, "Reassessing the Power Patterns of the Industrial Revolution: An Anglo-American Comparison," *AHR*, 87 (December 1982): 1237–61; see also G. N. Von Tunzelmann, *Steam Power and British Industrialization to 1860* (New York, 1978); Louis Hunter, *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1790–1930*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, Va., 1980–85); Martin Melosi, *Coping with Abundance: Energy and Environment in Industrial America* (New York, 1985), 17–34.

[15] Etzler, *Paradise*, part I, 1, 19.

[16] Tench Coxe, *An Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures, Convened for the Purpose of Establishing a Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, Read in the University of Pennsylvania, on Thursday the 9th of August 1787* (Philadelphia, 1787), reprinted in Michael Brewster Folsom and Steven D. Lubar, eds., *Documents in American Industrial History*: vol. 1, *Philosophy of Manufactures: Early Debates over Industrialization in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 42, *passim*; see also Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860* (New York, 1983), 39–41.

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water and steam, linked to machines, promised to enlarge the output of manufactures without drawing on much-needed agricultural labor. Not only Federalist advocates of manufacturing but also Republicans in the debt-ridden and beleaguered nation believed that harnessing power would bring national ascendancy.[17] Americans were already using steam to navigate boats, and Thomas Jefferson, like Coxe, predicted it could be applied generally to machines to "supersede" the use of water.[18]

Coxe, assistant secretary of the treasury under Alexander Hamilton, became a leading proponent of national energy development. In 1787, he presented his case at the founding assembly of the Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and Useful Arts. Arguing for economic and diplomatic victory in the competitive battle with Great Britain, he claimed success could be achieved by "combinations of machines with fire and water." Instead of muscle power, such "combinations" could be applied to a wide variety of activities—making pig and bar iron, nail rods, sheet iron, sheet brass and copper, gunpowder, meal, paper, boards, plank—and, as in European factories, could be used in textiles for carding, spinning, and weaving.[19] As a private citizen some twenty years later, he reported to the government that greater use of inanimate sources of power not only increased productivity, it also reduced human drudgery. Countering the criticism of "experienced physicians," Coxe claimed that capturing the forces of nature would bring "immediate relief to the industrious poor," as well as "procure us private wealth and national prosperity."[20]

After the War of 1812, when stability in Europe once again seemed possible, English supporters of manufactures urged the conversion of muskets to power-driven machines. The nation that claimed the invention of the steam engine and sought to monopolize water-powered spinning by prohibiting the export of "perpetual machines" clearly saw the significance of power technology in the transatlantic competition for supremacy. As George Porter observed in 1836 when assessing *The Progress of the Nation*, "It is to the spinning-jenny and the steam-engine that we must look as the true moving powers of our fleets and armies."[21] Edmund Cartwright, Richard Arkwright, and James Watt became heroes because their inventions enabled vast increases in output independent of muscular effort, which,

[17] Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 23, *passim*; Hugo A. Meier, "American Technology and the Nineteenth-Century World," *American Quarterly*, 10 (1958): 116–30; Edwin T. Layton, "The Industrial Revolution in America: Energy in the Age of Water and Wood," *Materials and Society*, 7 (1983): 250–51. For resistance to technology, see Merrit Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977); John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1500 to 1845* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), 268–72, 283–321; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York, 1964).

[18] Thomas Jefferson to Charles Thomson, April 22, 1786, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 9 (Princeton, N.J., 1954), 400–01; Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 42–62.

[19] Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 40–61.

[20] Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the Year 1812* (Philadelphia, 1814), xxi, xxiv–xxv.

[21] George Porter, *The Progress of the Nation, in Its Various Social and Economic Relations* (London, 1836), 188. See also Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures; or, An Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain*, 3d edn. (London, 1861), i–vii; Briggs, *Power of Steam*, 1–12, 54–74, 93; William Fairbairn, *Treatise on the Political Economy of Railroads; in Which the New Mode of Locomotion Is Considered in Its Influence upon the Affairs of Nations* (London, 1836), iv–vii; Zachariah Allen, *The Practical Tourist; or, Sketches of the Useful Arts and of Society, . . . in Great Britain, France and Holland*, 2 vols. (Providence, R.I., 1832), 1: preface, 1.

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as Watt's monument in Westminster Abbey read, "Enlarged the Resources of His Country."[22]

By the early 1830s, a growing literature focused on the dramatic impact of new technologies of power. Charles Babbage, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, writing *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, explained the extraordinary productive and social consequences of existing systems in which power was transmitted from a source to prime movers to a succession of machines. And he anticipated even greater social changes, predicting the introduction of extended power networks that would stretch from central stations in great towns to the homes of workers. For Peter Gaskell, an important source for Friedrich Engels, the revolution in modes of production had already occurred. In *The Manufacturing Population of England*, Gaskell reported that, wherever he traveled, machines were replacing people in the workplace. Similarly, Andrew Ure's *Philosophy of Manufactures*, another important source for Engels and Marx, opened with the proclamation that new power systems would "achieve a mighty revolution, not only in the structure of British Society, but in the fortunes of the world at large."[23]

Ure, a chemistry teacher at the Andersonian Institute in Scotland, had turned manufacturing consultant and was frequently called on by Parliament to test chemicals in industrial processes and to testify to the effects of new technology. Having toured the cotton districts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire in 1835, he tried to persuade an audience of political leaders, mechanicians, and new mill owners of the benefits of new work processes dependent on steam-driven prime movers. Although steam was still threateningly new and only selectively applied, his exaggerated account of its widespread adoption and benefits was—like Gaskell's—commonly accepted. In linking the progress of "the British system of industry" primarily to steam, Ure reinforced the mistaken view of the power patterns of these decades. In addition, Ure, like Gaskell, became an important source for the long-enduring misconception that inanimate prime movers were largely replacing human effort.[24] (Some recent historical analyses, emphasizing the unevenness of the industrializing process in the workplace, still present inanimately powered machines as an alternative to human effort, supplanting rather than supplementing human labor.[25]) Rather than being replaced, actual contributions of biological

[22] As quoted in John C. Merriam, "Steam," *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States: A Family Record of American Industry, Energy and Enterprise* (Hartford, Conn., 1861), 227; see also "Gain of Power by Machinery," 1824, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 2, British Library (hereafter, BL), London; Allen, *Practical Tourist*, 1: 132–45; Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 14–15; Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1832), 6–8; Nassau W. Senior, *An Outline of the Science of Political Economy* (1836; rpt. edn., New York, 1965), 72; *The Scotsman*, 8 (December 1, 1824). For the United States, see John Greenleaf Whittier, "The Stranger in Lowell," in Folsom and Lubar, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 423–26; Allen, *Practical Tourist*, 1: 123–24; Hunter, *Steam Power*, 157–66, 170.

[23] Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, 210; Peter Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833; rpt. edn., New York, 1972); Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 14–15, 363; see also Maxine Berg, *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815–1848* (Cambridge, 1980), 181–82; John M. Sherwood, "Engels, Marx, Malthus, and the Machine," *AHR*, 90 (October 1985): 846–51.

[24] Sherwood, "Engels, Marx, Malthus, and the Machine," 846–51; Donald MacKenzie, "Marx and the Machine," *Technology and Culture*, 25 (1984): 473–502; W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, "Introduction," Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (New York, 1958), xi–xiii.

[25] For example, Bruce Laurie does not account for biological prime movers for machines. He categorizes plants with over twenty-five workers but, as he puts it, "without power sources" as "nonmechanized factories"; Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia, 1980), 20–21. Using criteria that also neglect muscle power, Sean Wilentz classifies workplaces with over twenty-one employees that used steam as factories and those not using steam as "manufactories"; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984), 398. For the implication that rapid adoption of water wheels led to a decrease in total biological

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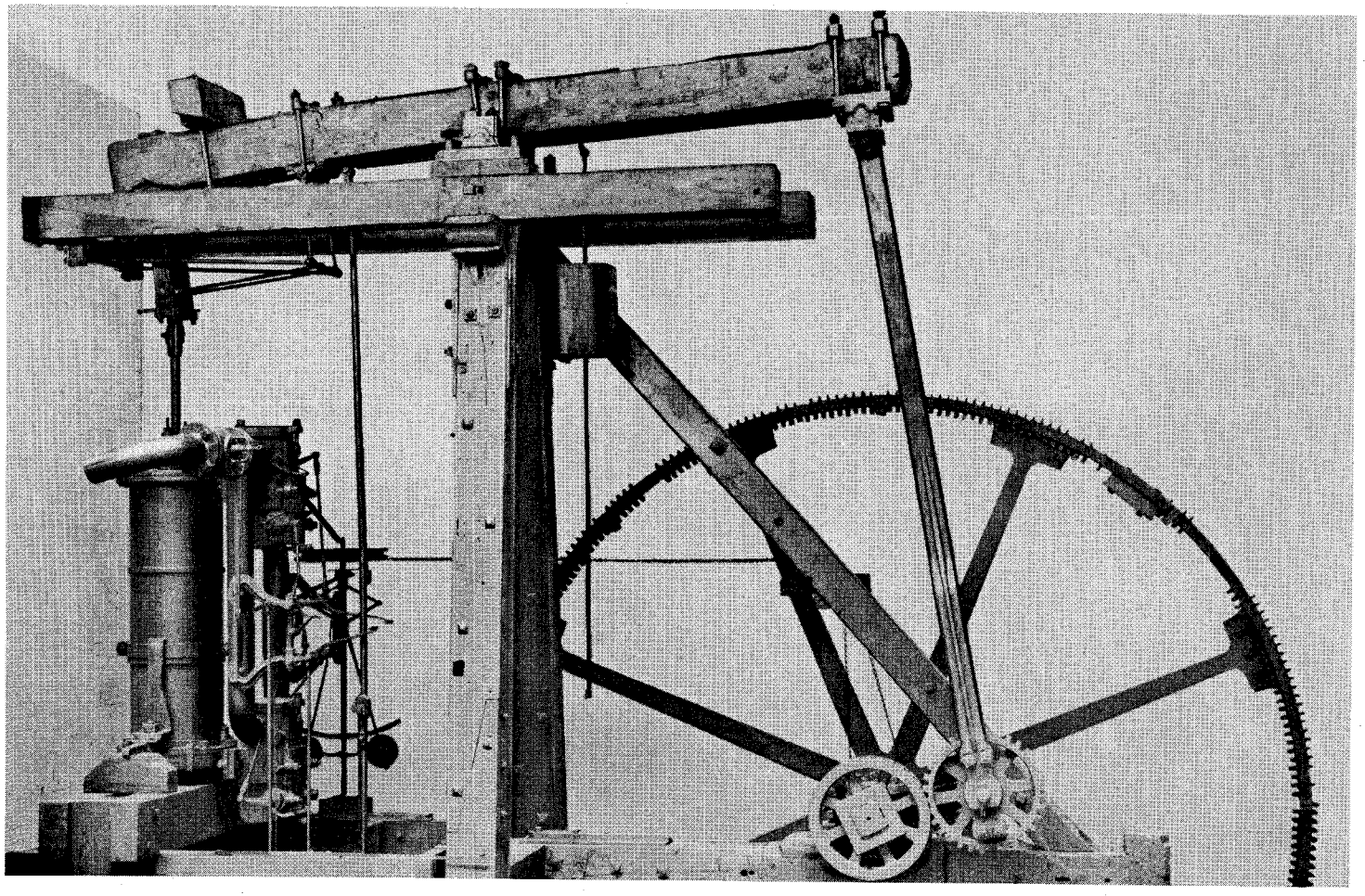


FIGURE 1: Boulton and Watt steam engine, 1788. The Science Museum, London.

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power in the expanding Anglo-American economy were rising, since, as prime movers increased, the number of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled manual workers serving as machine tenders was increasing.

The rhetoric of polemics further distorted early nineteenth-century assessments of the pace and nature of change. Thomas Carlyle's 1829 plea for a non-mechanistic moral ethos, for example, lamented that "our old modes of exertion are all discredited, and thrown aside. On every hand, the living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make room for a speedier inanimate one."[26] In the passionate debates about the "Machinery Question," critics and supporters of new energy technologies similarly inflated the rate and degree of adoption. Understandably, labor leaders and utopian socialists feared that "mere muscular force" was being devalued. But, in objecting to the degradation of work and the displacement of workers at specific tasks, they too encouraged the mistaken notion that machinery was "rapidly supplanting human labour."[27] Proponents of new work arrangements who applauded the benefits of eliminating drudgery and saving labor biased their arguments in much the same way. Ure went so far as to declare that the historical meaning of "manufactured"—handmade—had been redefined, reversed to mean machine-made.[28]

The prevailing confusion of the ideal with the real further encouraged the belief that inanimately powered machines were rapidly replacing people in the workplace. According to Ure, "[T]he constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery, [was] to supersede human labor altogether," and "the most perfect manufacture . . . dispense[d] entirely with manual labor."[29] Moreover, the English advocate of manufactures, Charles Knight, wrote as if the elimination of physical effort were already a reality: "[Machinery] does all the drudgery, all that requires mere brute force"; labor performed with the aid of wind, water, and steam, left to man only "the higher task of exerting chiefly his mind."[30] And Daniel Webster, defender of New England manufacturing interests, spoke, like Etzler, of the imminent creation of "millions of automatic laborers, all diligently employed for the benefit of man," to augment the wealth of the nation.[31]

In broader social analyses, harnessing power was credited with not merely initiating a new stage of human industry but a new stage of human history. By the 1830s, a generation before the formulation of a Darwinian biological model, some three-quarters of a century before the German philosopher William Ostwald equated the "history of civilization" with "the history of man's advancing control

power supplies, see Reynolds, *Stronger than a Hundred Men*. For the continued use of handwork, see David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States, 1800–1932* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 6–89.

[26] Thomas Carlyle, "Signs of the Times," *Edinburgh Review*, 49 (June 1829): 439–59, in G. B. Tennyson and Donald J. Gray, eds., *Victorian Literature: Prose* (New York, 1976), 27–28.

[27] *London Mechanics Magazine*, as quoted in Berg, *Machinery Question*, 158.

[28] Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 1. Because of the number and extent of handicraft operations, however, in his *Dictionary* Ure noted the impossibility of including them "without greatly extending the work to comprehend them"; Andrew Ure, *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (London, 1839), ix.

[29] Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 25, 1; also see Samuel Tyler, "The Influence of the Baconian Philosophy," *Princeton Review*, 15 (1843), as quoted in George H. Daniels, *Science in American Society: A Social History* (New York, 1971), 483.

[30] "Review and Extracts of Charles Knight's 'The Results of Machinery,'" *Mechanics Magazine and Register of Inventions and Improvements*, 1 (1833): 247–50, in Folsom and Lubar, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 317–25.

[31] Daniel Webster, "Lecture before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," from *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1903), as quoted in Folsom and Lubar, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 392.

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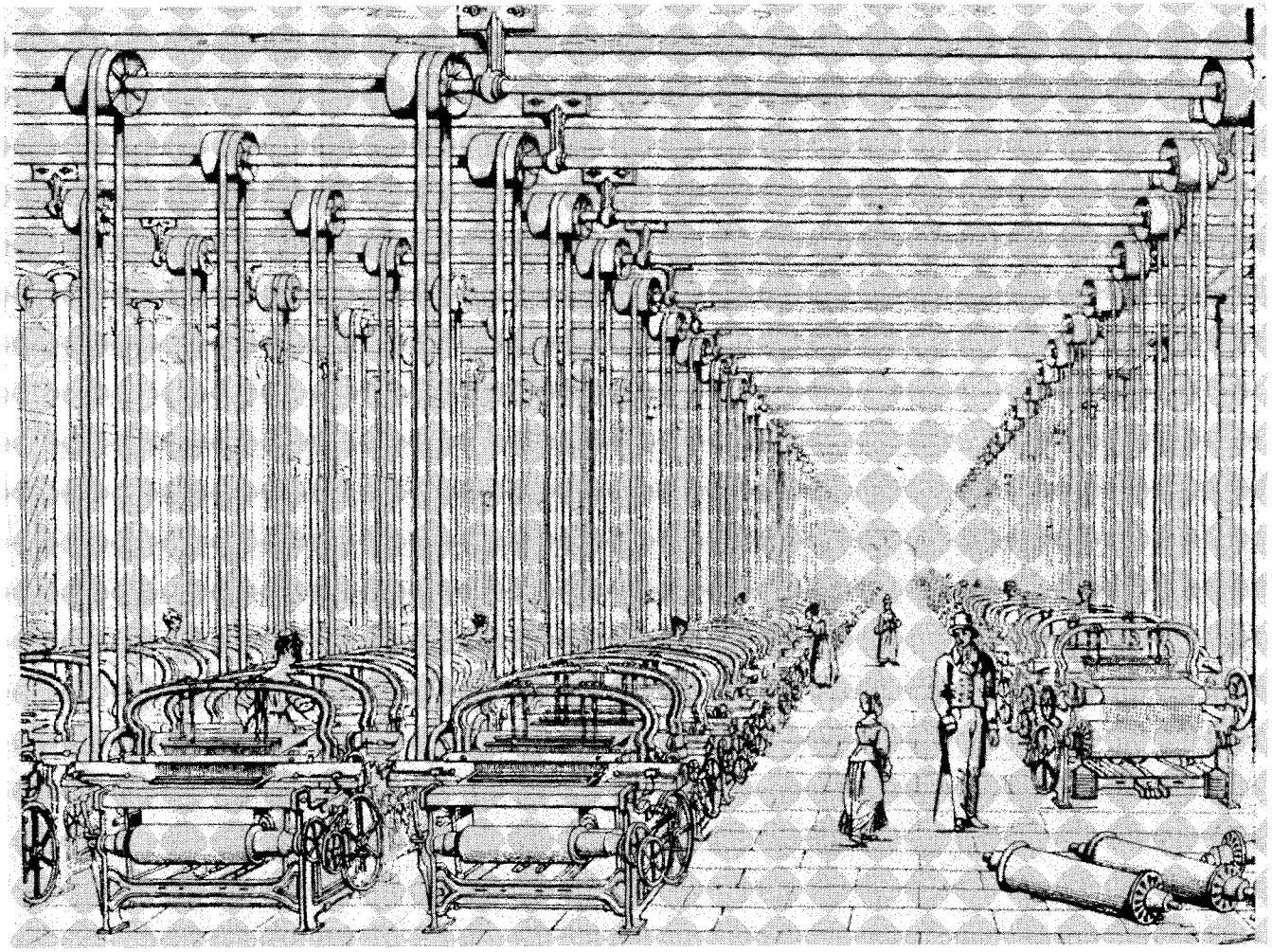


FIGURE 2: A highly stylized weaving shed. Note belts and shafting overhead. Museum of American Textile History, North Andover, Mass.

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over energy," and well before Henry Adams proposed a correlation between the laws of thermodynamics and those of history,[32] leading writers conceived of energy consumption as an index of cultural evolution, a yardstick of cultural complexity. At the same time that Auguste Comte proposed a "social physics" for the scientific study of society, Jacob Bigelow, Harvard's first Rumford Professor of the Physical and Mathemathical Sciences, presented progress as a technological ascent dating from the "barbarians" in the control and consumption of energy.[33] In similar language, Ezra Seaman's *Essays on the Progress of Nations* represented the history of civilization as "the triumph of man over . . . the laws of nature" and focused on how "man by his inventive powers and his own efforts and industry . . . can alter the face of nature . . . as well as nature's laws, into instruments and mechanical powers to augment the productiveness of his own industry, and the products of the earth."[34] When the radical English labor leader Thomas Hodgskin contrasted the productive powers of the "savage" with those of "civilized man," he found that the "whole difference . . . arose from the different modes of applying labour in the two states of society."[35] Drawing on the same assumptions, the eminent Scottish engineer, William Fairbairn, lectured on how "during the dark ages of a nation's history before it has emerged from the clouds of barbarism, what few mechanical contrivances exist are rude and imperfect, and alleviate very little of the toil of hard manual labor."[36] Or, as political economist Richard Jones wrote, "the efficiency of human industry depends on the continuity, skill, and power with which human labor is exerted; . . . the great cause which augments each, as man rises from a savage to a civilized condition, is the application of the results of past labor to augment the effects of actual exertion."[37]

THESE IDEAS ABOUT ENERGY AND CULTURE took shape a generation before agreement on the laws of thermodynamics. Physics was not yet a specialized mathematical field, no agreed-upon nomenclature existed for scientific analysis, and natural science as such had not yet emerged as a discipline distinct from natural philosophy. But the 1820s through the 1840s were experimental decades, marked by a string of discoveries about the conversion of energy from one form to another and

[32] William Ostwald, "The Modern Theory of Energetics," *The Monist*, 17 (1907): 501–11, as quoted in Reynolds, *Stronger than a Hundred Men*, 2; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1918), 379–90, 449–61, 475–98; Henry Adams, "The Tendency of History," and "The Rule of Phase Applied to History," in Brooks Adams, ed., *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (New York, 1919).

[33] Nisbet, *Idea of Progress*, 251–54; Jacob Bigelow, *The Elements of Technology; The Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts* (Boston, 1829), 5–6. Count von Rumford, the American Tory Benjamin Thompson, left the colonies during the revolution. His subsequent research on heat contributed significantly to energy physics.

[34] Ezra Chapman Seaman, *Essays on the Progress of Nations, in Civilization, Productive Industry, Wealth and Population* (New York, 1846), frontispiece, 59; (1852 edn.; rpt., New York, 1967), 1–2, 42–62, 125–72; see also George S. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater: The Father of American Manufactures Connected with a History of the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in England and America* (1836; rpt. edn., New York, 1967), 334–35, *passim*; Richard Jones, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth and on the Sources of Taxation* (London, 1831), 221–22.

[35] Thomas Hodgskin, lecturing at the London Mechanics Institute, July 1826, "Political Economy," Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 36, BL.

[36] William Fairbairn, *Three Lectures on the Rise and Progress of Civil and Mechanical Engineering and on Popular Education* (Derby, 1859), 1–2.

[37] Richard Jones, *Literary Remains, Consisting of Lectures and Tracts on Political Economy, of the Late Rev. Richard Jones*, William Whewell, ed. (London, 1859), 29.

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by fundamental theoretical breakthroughs in energy efficiency.[38] An understanding of energy principles emerged from many different avenues of investigation, most particularly from efforts to solve practical questions about the work processes and performance of people and machines. In France, Germany, England, and the United States, researchers focused on such problems as the muscular effort expended in mounting stairs, the effects of leverage and friction, and, most important, on questions of efficiency. What were "the best modes of applying the Moving Powers . . . [of] ANIMAL STRENGTH, WATER, WIND AND STEAM"?[39] How could the amount of work obtained from a given quantity of fuel be optimized? A critical advance in understanding the troublesome problem of efficiency dates from 1824, when French engineeer and physicist Sadi Carnot published his pathbreaking discoveries about how to maximize the efficiency of steam engines in converting heat to work.

Carnot's famous essay, *Reflections on the Motive Power of Heat and on the Machines Fitted to Develop This Power*, was followed by two decades of significant developments in power technology that created a continuing context for joining the pure and the practical. Benoit Fourneyron's 1829 account of the Prony dynamometer that actually measured the net power output of water turbines was but one example of this confluence. In 1831, while the American scientist Joseph Henry constructed an electric motor, in England, Michael Faraday published his discovery of electromagnetic induction. Within the decade, James Prescott Joule, influenced by newly demonstrated connections between light and heat, electricity and magnetism, set out to solve, as Carnot had, a key problem of performance: how to improve the efficiency of electric motors and make them competitive with steam engines. His results, confirming that energy was always converted from one form to another, and that it always takes energy to get energy, also demonstrated that the quantity of energy in the universe was constant. Thus, Joule argued, he had proven "that the grand agents of nature, are, by the Creator's fiat, *indestructible*."[40]

[38] Edward L. Youmans, ed., *Correlation and Conversion of Forces* (New York, 1864); Harmon, *Energy, Force and Matter*, 1–64, 149–55; Daniel M. Siegal, "The Energy Concept: A Historical Overview," *Materials and Society*, 7 (1983): 411–24; T. S. Kuhn, "Mathematical versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Sciences," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7, pt. 2 (1976): 1–31; Stephen Brush, "Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century," *Graduate Journal*, 7 (1967): 477–565; R. E. Schofield, *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason* (Princeton, N.J., 1970), 277–97; Robert H. Karagon, *Science in Victorian Manchester: Enterprise and Expertise* (Baltimore, Md., 1977). For difficulties defining the language and substance of physics, see especially Susan F. Cannon, *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period* (New York, 1978).

[39] From the frontispiece in John Nicholson, *The Operative Mechanic, and British Machinist: A Practical Display of the Manufacturies and Mechanical Arts of the United Kingdom* (London, 1829), vi; Jacob Bigelow, *A Short Reply to a Pamphlet Published at Philadelphia Entitled 'A Defense of the Experiments to Determine the Comparative Value of the Principle Varieties of Fuel Used in the United States and Also in Europe' by Marcus Bull* (New York, 1828); D. S. L. Cardwell, "Some Factors in the Early Development of the Concepts of Work and Energy," *British Journal for the History of Science*, 3 (1967): 209–24; Harmon, *Energy, Force and Matter*, 36–41. Energy and work are measured by physicists in joules or electron volts; by biologists and anthropologists in kilocalories; by engineers in British thermal units (Btu). Power is measured in different units, often horsepower or kilowatts, while work is expressed in units of power and time: the horsepower-hour (hph), or the kilowatt hour (kwh). All can be equated by standard conversion factors (1.000 kcal = 3.968 Btu, 1.000 hp = 0.746 kw), providing a standardized set of measures for energy budgeting and interdisciplinary analysis. For early nineteenth-century complaints that horsepower unit estimation was arbitrary and imprecise, see Hunter, *Steam Power*, 72–73.

[40] Sadi Carnot, *Reflections on the Motive Power of Heat and on the Machines Fitted to Develop This Power*, trans. R. H. Thurston (1824; rpt. edn., New York, 1943); Edward W. Constant, "Scientific Theory and Technological Testibility: Science, Dynamometers, and Water Turbines in the 19th Century," *Technology and Culture*, 24 (1983): 183–98; T. C. Truesdell, *The Tragicomical History of Thermodynamics, 1822–1854* (New York, 1980). For the technological context of the development of thermodynamics, see J. D. Bernal, *Science and Industry in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1953); D. S. L. Cardwell, *From Watt to*

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These dramatic discoveries contributed to the excitement over the potential of improved prime movers for industrial production. Not surprisingly, enthusiastic and often erroneous press reports helped fuel exaggerated notions of their diffusion and impact. At the same time, this growing appreciation of the applicability of energy principles to productive systems helped to temper a lingering Anglo-American antagonism toward theoretical knowledge and was reflected in the establishment of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.[41] The subject of mechanical work, force, and matter also began to figure prominently in lectures at universities and lyceums as well at the mechanics' institutes created to promote popular scientific education in the United States, Scotland, and England. In keeping with the strong scientific tradition of nineteenth-century British radicalism and the concern of workers in both nations for "mutual improvement," working-class leaders counseled artisans to join the newest skills to an understanding of the physical principles governing technologies of work.[42] As Hodgskin, the

Clausius: The Rise of Thermodynamics in the Early Industrial Age (London, 1971). For the independent conceptualization but reciprocal relations between science and technology, see Edward T. Layton, Jr., "Millwrights and Engineers, Science, Social Roles, and the Evolution of the Turbine in America," in Wolfgang Krohn, Edwin T. Layton, Jr., and Peter Weingart, eds., *The Dynamics of Science and Technology* (Dordrecht, 1978), 61–83; Edward T. Layton, Jr., "Mirror-Image Twins: The Communities of Science and Technology," in George H. Daniels, ed., *Nineteenth-Century American Science: A Reappraisal* (Evanston, Ill., 1972), 210–30. For the integration of science and technology based on thermodynamics, see David F. Channell, "The Harmony of Theory and Practice: The Engineering Science of W. J. Rankine," *Technology and Culture*, 23 (1982): 39–52. Joule and his career are placed in context in Karagon, *Science in Victorian Manchester*, 40–50, *passim*; quotation on 52.

[41] Richard Shyrock, "American Indifference to Basic Science during the Nineteenth Century," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 3 (1948): 50–65, is revised by Nathan Reingold, "American Indifference to Basic Research: A Reappraisal," in Daniels, *Nineteenth-Century American Science*, 38–62; Daniels, *Science in American Society*, 159–64; Linda K. Kerber, "Science in the Early Republic: The Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 29 (1972): 263–80; Alexandra Oleson and Sanford C. Brown, eds., *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War* (Baltimore, Md., 1976); and especially Robert V. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846–1876* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), 7–28, 43–105, 115–66. For the meaning of science for different social groups, see Thomas Bender, "Science and the Culture of American Communities: The Nineteenth Century," *History of Education Quarterly*, 16 (1976): 63–75. For England, see Bernard H. Becker, *Scientific London* (London, 1874), 232, 270–74; Babbage, *On the Decline of Science in England, and on Some of Its Causes* (London, 1830). On the emergence of professional engineers and their fusing of science and technology, see W. A. Pole, ed., *The Life of William Fairbairn* (London, 1877), 23–24, 415; "Prospectus of the University of London," 1826, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, fol. II, BL; Layton, "Millwrights and Engineers," 61–83; Monte A. Calvert, *The Mechanical Engineer in America, 1830–1910: Professional Cultures in Conflict* (Baltimore, Md., 1967); Robert B. Gordon, "Hydrological Science and the Development of Waterpower for Manufacturing," *Technology and Culture*, 26 (1985): 204–35; Hunter, *Steam Power*, 118–66.

[42] Because of Bigelow's concern for the practical application of science, he published his Harvard lectures "for the use of seminaries and students"; Bigelow, *Elements of Technology*; see also Bigelow, *The Useful Arts, Considered in Connection with the Applications of Science* (Boston, 1840); James Renwick, *Outlines of Natural Philosophy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1822–23); Renwick, *Treatise on the Steam Engine* (New York, 1830); *Elements of Mechanics* (Philadelphia, 1832); *Application of the Science of Mechanics to Practical Purposes* (New York, 1840); Daniel Webster," [A]n Introduction to the Course of the Season," Lecture at the Boston Mechanics' Institution, November 12, 1828, in *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (Boston, 1903), 2: 27–40; Carl Siracusa, *A Mechanical People: Perceptions of the Industrial Order in Massachusettes, 1815–1880* (Middletown, Conn., 1979), 69–75, 100–01; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1972), 227–39; Michael Borut, "The Scientific American in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1977); Stanley M. Guralnick, *Science and the Ante-Bellum College*, in *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 109 (Philadelphia, 1975); Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824–1865* (Baltimore, Md., 1974). For American encouragement of mechanics' institutes in Great Britian, see *The Sun* during 1824; and "Meeting at Crown & Anchor Tavern," November 12, 1823, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 1, BL. For England, see Berg, *Machinery Question*, 145–85; Mabel Tylecote, *The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1951* (Manchester, 1957).

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editor of *Mechanics Magazine*, observed, modern mechanics "are no longer workers with edged tools, but [have] pressed the great powers of nature into their service . . . [I]t was impossible to tell what at present unknown powers they might yet press into the service of mankind, when instruction was within their reach."[43]

By the 1830s, not only millwrights and engineers, experts on constructing power systems, but mechanics and students of manufactures increasingly recognized that productive processes depended on the physical principles governing energy. A generation before the laws of thermodynamics had been formulated, two insights traceable to Galileo were part of accepted knowledge: that the energy in nature was continually "transformed to achieve a desired end" and that, regardless of their purpose, machines had the common function of transforming and transmitting energy.[44] Moreover, recognition that successive machines converted, transmitted, and applied energy at different rates in order to do work led contemporaries to view machine operations as constituting a "system." Thus the principles of energy dictated that machines be identified as linked, interdependent components of power transmission systems.

The physical imperative of energy conversion and system interdependency testified to a central idea of natural philosophy so well articulated by Faraday: that "all must be connected to all" in the study of natural forces. Discovery of the constant conversion of different forms of energy from one to another by humans, animals, and machines validated this premise of the connection, common origin, and mutual dependence of seemingly different natural phenomena. In a larger cultural context, energy phenomena supported widely shared romantic formulations of organic unity embraced not only by scientists but by philosophers and poets such as Johann Fichte and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[45] Instead of a world made up of independent entities, public discourse increasingly stressed the interaction and mutual dependence of natural, economic, and political systems. Manufacturing, Ure declared, involved "three organic systems: the mechanical, the moral and the commercial."[46] Much of the social analysis of this period expressed the same adherence to a systems perspective and posited the interdependence of power, productivity, and the economic and moral dimensions of political economy.

The systems model was crucial in the new "philosophy" of manufactures. Intended to institutionalize recent inanimately powered means of production, this new "science" argued that the same primacy of interactive forces that governed in nature applied to industry. According to widely read tracts such as Ure's *Philosophy*

[43] Handbill 29, London Mechanics' Institute, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 36, BL; "Report of the First Anniversary Celebration of the London Mechanics Institute," December 31, 1824, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 36, BL.

[44] Cardwell, *Technology, Science, and History*, 36–43.

[45] Michael Faraday, "Some Thoughts on the Conservation of Force," in Youmans, *Correlation and Conservation of Forces*, 359–86; also see J. Agassi, *Faraday as a Natural Philosopher* (Chicago, 1971). For contemporary formulations of the systems concept and of energy flows within a system, see Zachariah Allen, *The Science of Mechanics, as Applied to the Useful Arts, in Europe, and in the United States of America; Adapted as a Manual for Mechanics and Manufacturers* (Providence, R.I., 1829); John Farey, *A Treatise on the Steam Engine, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive* (London, 1827). On the systems concept, also see Thomas P. Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 5–6, 7–17; Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, 368–69; Segal, *Technological Utopianism*, 17. More generally, see Brush, "Science and Culture," 480–85; B. Gower, "Speculation in Physics: The History and Practice of Naturphilosophie," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 3 (1973): 301–56; David A. Hollinger, "T. S. Kuhn's Theory of Science and Its Implication for History," *AHR*, 78 (April 1973): 370–93. For the argument that "Naturphilosophie" spawned something of a "counter paradigm" in natural history, see John C. Greene, "The Kuhnian Paradigm and the Darwinian Revolution," in Duane H. D. Roller, *Perspectives in the History of Science and Technology* (Norman, Okla., 1971), 9–24.

[46] Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 55.

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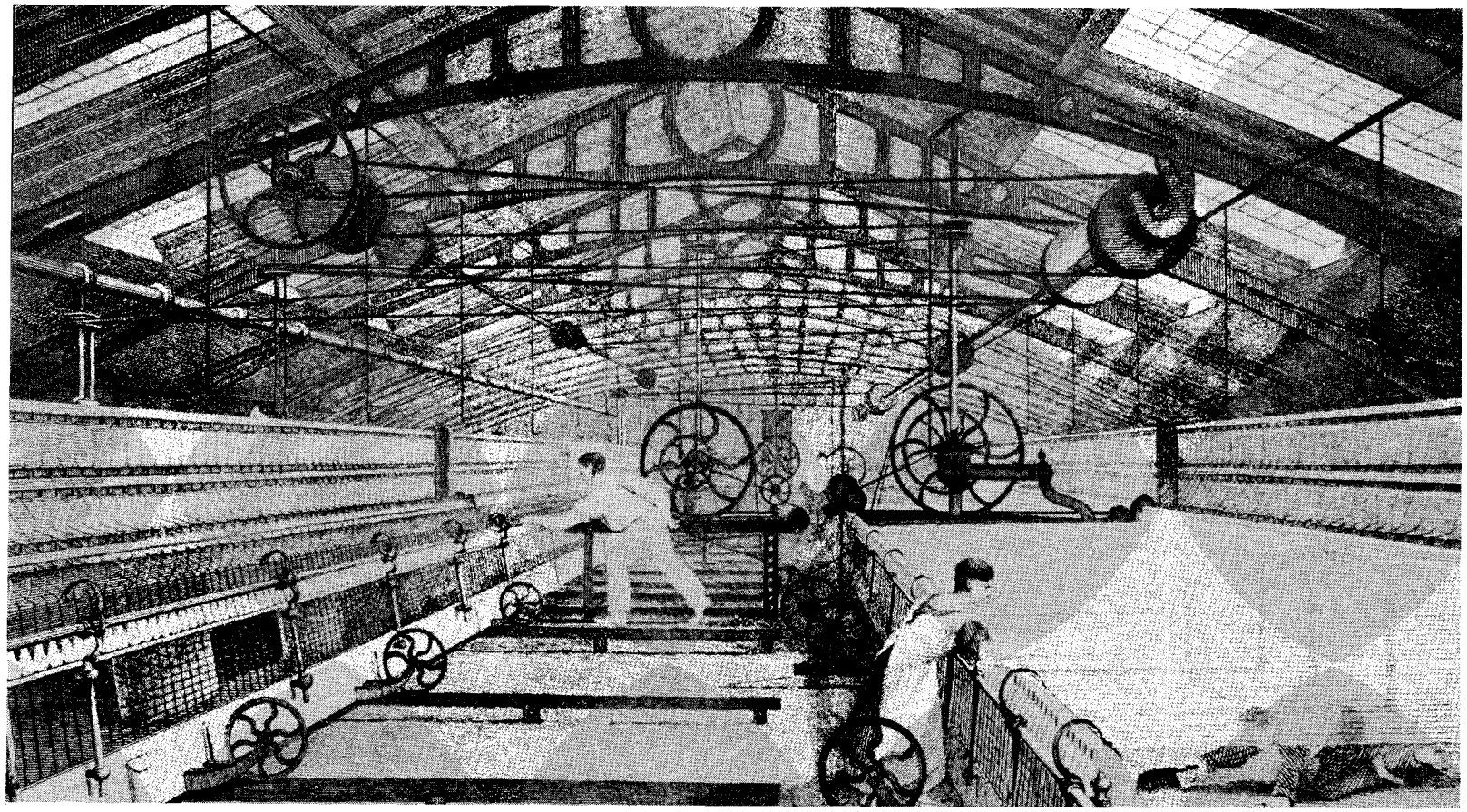


FIGURE 3: Le systèm de la "mule jenny": atelier de filature en Angleterre, vers 1830. Gravure de J. W. Lowry in E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, 1835. Bibliothèque Nationale.

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of Manufactures, Bigelow's *Elements of Technology*, and Babbage's *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, machine operations depended on the ways they captured and converted nonbiological "motive force" to transform matter. Readers of George S. White's *Memoir of Samuel Slater* were told, "The philosophy of manufactures investigates the most economical and energetic modes of applying the motive force to the various working organisms."[47] But, to increase production, save labor, and develop moral and work discipline, it was necessary to understand the interacting principles of these physical and social systems.

Advocates of manufacturing supported the scientific educational movement largely because they believed it important that these insights on physical and social science and their interdependence reach a wide public. Daniel Webster tried to explain to the U.S. Senate in 1838 that "machines are made to be active agents; to have motion, and to produce effect . . . and they are guided by laws of science."[48] Ure more aggressively admonished political leaders and manufacturers for their ignorance. He exhorted "those of rank," the educated, who had so far "given little attention to the subject," to learn more about the physical principles that explained the connections between work, power, and production.[49] Babbage, whose work was simultaneously published in Philadelphia and London, proposed that "even persons of tolerable education" could apprehend both the general principles of manufacturing processes and the mutual relations of which they were a part.[50]

However, contemporary analyses of machines and energy ignored biological contributions to production. Ure offers a telling example, for he omitted muscle power as a prime mover when he divided all machines into three groups and designated their specific functions: those constructed for producing power (the hydraulic wheel, the windmill, the steam engine); those used in the transmission and regulation of power (flywheels, valve governors, shafts, toothed wheels, and the gearing of mills); and those using power "to modify the various forms of matter into objects." In keeping with this approach, Babbage identified the critical machines as the prime movers that produced power, "making use of nature, as in the case of water and wind," and two other types, "those which merely transmitted force and executed work."[51] This tripartite division of machinery into prime movers, transmissive machinery to distribute the power of prime movers, and machines performing end-use operations such as heating space, cooking food, transporting goods, or transforming matter was standardized by William Fairbairn, founder of the Society for Civil Engineers, in his classic *Mills and Mill Work* (1861–63).[52]

This machine-power schema came into vogue before the synthesis of thermodynamics, even before an accepted definition of what a machine was or how it differed from a tool. And the broad use of the construct helped to distort nineteenth and twentieth-century views of mechanization. Since this division of machinery by

[47] G. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, 327, 322.

[48] Daniel Webster, "Second Speech on the Sub-Treasury," U.S. Senate, March 12, 1838, in *The Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. 4, 11th edn. (Boston, 1858), 439. A decade earlier, Webster told an audience of mechanics, "A machine is an invention for the application of motion either by changing the direction of the moving power, or by rendering a body in motion capable of communicating a motion greater or less than its own to other bodies, or by enabling it to overcome a power of greater intensity or force than its own"; Webster, "Introduction to the Course of the Season," 30–31.

[49] Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, ix, 6, 42.

[50] Babbage, *Machinery and Manufactures*, iv, viii–ix.

[51] Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 27; Babbage, *Machinery and Manufactures*, 16–17, 26.

[52] William Fairbairn, *A Treatise on Mills and Mill Work*, vol. 1: *On the Principles of Mechanism and on Prime Movers*, 2d edn. (London, 1864), 66.

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power function omitted any reference to muscle power, it suggested instead the primacy of nonbiological sources of power. As a consequence, mechanization became narrowly identified with mills and factories, which used only water and steam as prime movers. This notion proved so persistent that scholars still mistakenly equate the absence of an inanimate source of power with the absence of machine production.[53]

Recent research, however, should dispel this entrenched perspective. It leaves little doubt that, into the 1850s, handicraft methods still dominated manufacturing in both England and America. In workshop and cottage industry, the muscle power of animals and increasing numbers of "sweated laborers" or "hands" helped to expand productivity. Besides serving as prime movers of hand-operated tools and of machines, people tended machines in water and steam-powered mills where, by the 1830s, speed-ups and stretch-outs had intensified their labor. In addition, such advanced industries as cotton textiles and firearms used varying power sources and were not uniformly mechanized for different processes. By mid-century, the preparatory steps in metal working and the steps throughout cotton and worsted weaving were the only operations thoroughly mechanized in a key industry. Thus men, women, and children often served as the prime movers, providing the only source of effort for many types of factory operations.[54]

By the end of the 1830s, then, the promise of power had already been elaborated into a comprehensive set of formulations that appealed to the age-old desire to eliminate toil, drew on a cultural inheritance that sanctioned technology as a means to achieve a utopian state, and posited an ideal of automation to rationalize energy system development as a primary source of well-being. The potential of power to redefine attitudes toward work—its reduction, replacement, and elimination—also brought into question accepted axioms of political economy.

PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT CHALLENGE to political economy was the resolution of the complex theoretical problem posed by the diffusion of power technologies.[55] When Adam Smith first laid down the maxim that labor was the only source of wealth, he already counted horses, water, fire, wind, and steam among the sources of power. But Smith bypassed a fundamental question that engaged political economists a half-century later, namely, the differing contributions of people and inanimately powered machines to work, wealth, and well-being. In the "Causes of Improvement in the Productive Powers of Labour," he had focused primarily on "the toil of the human arm" and the threefold advantages of the division of labor. He attributed rising productivity "first, to the increase of dexterity in every particular workman; secondly, to the saving of the time which is commonly lost in

[53] See the citations in note 25.

[54] See, for example, Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Steven Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (New York, 1985); Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*; E. C. K. Harley, "Skilled Labour and the Choice of Technique in Edwardian Industry," *Explorations in Economic History*, 11 (1973–74): 391–414; Raphael Samuel, "The Workshop of the World: Hand Power and Steam Technology in Mid-Victorian Britain," *History Workshop*, 3 (1977): 6–72. For a reassessment of the idea of changed work routines resulting in greater productivity, see Eric Hopkins, "Working Hours and Conditions during the Industrial Revolution: A Re-Appraisal," *Economic History Review*, 35 (1982): 52–66.

[55] See, for example, Caleb Cushing, *Summary of the Practical Principles of Political Economy; With Observations on Smith's Wealth of Nations and Say's Political Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1826); Berg, *Machinery Question*, 75–143; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York, 1985), 3–144.

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passing from one species of work to another; and lastly, to the invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labour, and enable one man to do the work of many."[56] His analysis, as Joan Robinson observed, assumed a model of original relationships derived from an "idyllic past." In synthesizing eighteenth-century ideas on political economy, Smith did not adequately emphasize or account for the regularity, uniformity, and extraordinary output of inanimately powered machines. On the contrary, he gave new status to work and workers by claiming labor as the source of all national wealth.[57]

Although Smith located exploitation in the exchange rather than the production process, fifty years later, the adoption of new systems of work, creating new sources of wealth, were at the center of public controversy. According to their critics, new power-driven machines replaced jobs and robbed artisans of skills; water and steam prime movers enriched capitalists by altering the structure of the labor market at the workers' expense; power had become a means of control, a way for a new kind of manufacturer who wanted to enlarge productive capabilities to force work speed-ups. Under the direction of such profit-minded factory owners, progress tied laborers to incessantly operating machines. Moreover, the physical conditions under which workers lived damaged their health. Coal smoke did not merely stain their homes; its dangerous sulfureous vapors polluted the air of factory towns such as Manchester—where the "dark mass of smoke hover[ed], like a sooty diadem over this queen of cities"—and destroyed the lungs of women and children.[58]

Passionate indictments did relatively little to diminish a general belief in the potential of power to serve social ends. Despite Protestant affirmation of "industry" as a route to spiritual salvation, physical labor had continued to inspire disdain. In an emerging consensus, even Tory critics of progress and Old English Radicals such as William Cobbett acknowledged that inanimately powered machines made possible the productive use of time and energy that "distinguish[ed] civilized man from the savage."[59] So, too, fervent opponents of the age of mechanism such as Carlyle conceded, "What wonderful accessions have thus been made, and are still [being made], to the physical power of mankind . . . How much better fed, clothed, lodged, and, in all outward respects, accommodated, men now are, or might be by a given quantity of labour, is a grateful reflection, which forces itself on everyone."[60]

Each of the major competing ideologies of the early nineteenth century—liberalism, socialism, and transcendent idealism—accepted the need for unbounded power as the key to progress. John Stuart Mill summarized the great expectations:

[56] Adam Smith, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols. (London, 1776), 1: 9–11.

[57] Joan Robinson, *Economic Philosophy* (Chicago, 1962), 29. For Smith as a synthesizer, see Maxine Berg, "Political Economy and Principles of Manufacture," in Berg, *et al.*, *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory* (Cambridge, 1983), 33–40.

[58] Allen, *Practical Tourist*, 1: 121, 155, 160. For the varieties of anti-machinery sentiment in England, see Berg, *Machinery Question*, 180–202, 253–314; Igor Webb, *From Custom to Capital: The English Novel and the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 33–34; for the identification of socialist followers of Smith who focused on distribution and exchange in contrast to Ricardians, see Noel W. Thompson, *The People's Science: The Popular Political Economy of Exploitation and Crisis, 1816–34* (New York, 1984); for the United States, see Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 1–106; Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany, N.Y., 1967), 155–63; Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*.

[59] *The Political Register*, November 30, 1816, as quoted in Himmelfarb, *Idea of Poverty*, 116.

[60] Carlyle, "Signs of the Times," 27–28.

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Our knowledge of the properties and laws of physical objects shows no signs of approaching its ultimate boundaries . . . This increasing physical knowledge is now, too, more rapidly than at any former period, converted by practical ingenuity, into physical power . . . From this union of condition, it is impossible not to look forward to a vast multiplication and long succession of contrivances for economizing labour and increasing its produce: and to an ever wider diffusion of the use and benefits of those contrivances.[61]

Indeed, the radical working-class leader Hawkes Smith of Birmingham, speaking to an audience of mechanics, not only attributed improvements in the standard of living to steam but also linked the phenomenon to a decline in social hierarchies: "When the *steam engine* was perfected, half the *external* distinctions of rank vanished; the new power rendering manufacturing articles more accessible."[62]

Labor leaders and utopian socialists were not opposed to the new power-related technologies, but they found it difficult to reconcile the effects of increased physical power with their insufficent political power. Did workers benefit from understanding the theory of the winds, the *Chartist* asked, when they had no control of government?[63] They conceded that, if properly directed, physical power could further augment moral, material, and intellectual improvements for social harmony to become the basis, as Owen and Etzler said, for a new world.

Before Marx or Engels, utopian socialists and labor leaders had singled out capitalist control of physical power as a major source of growing inequities and the unequal distribution of wealth. As early as 1821, Owen proposed the need for social reorganization "by means of which the whole population might participate in the benefits derived from the increase of scientific productive power."[64] In 1836, the English publisher and Owenite John Brooks reprinted Etzler's *Paradise* because he "judged . . . [it] by far too important to remain unknown." Noting estimates that placed the mechanical and chemical power of Great Britain and Ireland as already equal to 600 million people, Brooks predicted such power would continue to enrich "the few at the expense of the many."[65]

Discussion of these problems became a major theme on the popular lecture circuit. In England and the United States, speakers grappled with the complexities of the relation of work to wealth as they tried to reformulate the labor theory of value: to decide whether the price of labor was determined by its product once "artifical" powers were used; whether manual labor alone was the real standard by which the value of commodities should be estimated or compared. Were workers entitled, as Ricardian socialists argued, to the full fruits of their toil? What, in fact, constituted wealth? Was it the case, as Daniel Webster declared to a crowd at the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1836, that "the true philosophy of the thing is, that any labor, any active agency, which can be brought to act usefully on the earth, or its materials, is the source of wealth"?[66]

[61] J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, 2 vols., 2d edn. (London, 1849), 2: 24.

[62] W. Hawkes Smith, "On the Tendency and Prospects of Mechanics' Institutions," *The Analysist*, 2 (1835), as quoted in Berg, *Machinery Question*, 148.

[63] Berg, *Machinery Question*, 170; see also Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians*, 163–64.

[64] Robert Owen, *Report to the County of Lanark of a Plan for Relieving Public Distress and Removing Discontent by Giving Permanent Productive Employment to the Poor and Working Classes* (Glasgow, 1821), in G. D. H. Cole, ed., *Robert Owen: A New View of Society and Other Writings* (London, 1927), 245–48. Etzler also called for new social arrangements, fearing that, with automation, labor would lose all of its value. Etzler, *Paradise*, part II, 15–19.

[65] As quoted in Brostowin, "John Adolphus Etzler," 58.

[66] Webster, "Lecture before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," Folsom and Lubar, *Philosophy of Manufactures*, 392. Thomas Hodgskin, lecturing at the London Mechanics' Institute, also

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Recent studies in working-class history have emphasized the importance of the labor theory of value to working-class identity and protest.[67] The concept of the right of workers to the whole product of their labor, however, was constantly challenged in attempts to resolve the ambiguities arising from other contributions to productivity. In the United States, by the 1820s, a range of questions about what constituted productive labor and who created wealth troubled Jacksonian labor leaders, since they had looked to the labor theory of value as an affirmation of the productive class and as an ideal blueprint for reforming society.[68] On both sides of the Atlantic, Smith's premises seemed increasingly anachronistic, especially in view of the reports about the depreciation of muscle power. In an analysis that Marx would make famous, the English engineer James Martineau confronted the worst fears of his audience of mechanics: "The natural machine, the human body, is depreciated in the market . . . Mechanical invention, and not mere labour, is the great source of national wealth."[69] This possibility troubled David Ricardo, the foremost advocate of the labor theory of value. Ricardo recognized that "there is no new creation of machinery which entirely supersedes the use of the labour of man. A steam engine requires the constant labour of man—he must regulate its motion and velocity—he must procure coals for the fire necessary to work it—he must attend to its annual repairs." But the third edition of his *Principles* conceded the possibility, albeit a limited one, of technological unemployment as a consequence of inanimate power.[70]

The focus on the characteristics of human effort resulted in a reconsideration of the basic tenets of political economy. Babbage, to clarify Smith's ideas on the division of labor, added the influential "Babbage Principle," calling for masters to divide work "into different processes, each requiring different degrees of skill or force." This distinction allowed for evaluation of the "precise quantity of both" and thus acted as a corrective to Smith's implicit assumption that one worker could have both the sufficient skill and strength to execute a given set of operations.[71]

Nassau Senior, who attributed England's rapid industrial growth to accelerating applications of inanimate power, raised other objections to Smith's labor theory. Finding fault with Smith's terminology as well as with his mode of analysis, Senior drew on the ideas of physical science in his attempt to achieve more precision. First, he distinguished between labor and "natural agents" and expanded the meaning of "natural agents" to include "those physical laws, such as gravitation and electricity, by the knowledge of which we are able to vary the combination of matter." Then, to define capital, he divided implements, tools, and machines into two classes according to power criteria: "those which are worked by the force of wind, or water,

found Smith neglected the importance of knowledge and its effects on the division of labor; London Mechanics' Institute, "Political Economy," July 1826, Add. MSS, 27,824, Place Papers, vol. 36, BL.

[67] See, for example, Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Albany, N.Y., 1981); Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia*; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*.

[68] Maurice F. Neufeld, "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson," *Labor History*, 10 (1965): 5–43; for the persistence of the idea of "productive classes" in twentieth-century union rhetoric, see Maurice Neufeld, "The Persistence of Ideas in the American Labor Movement: The Heritage of the 1830s," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 35 (1982): 207–10; see also Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians*, 174–75.

[69] *London Mechanics Magazine*, as quoted in Berg, *Machinery Question*, 158.

[70] David Ricardo to John Barton, May 29, 1817, *Letters, 1816–1818*, 158–59, as quoted in Berg, *Machinery Question*, 66, 43–74; David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, 3d edn. (London, 1821), 467–82.

[71] Babbage, *Machinery and Manufactures*, 175.

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or of steam" and "those which transmit power."[72] Finally, revising Smith's definition of fixed capital to be consistent with physical principles, Senior argued that food and fuel were both energy sources and that both people and machines converted energy from one form to another in order to do work. Since food was fuel for people, food became a form of fixed capital. "And in what does the consumption of food by a labourer differ from that of coals by a steam-engine? . . . Is not the food of working cattle productively employed? Does not the owner of a West Indian estate consider the supplies which he sends to his slaves as capital destined to productive consumption?"[73]

Richard Jones similarly objected to Smith's idea of labor as too loosely conceived. Jones identified the Earth and its elements as the original sources of wealth, then characterized labor as the "universal instrument, without which none of the productions of nature could be appropriated by man, or made more useful to him."[74] Unlike many of his contemporaries, Jones also pointed out that few laborers actually employed machines driven by wind, water, or steam: "[T]he vast majority of the population use[d] no other moving force than that of their own muscles."[75] Moreover, he pointed to the significance of what still remains a difficult idea to assimilate in economic analysis: energy efficiency. According to Jones, energy efficiency—whether biological or technological—constituted the true determinant of wealth. Neglect of this principle and the focus on energy quantity as a positive good had resulted in erroneous estimates of the comparative productive capacity of nations.[76] More specifically, Jones anticipated the question (which has only recently received attention) of whether high or low heat—energy quality—was being matched to the needs of different tasks in an effort to use less rather than more energy.

Jones, like Senior, tried to deal with a range of questions arising from the interdependence of theoretical and practical knowledge about energy. They both treated machines as dependent variables symbiotically bound into energy systems, yet neither could translate the still-amorphous concept of energy into a formulation of its relation to labor, costs, and capital; nor, understandably, could they resolve the relation between energy conversion efficiencies and economic efficiencies of production.[77] Though inadequate and inaccurate, their views reflected the growing awareness of the importance of physical science for political and social science.

[72] Senior, *Outline of the Science of Political Economy*, 64–67, 74. According to Senior, "limitation of supply, not the necessity of labour, is the differentia which constitutes wealth"; *Four Introductory Lectures on Political Economy*, in Nassau Senior, *Selected Writings on Economics* (1852; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 75–76; Senior, *Outline of the Science of Political Economy*, 22–25. Like many of his contemporaries, he confused energy principles. He erroneously confined power transmitters "to what are usually termed tools, such as the spade, the hammer, or the knife which assist the force, or save the time of the workman, but receive their impulse from his hand"; Senior, *Outline of the Science of Political Economy*, 51–58, 67–74; also see Nassau Senior, *Industrial Efficiency and Social Control*, Leon Levy, ed., 2 vols. (1841–62; New York, 1928), 1: 215–25.

[73] Senior, *Outline of the Science of Political Economy*, 65.

[74] Jones, *Literary Remains*, 6; Jones, *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, i–xlii, 217–30.

[75] Jones, *Literary Remains*, 9–27. Capital became the cornerstone of Jones's theory because the benefits of the division of labor depended on increasing capital for implements to increase power. Capital, he wrote, provided "the implements and machinery from the simplest to the most complex, by which all moving forces can be made to produce their greater effect; which can supply forces greater than those of man, and appropriate others, such as wind and water, which nature herself provided"; *ibid.*, 29.

[76] Jones, *Literary Remains*, 26.

[77] For an attempt to apply thermodynamic concepts to economics, see Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, *The Entropy Law and the Economic Process* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); *Energy and Economic Myths* (New York, 1976).

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As early as the 1830s, on both sides of the Atlantic, scientists, manufacturers, mechanics, politicians, literary figures, political economists, and labor leaders viewed social arrangements in relation to power systems. They identified amounts of power and the type—water or steam, animate or inanimate—as basic to the substructure of society. Physical power functioned as such a pivotal reference in discourse that it became an organizing principle linking the division of labor and the effects of mechanization to larger questions of work, wealth, and production. Moreover, it was commonly acknowledged that the social impact of using different types of power was dependent on a range of decisions, mediated by private choice and public policy about its harnessing, distribution, and consumption.

Although the effects of developing "natural forces" were viewed differently by different groups, each believed in a common ideal: that, with the right arrangement of political and economic power, increased physical power would lead to the elimination of drudgery, a source of abundant goods, an improved standard of living, increased leisure, personal perfection, and national supremacy. Excitement about the discoveries and applications of energy science gave shape to the works of Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Owen, just as it informed the works of Bigelow, Ure, and Babbage. Classical political economists articulated an energy ideal in much the same spirit as utopians. Like Etzler, Richard Jones set forth a vision "On The Most Perfect Form of Society as to Production" based on a strategy of energy development: "[W]e should require that the mechanical power with which the laborers carried on their work through all the varied employments of the population, was the greatest in every instance which could be created by any methods then known, of using auxiliary capital to augment the power of labor, whether by appropriating motive forces, or applying them."[78]

Etzler's dream of abundance without toil merely expressed contemporary hopes of a better world. Advances in the emerging science of physics and the achievements of technology made it seem possible that the powers in nature could be brought under control to guarantee abundance. This perspective epitomized a rationalist, materialist, evolutionary, if utopian, faith in keeping with dominant cultural aspirations—a projection of an energy paradigm on the age-old fantasy of a paradise regained, "where every thing desirable for human life may be had for every man in superabundance, without his labor, without pay . . . ; where he may accomplish without his labor, in one year, more than hitherto could be done in thousands of years."[79]

Although the varied, early nineteenth-century elaborations of the promise of power have long influenced accepted ideas, we need to reevaluate the nature of social change freed from this quantitative construct that equates the possibility of unlimited leisure and plenty with unlimited energy use in a much-too-simple formulation of history as growth and progress.

[78] Jones, *Literary Remains*, 402.
[79] Etzler, *Paradise*, part I, 1, 19.

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Comment

Recent Trends in the History of Technology

JOHN M. STAUDENMAIER

THE FIRST RECORDED MEETING OF THE Society for the History of Technology (SHOT) took place at the 1957 annual convention of the American Society of Engineering Education at Cornell University. Four members (John Rae, Carl Condit, Thomas Hughes, and Melvin Kranzberg) used the occasion to ask Cornell historian of science Henry Guerlac whether the History of Science Society's journal, *Isis*, might make room for articles on the history of technology. According to Kranzberg, the meeting with Guerlac "proved to be a disaster" and led to the formal foundation of SHOT in 1958 and the creation of a separate journal, *Technology and Culture*. Several decades later, SHOT—now numbering three to four hundred active members—and its journal are still the primary institutional outlets for historians of technology in the United States and Western Europe. SHOT is a tightly knit organization, and, among its members, the distinction between outsiders and insiders remains highly salient.[1]

In part, SHOT's self-perception of marginality goes back to its origins as an unappreciated rump group within the History of Science Society. Nor is it surprising that a field whose ideological and intellectual limits are difficult to identify and establish should be so concerned about its sociological boundaries. Because of the peculiar nature of the Western world's love affair with progress and its identification of progress with science and technology, the question of who is best suited to tell the story of technological change has been and continues to be hotly contested by an ideologically diverse array of individuals and institutions.[2]

That debate is particularly intense within the United States, where interpreters of the history of technology include museum curators, corporations, and the mass media, as well as academic scholars. Companies such as General Motors and Exxon

Any one observer's overview of a field of scholarship necessarily suffers from biases and limitations. I am grateful to Merritt Roe Smith, W. Bernard Carlson, Michael L. Smith, and Bruce Seely for taking time for extended conversations that verified some of my perceptions and called my attention to trends I had not thought about. The biases in the essay remain my own responsibility.

[1] Glen Porter's observation, after Merritt Roe Smith had won the Organization of American Historians' Frederick Jackson Turner Award in 1977, suggests SHOT's isolated status: "Smith's book represents a real breakthrough for the history of technology, in the sense that it achieved the rare feat of managing to get a lot of people who are not particularly interested in the history of technology to pay attention to a work by a historian of technology. Perhaps even more than most historical subdisciplines, those in the history of technology write for and talk to each other"; John M. Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers: Reweaving the Human Fabric* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 165; on SHOT's origins and early history, see 1–5.

[2] For a more complete view of progress ideology in the United States, see Christopher Lasch, "The Idea of Progress in Our Time," and John Staudenmaier, "Perils of Progress Talk: Some Historical Considerations," in Steven Goldman, ed., *Science, Technology and Social Progress* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1989), 229–39 and 268–93.

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devote considerable resources to spreading a positive version of their technological pasts. Much popular information about the history of technology comes from exhibits at World's Fairs (such as the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress) and theme parks (like the Walt Disney EPCOT Center), most of which were installed by major corporations.[3] Even when produced without corporate sponsors, mass-market book and television popularizations of the technology question tend to lack a critical perspective.[4]

Some of the most sophisticated public presentations are those developed by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History and the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, both of which have extraordinarily rich collections overseen by highly sophisticated curators. Yet even their most recent exhibits—the Smithsonian's "Engines of Change" and the Ford Museum's "Automobile in American Life"—offer somewhat simplified versions of technology's past. In its display booklet, the Smithsonian attempts to provide a balanced story of nineteenth-century American industrialization, but, for viewers of "Engines of Change," the aesthetic splendor of its precision machinery is so powerful as to overwhelm printed caveats about the benefits of progress. Similarly, the Ford automobile exhibit marvelously evokes the United States's love affair with cars but has difficulty acknowledging recent automotive problems.

Within the scholarly ranks of SHOT, such conflicts over method and interpretation tend to take the form of a debate between internalist and contextualist approaches. From 1959 to 1968, only about 41 percent of the articles published in *Technology and Culture* offered a contextualist perspective, but, during the past ten years, that percentage climbed to 68. In their footnotes, internalists often converse with a narrowly defined group of scholars who have made the technology in question their primary concern. Some argue explicitly that only those who can solve the "black box" equations should be considered serious historians of technology. As the shift within *Technology and Culture* makes clear, however, contextualist approaches, which attempt to integrate a technology's design characteristics with the complexities of its historical ambience, increasingly dominate the field. Most recently, an almost purely externalist approach has emerged, whose proponents, interested in cultural context, pay almost no attention to issues of technological design.[5]

The articles by Dolores Greenberg and Cecil O. Smith that appear in this issue of the *American Historical Review* exemplify this last approach. While Greenberg makes mention of factories, steam engines, water turbines, and both muscle and inani-

[3] For a critique of EPCOT, see Michael L. Smith, "Back to the Future: EPCOT, Camelot, and the History of Technology," in Bruce Sinclair, ed., *New Perspectives on Technology and American Culture* (Philadelphia, 1986).

[4] For a few recent examples of popularizations of varying quality, see O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Disappearing through the Skylight: Culture and Technology in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1989); and Witold Rybczynski, *Taming the Tiger: The Struggle to Control Technology* (New York, 1983). James Burke's pretentious PBS television series, "Connections," exemplifies a popular history approach that is almost completely innocent of what most historians of technology would call a critical historical perspective.

[5] For examples of recent internalist publications, see John Daniels and Christian Daniels, "The Origin of the Sugarcane Roller Mill," *Technology and Culture*, 29 (July 1988): 493–535; and Sergio Luis Sanabria, "From Gothic to Renaissance Stereotomy: The Design Methods of Philibert de l'Orme and Alonso de Vandelvira," *Technology and Culture*, 30 (April 1989): 266–99. On SHOT's internalist ancestry and early history, see Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers*, 5–12. Externalist articles appear to have evolved later than the contextual method. From 1967 on, they maintain between 16 percent and 18 percent of journal articles, while internalist articles constitute about 10 percent. On the taxonomic definitions used to score *Technology and Culture* articles as internalist, contextualist, or externalist, see Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers*, 202–09.

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mately powered machines, she is primarily concerned with the gradual emergence—among nineteenth-century British and American economists, utopians, and social theorists—of an energy ideal: "that, with the right arrangement of political and economic power, increased physical power would lead to the elimination of drudgery, a source of abundant goods, [and] an improved standard of living."[6] Greenberg concludes that confused and sometimes inaccurate theories linked energy consumption with the creation of wealth and the progress of civilization. Cecil O. Smith, though writing from long familiarity with technological artifacts—bridges, tunnels, and other civil engineering projects—concentrates on institutional and ideological conflict: the 250-year-long struggle of the French Corps of Engineers, an institutional embodiment of the Colbertian-Cartesian ideal of rational planning and state control, to control the development of transportation systems in France in the face of repeated assaults by private-sector liberals.[7]

Historians of technology can be categorized according to their emphasis as internalists, contextualists, or externalists. Their work also can be classified as belonging to one (or more) of nine key subject areas. Four topics (two general and two highly specific) have dominated the field for many years: technological creativity, the science-technology relationship, the American system of manufactures, and electricity. Two others are attracting renewed interest: the military history of technology and technology from a capitalist perspective. Finally, a new generation of scholars is increasingly concerned with issues of work and gender, as well as the symbolic construction of technology.

The processes that produce new technologies have long been one of the history of technology's most popular fields. From the late 1950s into the 1970s, most work in this area argued that three distinctly different modes of creative activity are almost always operative when new technologies emerge: invention (solutions to technical problems), development (high-cost, controlled-environment projects aimed at the creation of a functioning prototype), and innovation (procedures such as manufacturing and marketing, required to introduce the technology into ordinary use). "Invention-development-innovation" continues as a commonly accepted basic model. Recently, however, the emphasis has shifted toward looking at emerging technologies as systems or components of systems. The most influential of such studies is Thomas Hughes's magisterial *Networks of Power* (1983). Through a case study of electrification, Hughes argues that a technology cannot be understood by looking only at its internal design. He sees technology as an "open" system because the processes by which it acquires a particular design involve political, economic, and societal, as well as technical, factors.[8]

[6] Dolores Greenberg, "Energy, Power, and Perceptions of Social Change in the Early Nineteenth Century," *AHR*, 95 (June 1990): 714. Greenberg cites, but never debates, a number of historians of technology, including Merritt Roe Smith, Edwin Layton, Bruce Sinclair, and Thomas Hughes.

[7] Cecil O. Smith, Jr., "The Longest Run: Public Engineers and Planning in France," *AHR*, 95 (June 1990): 657–92. Despite the parallels and contrasts between Cecil Smith's study of institutionalized engineering in France and Edwin Layton's much earlier work on U.S. engineering societies (Edwin T. Layton, Jr., *The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession* [Cleveland, 1971]: Dexter Prize, 1971), Smith does not cite Layton.

[8] For the linguistic evolution of the three terms within SHOT's universe of discourse, see Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers*, 40–61. Thomas Parke Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1983: Dexter Prize, 1985), esp. 1–17. Dolores Greenberg's citation of *Networks* (note 45) in this issue is typical of recent references to Hughes as the major exponent of a systems approach.

SHOT's treatment of emerging technology is more complex than this sketch can indicate. For more details about various uses of the systems approach, and for two distinct but less popular alternatives that

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Most recently, a small group of European sociologists of technology, in collaboration with American historians of technology, has developed a radically different approach to technological creativity. They use case studies of innovation as models of how innovative groups maintain project homeostasis within an often-hostile institutional and cultural environment. For example, John Law and Michel Callon explain the failure of the British military aircraft TSR 2 as the result of competition between social groups with conflicting definitions of the desired outcome.[9] SHOT Secretary Bruce Seely speaks for a number of historians of technology when he expresses concern that the dominance of complex sociological models might diminish the value attached to empirical work. Seely adds, however, that the presence of Thomas Hughes—whose hardware credentials are impeccable—as editor of and contributor to a volume titled *The Social Construction of Technical Systems* is a promising sign that the convergence of transatlantic and disciplinary perspectives may be fruitful.[10]

From the late 1950s to the present, the relationship of science and technology has received much attention in the pages of *Technology and Culture*. Yet, for the most part, researchers in this area tend to ask the same questions over and over. How does scientific theory influence technological change? How does technological practice influence scientific theory? Does the technology of instruments affect scientific practice? Do scientists and technologists differ in their social groupings? With the exception of Walter Vincenti's series of meticulously researched case studies intended to differentiate between scientific and technological cognition, Edwin Layton's "Mirror-Image Twins" article in 1971 may well represent the last genuine methodological innovation on the topic.[11]

The American system of manufacture is the only non-internalist technological subject that has generated substantial, explicit, and theoretical discussion over many years. Traditionally, the topic includes the following stories: the development, in the first half of the nineteenth century, of machine tools during the U.S. Ordnance Department's quest for interchangeable parts; the technology's triumphant unveiling at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, where it was dubbed the "American System"; and the gradual diffusion of machine-tool technologies from the weapons sector into other metal-parts industries such as sewing machines, typewriters, bicycles, and eventually the automobile. Its best

concentrate on technical traditions and infrastructure support networks to explain the context of emerging technology, see Staudenmaier, *Technology's Storytellers*, 61–82.

[9] John Law and Michel Callon, "Engineering and Sociology in a Military Aircraft Project: A Network Analysis of Technological Change," *Social Problems*, 35 (June 1988): 284–96. To date, Wiebe Bijker, Donald MacKenzie, John Law, and Trevor Pinch have shown most active interest in SHOT affairs. Their work, and that of the group's other major contributors, can be found in two recent publications: Bruno Latour, *Science in Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); and Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas P. Hughes, and Trevor Pinch, eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

[10] Telephone conversation with Bruce Seely, April 15, 1990.

[11] Edwin Layton, "Mirror-Image Twins: The Communities of Science and Technology in 19th Century America" *Technology and Culture*, 12 (October 1971): 562–80. Vincenti's most recent article is "The Davis Wing and the Problem of Airfoil Design: Uncertainty and Growth in Engineering Knowledge," *Technology and Culture*, 27 (October 1986): 717–58. He published three earlier studies in *Technology and Culture* in 1979, 1982, and 1984: Walter G. Vincenti, "The Air-propeller Tests of W. F. Durand and E. P. Leslie: A Case Study in Technological Methodology," *Technology and Culture*, 20 (October 1979): 712–51; "Control-Volume Analysis: A Difference in Thinking between Engineering and Physics," *Technology and Culture*, 23 (April 1982): 145–74; "Technological Knowledge without Science: The Innovation of Flush Riveting in American Airplanes, ca. 1930–c.1950," *ibid.*, 25 (July 1984): 540–76.

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articulation is David Hounshell's *From the American System to Mass Production.*[12] In his contribution to the recent festschrift for Melvin Kranzberg, founding editor of *Technology and Culture*, however, Hounshell argues that the topic has become over-researched. He is concerned lest chauvinistic exaltation of Yankee know-how distort our understanding of the technological relationships of the United States and Western Europe and the complex patterns of U.S. nineteenth-century development.[13]

Despite its overworked status, the American system question has played a role in generating a fresh and promising approach to the larger question of American industrialization. Merritt Roe Smith's *Harpers Ferry Armory* (1977) was the first work by a SHOT insider to receive national recognition—the Frederick Jackson Turner Award—outside the field, and it helped to popularize a community study approach to industrialization. Smith described the push for interchangeability of parts at Harpers Ferry in terms of a conflict between the traditional values of skilled artisans and local gentry and the Ordnance Department's passion for uniformity in managerial style as well as metal parts. The nearly simultaneous publication of Anthony F. C. Wallace's similar work, *Rockdale* (1988), generated comparisons between Smith's conflictual and Wallace's consensual characterizations of American industrialization. Subsequent local studies, such as Philip Scranton's *Proprietary Capitalism* (1983) and Judith McGaw's *Most Wonderful Machine* (1987) have further reinforced the notion that the values and social configuration of specific communities helped to determine whether industrialization is violent or peaceful.[14]

Nowhere are the blurred lines between specific technologies and thematic questions more evident than in SHOT's most thoroughly researched subject area, electricity. Thomas Hughes's decision, in *Networks of Power*, to treat electrical technologies as having distinct national styles flows directly from his open systems approach. If major technologies must be understood in terms of the political, economic, and societal factors that influence them, then distinct national configurations of those factors will yield distinct configurations of technologies. Hughes's comparison of German, British, and American styles of electrification has inspired a number of similar studies.[15] Other scholars have framed the study of electrical technology somewhat differently, focusing on corporate-specific patterns of research and development. For example, W. Bernard Carlson has looked at how technological innovations and corporate structures and strategies intertwined at General Electric prior to the creation in 1900 of its formal research and develop-

[12] David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800–1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States* (Baltimore, Md., 1984: Dexter Prize, 1987).

[13] David A. Hounshell, "Rethinking the History of 'American Technology,'" in *In Context: History and the History of Technology, Essays in Honor of Melvin Kranzberg* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1989), 217–20.

[14] Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977: Frederick Jackson Turner Award, 1977); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978); Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (Philadelphia, 1983); Judith McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine: Mechanization and Social Change in Berkshire Paper Making, 1801–1885* (Princeton, N.J., 1987: Dexter Prize, 1989).

[15] Renfrew Christie, *Electricity, Industry, and Class in South Africa* (London, 1984); Christopher Armstrong and H. V. Nelles, *Monopoly's Moment: The Organization and Regulation of Canadian Utilities, 1830–1930* (Philadelphia, 1986); Robert L. Frost, *Alternative Currents: Nationalized Power in France, 1946–1970* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Jonathon Coopersmith, *The Electrification of Russia, 1880 to 1926: Power Plants, Politics and People* (Macmillan, forthcoming); Edmund N. Todd, "Industry, State and Electrical Technology in the Ruhr circa 1900," *Osiris*, 2d ser., 5 (1989): 243–59; see also Leslie Hannah, *Electricity before Nationalization: A Study of the Development of the Electricity Supply Industry in Britain to 1948* (Baltimore, Md., 1979).

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ment laboratory under Willis R. Whitney.[16] Finally, Reese Jenkins's team, assembled at Rugers University and the West Orange, New Jersey, site of Thomas Edison's research, development, and manufacturing facilities, has begun publication, in letterpress and microfilm versions, of the vast Edison collection, which consists of 3.5 million pages of laboratory notes, correspondence, and business records from the many Edison enterprises. Drawing on this newly edited material, Robert Friedel, Paul Israel, and Andre Millard have published monographs that advance the study of Edison, as inventor and businessman, beyond popularization and hagiography.[17] Whatever their approach, electricity studies tend to focus on how the context of origin influences a technology's design rather than on the perhaps more important question of how the technology's design comes to influence its host society.

Despite its obvious influence on technical design and funding priorities for research and development, the relationship between technology and the military remains a relatively underdeveloped research area.[18] The eight case studies presented in *Military Enterprise and Technological Change* (1985) represent a significant early effort to test the assertion that U.S. technological style would have turned out differently in a less militarized context by tracing causal connections between military bureaucracy, ideology and funding patterns, and the particular details of specific technologies.[19] English scholar Donald MacKenzie's forthcoming book, *Inventing Accuracy: An Historical Sociology of Nuclear Missile Guidance*, promises to add to the new critical literature. Seeking, as he calls it, "the blackest black box" (that is, a technology whose internal design is so complex that political or societal influences on the design are highly unlikely), MacKenzie studies the inertial guidance systems for American—and, to a lesser extent, Soviet—ICBMs and concludes that societal factors, including a military-industrial mindset, influenced both the definition of research and development goals and the resulting hardware. Finally, the very title of Barton C. Hacker and Sally L. Hacker's "Military Institutions and the Labor Process: Noneconomic Sources of Technological Change, Women's Subordination, and the Organization of Work," an analysis of military institutions as structural sources of a Tayloristic division and degradation of labor, in particular the hierarchical subordination of women, is one more sign that critical new thinking about a military style of technology has begun to take hold within SHOT.[20]

[16] W. Bernard Carlson, *Invention as a Social Process: Elihu Thomson and the Rise of the Electrical Industry, 1875–1900* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). In addition to Harold C. Passer's classic *Electrical Manufacturers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), see Leonard Reich, *The Making of American Industrial Research: Science and Business at GE and Bell, 1876–1926* (New York, 1985); and George Wise, *Willis R. Whitney, General Electric, and the Origin of U.S. Industrial Research* (New York, 1985).

[17] Robert D. Friedel and Paul Israel with Bernard S. Finn, *Edison's Electric Light: Biography of an Invention* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); Andre Millard, *Edison and the Business of Innovation* (Baltimore, Md., 1990).

[18] Among SHOT members, Daniel R. Headrick's two monographs, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981); and *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (New York, 1988), represent the most thorough studies to date.

[19] Merritt Roe Smith, ed., *Military Enterprise and Technological Change: Perspectives on the American Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). Roe Smith's introduction and Alex Roland's bibliographical essay offer the most helpful available overviews of the topic.

[20] Donald MacKenzie, *Inventing Accuracy: An Historical Sociology of Nuclear Missile Guidance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). Bernard Carlson, editor of the MIT Press series in which the volume appears, is my source for the "blackest black box" quote. Barton C. Hacker and Sally L. Hacker, "Military Institutions and the Labor Process: Noneconomic Sources of Technological Change, Women's Subordination, and the Organization of Work," *Technology and Culture*, 28 (October 1987): 743–75.

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Similar critical trends have begun to appear in studies of technology's relationship to capitalism. Most notable here is the work of David F. Noble (and, to a lesser extent, Lynn White), which approaches capitalism as a cultural option, rather than an inevitable historical outcome. In *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (1979), Noble argues that the early twentieth century witnessed the rise of a corporate strategy aimed not merely at improving technical efficiency and market demand but also at creating an intimate, and often explicitly arranged, network of big business, universities, and government so as to enforce across the country a corporate consensus about the value of science and technology that would preempt dissent. In a more recent book, *Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation* (1984), Noble explores one example of the triumph of that consensus, looking at how an ideologically driven alliance between General Electric and the U.S. Air Force pushed numerically controlled machine tools over viable alternatives for such ideological reasons as the drive to disenfranchise shopfloor machinists.[21] While Noble's Marxist perspective makes some historians of technology uncomfortable, his voluminous source materials and incisive argumentation are too compelling to ignore. In a somewhat similar fashion, Lynn White (1968) argued that Christian theology led more or less directly to an exploitative capitalist technological style. Recently, however, George Ovitt (1987) has challenged White's view, arguing that Christian literature during the patristic and medieval periods attributed a complex blend of purposes to technology and work such as the praise of God's beauty, acquiring a surplus to help the poor, disciplining unruly passions, and imitation of the Creator. Taken together, they represent an understanding of technology as stewardship over rather than exploitative conquest of nature.[22]

Much less radical are those analyses of capitalism and technology that show the influence of business and economic history. For example, many historians of technology have read Alfred Chandler's book *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (1977), which studies the influence of technological change on the evolution of business structures. The effect of this approach can be seen most clearly in the many studies of corporate in-house research and development, such as Reese V. Jenkin's *Images and Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1829–1925* (1975).[23] While two prize-winning books, Judith McGaw's interpretation of Berkshire paper making and David J. Jeremy's study of the diffusion of early nineteenth-century textile technology from Great Britain to the United States, show the influence of economic methods and theories, American historians of technology have shown less interest in economic history's focus on

[21] David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1979); *Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation* (New York, 1984).

[22] George Ovitt, Jr., *The Restoration of Perfection: Labor and Technology in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987); Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," in Lynn White, Jr., *Dynamo and Virgin Reconsidered: Essays in the Dynamism of Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 75–94.

[23] Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Reese V. Jenkin, *Images and Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1829–1925* (Baltimore, Md., 1975: Dexter Prize, 1978); see also Hugh G. J. Aitken, *Syntony and Spark: The Origins of Radio* (New York, 1976); and *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932* (Princeton, N.J., 1985: Dexter Prize, 1988); Susan J. Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899–1922* (Baltimore, 1987); and David Hounshell and J. K. Smith, *Science and Corporate Strategy: Du Pont R&D, 1902–1980* (New York, 1988).

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large-scale market patterns than in business history's attention to specific corporate styles of research and development.[24]

More than in any thematic area discussed to this point, the study of capitalism and technology has generated two reasonably well-articulated bodies of discourse that approach the same question from ideologically distinct, almost contradictory, starting points. Those who study corporate research and development in the Alfred Chandler tradition tend to concentrate on rational strategies (mostly of invention, development, or innovation) *within* the corporation without questioning the legitimacy of the corporate-capitalist frame of reference. For the other group, the question of legitimacy either explicitly defines research, as with Noble, or strongly influences the context within which research questions take shape.[25] Scholars addressing the remaining three thematic areas tend to share the second group's willingness to challenge historical depictions of mainstream corporate capitalism as an inevitable development.

Merritt Roe Smith's *Harpers Ferry Armory* has become a powerful—and badly needed—argument for the inclusion of questions relating to workers in histories of technology. SHOT's origins help to explain the society's tendency to view the history of science as its only near intellectual neighbor and to avoid similar relations with other specialities such as the history of labor. Obviously, workers ordinarily are thoroughly familiar with the production technologies studied by so many historians of technology. Nonetheless, SHOT has never seriously considered a joint session with the labor historians, though it continues to arrange semi-regular joint meetings of what are called "the four societies" (History of Science, Philosophy of Science, Society for the Social Study of Science, and SHOT). Hugh Aitken's *Taylorism at the Watertown Arsenal* (1960) suggests how a lack of interest in labor history often led to an almost anti-labor bias in earlier SHOT research. Even though worker resistance eventually destroyed the Taylor efficiency approach at Watertown, Aitken's study tends to privilege the managers' perspective over the workers' perspective.[26] Only since 1986 have articles focusing on workers begun to appear regularly in *Technology and Culture*. Particularly noteworthy is the October 1988 thematic issue on labor and technology. In an introductory essay, Philip Scranton suggests, only a little facetiously, that historians of technology were "'lapsed' (in the theological sense) scientists and engineers, whereas labor historians were 'lapsed' new leftists." Their radically different original audiences and ideological commitments help to explain why the two fields have only recently begun to interact.[27]

[24] McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*; David J. Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790–1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981: Dexter Prize, 1981).

[25] Other noteworthy contributions to this approach include Donald MacKenzie, "Marx and the Machine," *Technology and Culture*, 25 (July 1984): 473–502; Adrian J. Randall, "The Philosophy of Luddism: The Case of the West of England Woolen Workers, ca. 1790–1809," *Technology and Culture*, 27 (January 1986): 1–17. Joseph W. Slade's "Thomas Pynchon, Postindustrial Humanist," *Technology and Culture*, 23 (January 1982): 53–72, is a literary study that pays particular attention to the cultural impact of industrial capitalism. John M. Jordan, "Society Improved the Way You Can Improve a Dynamo: Charles P. Steinmetz and the Politics of Efficiency," *Technology and Culture*, 30 (January 1989): 25–56; and Donald E. Thomas, Jr., "Diesel, Father and Son: Social Philosophies of Technology," *Technology and Culture*, 19 (July 1978): 376–93, both probe the dystopian relationships of two major turn-of-the-century innovators to the capitalist enterprises in which they operated.

[26] Hugh G. J. Aitken, *Taylorism at the Watertown Arsenal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

[27] Philip Scranton, "None-too-Porous Boundaries: Labor History and the History of Technology," *Technology and Culture*, 29 (October 1988), see 731–36 for his more complete reading of the two fields' mutual avoidance. The other articles published in *Technology and Culture*'s labor history issue are Robert B. Gordon, "Who Turned the Mechanical Ideal," 744–78; Patricia A. Cooper, "What This Country Needs Is a Good Five-Cent Cigar," 779–807; Michael Newer, "From Batch to Flow: Production Technology and Work-Force Skills in the Steel Industry, 1880–1920," 808–38; Stephen Meyer,

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Ruth Swartz Cowan's *More Work for Mother* (1983) is the first gender and technology study to win nearly universal acclaim from historians of technology, as well as the prestigious Dexter Prize.[28] By treating domestic household technologies as meriting the same kind of research attention given factory systems or transportation networks, Cowan simultaneously highlighted and challenged the field's bias toward male-oriented technological research topics. That challenge, in terms of its influence on subsequent research, is more important than the book's other major accomplishment, provision of a technologically sophisticated foundation for research into nineteenth-century notions of "separate spheres." Together with Martha Moore Trescott's anthology *Dynamos and Virgins Revisited* (1979) and Joan Rothschild's collection *Machina ex Dea* (1983), Cowan's book marked the beginning of SHOT's serious attention to issues of gender.[29] Like the capitalist critiques of business and labor research, feminist studies tend to suggest that Western culture's dominant technological designs are the results of choices made by those who won the battle to control technological resources rather than the inevitable outcome of a Western process of progress.[30]

Perhaps the most rapidly expanding new area in the history of technology is the analysis of technologies as symbolic constructs. Those involved argue that every technology that becomes dominant within a host society does so in part because it has achieved, either by explicit strategy or less conscious cultural processes, compelling symbolic status within the culture's affective and cognitive frames of reference. Their works cover a range of topics and countries. For example, through an exploration of strategies of consumerist display in French department stores and expositions (1982) and an analysis of European literary evocations of the underground as a pervasive utopian and dystopian symbol (1990), Rosalind Williams has called attention to the blend of conscious strategy and unconsciously held cultural assumptions that together shape a society's technological imagery.[31] David E. Nye treats similar processes on the corporate level in his study of General Electric's in-house photograph collection from 1890 through 1930. Bryan Pfaffenberger's study "The Social Meaning of the Personal Computer" traces the gradual and largely unplanned transition of the personal computer from a symbol of anti-establishment revolution into a symbol of corporation-defined conformity.[32]

"Technology and the Workplace: Skilled and Production Workers at Allis-Chalmers, 1900–1941," 839–64; and Robert L. Frost, "Labor and Technological Innovation in French Electrical Power," 865–87. Four of the authors (Scranton, Meyer, Frost, Gordon) are SHOT regulars; two (Cooper and Newer) are not.

[28] Cowan won the Dexter Prize in 1984; *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983).

[29] Martha Moore Trescott, ed., *Dynamos and Virgins Revisited: Women and Technological Change in History* (Metuchen, N.J., 1979); Joan Rothschild, ed., *Machina ex Dea: Feminist Perspectives on Technology* (Elmsford, N.Y., 1983). Since that time, seven *Technology and Culture* articles have treated gender as a major theme.

[30] Judith McGaw's "No Passive Victims, No Separate Spheres" and Joan Rothschild's "From Sex to Gender in the History of Technology" in *In Context*, the Kranzberg festschrift (172–91, 192–203), offer the best overview of current research interests. McGaw challenges the notion that women typically related to male-designed technologies passively and calls for more research studies comparing men and women within the same industry, as well as in household and factory production systems.

[31] Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); *Notes on the Underground: An Essay on Technology, Society and the Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

[32] David E. Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Bryan L. Pfaffenberger, "The Social Meaning of the Personal Computer, Or, Why the Personal Computer Revolution Was No Revolution," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 61 (1988): 137–47.

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Susan Douglas argues that the air-conditioned comfort and splendidly illuminated maps offered at battlefield monuments like Gettysburg shield visitors from the torn bodies, insects, dust, screams, and outbursts of temporarily insane behavior that characterize actual battle. Michael L. Smith's "Advertising the Atom" explores the efforts of the Atomic Energy Commission, among others, during the 1950s and 1960s, to sanitize and domesticate the public image of nuclear technology in order to ensure continued public support for weapons research and development.[33] For such authors, the question of ideological intent is difficult to establish but important for understanding how technologies exert superordinate power within society.

Having described in some detail the nine major subject areas that have most concerned American historians of technology for the past several decades, I would like to turn briefly to two important areas that have been badly neglected. With the exception of Daniel Headrick, SHOT insiders have paid little attention to non-Western technology or to non-Western ideological perspectives on technology transfers. The United States and Europe have long been the field's favorite research sites. Almost no articles in *Technology and Culture* over the past three decades have dealt with non-Western nations.[34] The last ten books winning the Dexter Prize have focused on subjects in U.S. history. Two recent events, however, may signal a better-balanced future. Raman Shrinivasan's "Technology Sits Cross-legged: The History of the Jaipur Foot" received the Joan Cahalin Robinson Prize at SHOT's 1988 annual meeting; it described a subtle blend of Western and Indian techniques and cultural styles that eventually coalesced in a successful local prosthetic device. Bryan Pfaffenberger's forthcoming study of the disastrous impact of British interventions into a once-efficient, pre-colonial Sri Lankan irrigation system offers an exemplary analysis of the interaction of a non-Western world view with a complex public technology.[35]

Apart from the work of Joel Tarr and Martin Melosi, there has been virtually no serious study of the historical relationship between technology and the environment.[36] Despite Lynn White's role as a SHOT founder, his immensely influential essay "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis" generated much more interest among historians of Christianity than it did in SHOT. John Burke's refreshing study of the connection between advertising, newsprint, and pollution is not so much evidence of a thematic research area as it is a typical SHOT venture into an interesting area by a solo scholar.[37]

[33] Susan Douglas, "War on the Weekend: Touring the Ideology of Battlefield Monuments," paper delivered at the 1989 annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians; Michael L. Smith, "Advertising the Atom," in Michael J. Lacey, ed., *Government and Environmental Politics: Essays on Historical Developments since World War II* (Smithsonian Institution Press, forthcoming).

[34] For Headrick's work, see note 18 above. The United States served as the primary site for 47 percent of *Technology and Culture* articles between 1959 and 1980. Since 1980, the proportion has climbed to 61 percent. European nations held 41 percent of articles in the earlier period and declined to 35 percent. Non-Western nations' 6 percent of articles in the early period was cut in half, to 3 percent for the 1980s.

[35] Bryan L. Pfaffenberger, "The Harsh Facts of Hydraulics: Technology and Society in Sri Lanka's Colonization Schemes," *Technology and Culture* (forthcoming). Anthropologist Pfaffenberger is another example of a scholar actively engaging in SHOT from a different discipline.

[36] Joel Tarr, with James McCurley III, Francis C. McMichael, and Terry Yosie, "Water and Wastes: A Retrospective Assessment of Wastewater Technology in the United States, 1800–1932," *Technology and Culture*, 25 (April 1984): 226–63; Martin V. Melosi, *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1980); *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment: 1880–1980* (College Station, Tex., 1981); and *Coping with Abundance: Energy and Environment in Industrial America* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[37] White, "Historical Roots"; John G. Burke, "Wood Pulp, Water Pollution, and Advertising," *Technology and Culture*, 20 (January 1979): 175–95.

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SCHOLARS WITHIN THE HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY TODAY tackle a wide range of problems, from the longstanding and by now well-defined models used to interpret technological creativity to the still somewhat inchoate critiques of capitalism and the efforts to integrate into the mainstream concerns about workers, women, and technological symbols. In so doing, they play out, using a technological vocabulary, what has become known as the "Old History-New History" debate. In her stinging critique of Gertrude Himmelfarb's call to respect "the received opinion . . . of contemporaries as well as traditional historians," Joan Wallach Scott defines "the received opinion" as a "master narrative," an account of the past "based on the forcible exclusion of Others' stories."[38] For historians of technology, the "master narrative" is the whig reading of Western technological evolution as inevitable and autonomous. As recently as December 1989, the Dibner Institute for the History of Science and Technology held a workshop at MIT on "Machines and History: The Question of Technological Determinism." Workshop rhetoric reincarnated almost every detail of SHOT's thirty-year-long determinism debate. With few exceptions, the group divided along generational lines. Senior scholars such as Alfred Chandler, I. Bernard Cohen, and Carl Kaysen reiterated their confidence in the gradual triumph of Western rationality and the incremental advance of scientific and technological progress over time. They expressed concern that the predominantly positive story of science and technology might fade from historical consciousness if too much attention were paid to technology's admittedly real dark side. Younger scholars such as Rosalind Williams, Colleen A. Dunlavy, and Michael L. Smith argued for a reading of the sometimes technically irrational dimensions of technological decision making as politically or culturally motivated and of the concept of progress in particular as a conceptual tool that helps technical elites to dominate their inferiors.[39]

Within SHOT's old history-new history debate, two characterizations of technology—one rational and the other conflictual—are in tension with each other. Scholarship is unlikely to resolve that tension because it is not created by or limited to the academic realm. The broader Western capitalist culture simultaneously applauds technological advances and fears the "experts" who design and manage its technologies. Nevertheless, historians of technology, whatever their suasion, agree on one thing: late twentieth-century society confronts its members with difficult decisions about how to allocate resources among competing technological styles. By showing that every technology has a human history and that everything designed by human beings is subject to analysis, interpretation, and the tug and pull of public discourse, the history of technology can help to humanize these political debates.

[38] Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Some Reflections on the New History," *AHR*, 94 (June 1989): 669; and Joan Wallach Scott, "History in Crisis? The Others' Side of the Story," *AHR*, 94 (June 1989): 690.

[39] The recently published festschrift in honor of *Technology and Culture*'s founding editor Melvin Kranzberg (*In Context: History and the History of Technology*) offers a similar view of the debate.

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Knowing Things Inside Out: The Scientific Revolution from a Medieval Perspective

A. MARK SMITH

WHILE DISCUSSING THE CREATION in Book XI of the *Confessions*, Augustine turns in Chapter 14 to the question of what "time" is. His immediate response is as paradoxical as it is succinct: "If no one asks me, I know; should I wish to explain [it] to someone who inquires, I don't know." In other words, intuitively, he knows perfectly well what time is, but he only realizes the tenuousness of that intuition when pressed to give a clear, reasoned account of it. Those of us who grapple with the "Scientific Revolution" of the seventeenth century find ourselves in much the same quandary. However secure we may feel in our intuitive grasp of this historical construct, we are nonetheless hard put to define, much less explain, it in any but the most tentative way. Still, nothing daunted, historians have tried over the past several decades to account for the revolution on the basis of a range of considerations from socioeconomic to ideological.[1]

Among these efforts, Alexandre Koyré's attempt to connect the Scientific Revolution to an underlying metaphysical revolution stands out as one of the most influential.[2] According to Koyré, this underlying revolution was characterized by "two closely connected and even complementary features: (a) the destruction of the cosmos . . . and (b) the geometrization of space." By the latter, he meant "the substitution of the homogeneous and abstract . . . dimension space of the Euclidean geometry for the concrete and differentiated place-continuum of pre-Galilean physics and astronomy."[3] What made the Scientific Revolution possible, then, was the replacement of a concrete, formalist, Aristotelian ontology, defined in essentially qualitative terms, with an abstract, materialist (ultimately atomist) ontology, defined in exclusively mathematical terms.

Over the past several years, critical scrutiny has done much to blunt the force of Koyré's thesis. It has proved too uncompromising to be adequate, its strongly

[1] Although Herbert Butterfield popularized the term "Scientific Revolution" in the series of 1948 lectures from which his seminal *The Origins of Modern Science* (London, 1949) was drawn, both the term and the concept predate this by a considerable period. For a detailed account of the history and historiography of this concept, see I. B. Cohen, *Revolutions in Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), esp. 388–404. For a recent set of studies dealing critically with certain interpretations of the Scientific Revolution and its origins, see John G. Burke, ed., *The Uses of Science in the Age of Newton* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983).

[2] See, for example, Alexandre Koyré, *Etudes galiléennes* (Paris, 1939), English trans. by John Mephan, *Galileo Studies* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1978); *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (Baltimore, Md., 1957); and *Newtonian Studies* (Chicago, 1965). Koyré's thesis of a metaphysical revolution was clearly foreshadowed in E. A. Burtt's important study, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, 2d edn. (1932; rpt. edn., New York, 1954).

[3] Alexandre Koyré, "The Significance of the Newtonian Synthesis," in *Newtonian Studies*, 6–7.

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rationalistic focus rendering it inapplicable to the history of such "irrational" pursuits as magic, astrology, and alchemy that are now seen as pivotal to the development of early modern science.[4] Historians have pointed out, moreover, that Koyré's rationalistic focus prompted him to give unnecessarily short shrift to empiricism or experimentalism as an element in the Scientific Revolution. And the internalist bias of his account has been challenged by those who insist that the development of early modern science was as much a social as a philosophical phenomenon.[5]

Such criticism has limited the usefulness of Koyré's heuristic, but, within those limits—for instance, with regard to certain aspects of the development of physics and astronomy—it still retains considerable explanatory force. Among such cardinal representatives of early modern science as Galileo and Descartes, there truly does seem to have been a change of philosophical heart based on a fundamental shift in metaphysical commitment away from Aristotelian essentialism toward a kind of mathematical materialism or corporealism. In its turn, the shift in philosophical commitment fostered a new world view according to which physical reality was thought to be satisfactorily explained in terms of corporeal interactions and mathematically determined spatio-temporal relationships. It was this world view, as much as anything else, that channeled seventeenth-century natural philosophy toward its culmination in Isaac Newton's *Principia* and *Opticks*.[6]

On the whole, Koyré was right to emphasize this change of metaphysical commitment as a significant factor in the evolution of early modern science. Without it, much (although by no means all) of that evolution would have been inconceivable. However, Koyré's metaphysical revolution had its roots in an even more profound epistemological revolution that occurred from roughly 1500 to 1640. The crux of this earlier revolution lay in a subtle but radical change in attitude about our relation as "knowers" to the physical world as knowable and known. That change stemmed from a new attitude toward the relation between

[4] Instrumental in promoting the occult as a significant factor in the development of early modern science was Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, 1964); compare, however, Robert S. Westman, "Magical Reform and Astronomical Reform: The Yates Thesis Reconsidered," and J. E. McGuire, "Neoplatonism and Active Principles: Newton and the *Corpus Hermeticum*," in R. S. Westman, ed., *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977); see also Emil Metaxapoulos, "A la suite de F. A. Yates: Débats sur le rôle de la tradition hermétiste dans la révolution scientifique des XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles," *Revue de synthèse*, 3d ser., 105 (1982): 53–65. For other examples of works dealing with the occult in the Scientific Revolution, see Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (London, 1968); Allen Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York, 1977); and Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1982). For more general historiographic background, see the relevant essays in M. L. Righini Bonelli and William R. Shea, eds., *Reason, Experiment, and Mysticism* (New York, 1975); and in Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984).

[5] Still fundamental to the treatment of the Scientific Revolution as a socio-religious phenomenon is Robert K. Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England," *Osiris*, 4 (1938): 360–632. For some later studies exploring much the same vein, see Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (New York, 1975); and Margaret Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976). For two interesting recent contributions on experimentalism and the Scientific Revolution, see Barbara J. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), esp. 3–73; and Steven Shapin and Simon Shaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, 1985). See also Burke, *Uses of Science*.

[6] Fed from various convergent streams, this channel took form in numerous cultural and intellectual currents and eddies whose complexity is brought out forcefully in Richard S. Westfall's monumental biography of Newton, *Never at Rest* (Cambridge, 1980). Given his intellectual, religious, and cultural motivations, Newton epitomizes the Scientific Revolution.

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sense perception and understanding. To put it simply, what happened was a transition from "knowing things outside in" to "knowing things inside out."

FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY in Western Europe, it was almost universally accepted that external reality is understood through abstraction. Based primarily on Aristotle's cognitive psychology, the theory of abstraction was intended to explain how we grasp external reality through physical sensations.[7] Fundamentally visual in orientation, this explanation was predicated on the notion that we somehow picture physical reality in our minds. Concepts were thus taken to be mental images abstracted, or drawn out, from sensory impressions. As the stuff of imagination, these mental images were also held to be a *sine qua non* of reasoning according to Aristotle's common-sense dictum that "the soul never thinks without a mental image."[8] Not surprisingly, then, vision was regarded as the principal conduit and paradigm for such mental imaging. After all, as the most informative of the five senses, sight was accorded clear supremacy over the rest by Aristotle and his Scholastic followers.[9]

As understood by the Scholastics, the process of abstraction entailed four basic stages: physical impression, sensation, perception, and "apperception." Take the process of seeing, for example. What sort of physical impression inaugurates that process, and how is that impression made? How, in short, can a visible object physically affect the eye? As Aristotle is quick to note, placing the object itself directly on the eye will not do; the physical impression must be mediated.[10] Something about the object, other than the object itself, must strike the eye. According to medieval theory, the only truly visible attributes of any object are its intrinsic luminosity and color. These two qualities alone can physically affect the eye without actually altering it; that is, the eye can become temporarily colored or illuminated by an object without being fundamentally changed by it. The same could hardly be said if the eye were to become temporarily cubical or six feet tall according to the physical impression, say, of a six-foot-square box. Thus, as Aristotle phrases it, "we must understand . . . that sense is [what] is receptive of the form of sensible objects without the matter, just as . . . wax receives the impression of [a] signet-ring without the iron or the gold."[11]

[7] For a general account of the medieval theory of abstraction, see A. Mark Smith, "Getting the Big Picture in Perspectivist Optics," *Isis*, 79 (1981): 569–89. See also E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1975); George P. Klubertanz, *The Discursive Power: Sources and Doctrine of the Vis Cogitativa according to St. Thomas Aquinas* (Carthegena, Ohio, 1952); H. A. Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophical Texts," *Harvard Theological Review*, 25 (1935): 69–133; and Murray W. Bundy, *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought* (Urbana, Ill., 1927). Aristotle, in *De anima* 3.8.432a 1–11, insists that abstract thought is utterly sense-dependent. This point is clearly echoed in the famous Thomistic dictum: "nihil in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu" (there is nothing in the intellect that was not first in the senses); see, for instance, *Summa theologiae* Ia, 84, 6. For the Aristotelian core of the theory of abstraction, see *De anima*, *De sensu et sensato*, and *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

[8] *De anima* 3.7.431a 16, trans. W. S. Hett, *Aristotle*, vol. 8 (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 177; for an equivalent claim on the part of St. Thomas Aquinas, see *Summa theologiae* Ia, 84, 7.

[9] See *De sensu et sensato* 1.437a 4–9; and see *Summa theologiae* Ia, 78, 3 for the Thomistic parallel.

[10] See *De anima* 2.7.419a 11–22. For a summary of Aristotelian visual theory, see David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Alkindi to Kepler* (Chicago, 1975), 6–9.

[11] *De anima* 1.12.424a 17–23, trans. Hett, *Aristotle*, vol. 8, p. 137. While Aristotle limited the "special object" of sight to color alone, remanding light to the role of a mere catalyst in the visual process, his medieval successors, especially among the so-called Perspectivists, elevated light to the level of visible by itself along with color. See *De anima* 2.7 for Aristotle's position; for the Perspectivist position, see Alhazen, *De aspectibus* I, i, prop. 1, in *Opticae thesaurus*, ed. Friedrich Risner (Basel, 1572), 1; and Roger

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If the primal data of vision are light and color, there must still be some spatial separation between object and eye if the object is to be seen. The object's light and color must be conveyed to the eye over the intervening space. According to Scholastic theory, such conveyance occurs through replication, the inherent luminosity or color of a given object creating successive representations or images of itself in continuous transparent media.[12] Called "species" in Scholastic parlance, these images are propagated radially through such continuous transparent media as air or water to make a physical impression on the eye by coloring or illuminating it. The eye is not just physical, however; it is also sentient or animate. It feels these physical impressions of color and light in a visual way, thereby abstracting visual impressions, or "visible species," from them.[13] This process, in a nutshell, is seeing.

Objectively, the visible species is no more than an aggregate of visible light and colors. But, as in paintings, so in visible species, the way those colors are juxtaposed gives deeper meaning to the impression as a whole. Hence the visible species is more than a mere color display; it is also a depiction, implying such things as size, shape, and depth, without actually possessing them.[14] Or, as the Scholastics put it, the visible species "intends" the full range of the represented object's physical attributes. Our mental grasp of these underlying intentions is perception, and, once these intentions are abstracted, we form of them a composite, perceptible image, or "sensible species," of the object in question.[15] We accomplish this through common sense and imagination. The sensible species, in turn, bears a load of intelligible intentions that we abstract by reason or intellect to form a purely conceptual image called the "intelligible species." The most abstract of all, this species represents the object in its truly essential form. Thus, once we grasp the intelligible species, we understand the real meaning of the object it represents.[16] That grasp constitutes apperception.

Bacon, *Perspectiva* I, viii, 1, in *Opus majus*, vol. 2, ed. John H. Bridges (Oxford, 1897), 54. For a general discussion of the Perspectivists, which included Ibn al-Haytham or "Alhazen" (fl. c. 1000), Roger Bacon (fl. c. 1260), Witelo (fl. c. 1275), and John Pecham (fl. c. 1280), see Lindberg, *Theories*, 58–86, 107–32.

[12] See Aristotle, *De anima* 3.2.425b 22–25, on the need for a continuous transparent medium. The Perspectivists agreed with Aristotle not only that a continuous transparent medium was needed but also that what passed from object to eye was a purely qualitative effect; see Alhazen, *De aspectibus* I, 5, prop. 28, in Risner, *Opticae thesaurus*, 17.

[13] Aristotle describes this optic sentiency in terms of a sort of "soul" somehow incorporated in the mere physical eye to animate it and thus give it the capacity actually to see, unlike, for instance, the hand or the tongue; see *De anima* 2.1.412b 13–24. The Perspectivists explained the eye's peculiar sensitivity on a more or less Galenic basis, in terms of visual spirits passed into its crystalline lens through the various optic humors, via the hollow optic nerve from the brain, which is the seat of animal spirits; see Alhazen, *De aspectibus* I, 4, prop. 4, in Risner, *Opticae thesaurus*, 4; and Bacon, *Perspectiva* I, v. 2 and 3, in Bridges edn., 2: 32–34.

[14] See, for example, Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia* 1.450b 21–27, in which he draws just this distinction between a mere painting and a depiction.

[15] This notion of "intention" can be traced back at least to Avicenna's treatment of sense induction in the *Sextus de naturalibus*. Within the specific context of visual theory, this notion of intentionality took form in the doctrine of the twenty-two "visible intentions," which, in addition to light and color, include such obviously non-visible characteristics as distance, corporeity, number, and even beauty and ugliness (see Alhazen, *De aspectibus* II, 2, prop. 15, in Risner, *Opticae thesaurus*, 34). Within the more general context of Scholastic cognitive psychology, intentionality was incorporated into the so-called species theory to explain how each successive species in the process of abstraction somehow depicts by implication the more abstract and general species that succeeds it; see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia, 85, 1–8; and Bacon, *Perspectiva* I, i–v and I.x, in Bridges edn., 2: 1–34, 74–82.

[16] It is crucial to understand that the intelligible species was not necessarily taken to be the actual datum of knowledge (that is, the true Universal) but only a vague and incomplete representation through which we are finally led by a sort of inferential process to apprehend the Universal itself. This final apprehension is the province of the so-called Actual Intellect, whereas the process of abstraction, being discursive, takes place solely within the possible or potential intellect. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia, 2; and Bacon, *Perspectiva* I, i, 4–5, in Bridges edn., 2: 7–12.

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Three points about this account deserve emphasis. First, the key to the theory of abstraction is its focus on formal entities. From start to finish, the entire process of abstraction is mediated by formal representations, from mere visible forms to intelligible forms. Quite literally, the farther along this line of abstraction we go, the more informed we become. Second, the theory of abstraction was carefully wrought to ensure a basic correspondence between objective reality and our mental picture of it. Since each form or species in the succession is a likeness of its predecessor, the final form—the intelligible species—is a virtual likeness of the original object.[17] Third, the pivotal stage in abstraction is sensation. Being the least abstract of all the forms involved, the visible species is as close as we can get to objective reality. Of all our animate impressions, brute sensation is least removed from its objective, physical source and so is the least liable to error. Equally important, reason, being most removed from its objective, physical source, is most liable to error—which is to say that, the more judgment and reason come into play during the process of abstraction, the less trustworthy the result.[18] Hence the line of expanding information from sensation to apperception is paralleled by a line of diminishing certainty. Sensation is most certain, perception is less certain, and reason or intellect is least certain.

It is crucial to note, however, that the Scholastics, especially those of the thirteenth century, did not simply dismiss reason for its potential unreliability. On the contrary, they were convinced that reason could tell us the truth about external reality as long as it was used with care. This conviction was based on the assumption of a God-given, natural, logical order to external reality. When we recapitulate that logical order through reasoning, we achieve a true and full understanding of it. We reach such an understanding by paying close and careful attention to what our senses tell us. The validity of reason is therefore wholly contingent on the validity of sensation. And the validity of sensation is ultimately contingent on the logical inexorability of the natural order.[19] According to this epistemology, the very act of

[17] The distinction between "real" and "virtual" was a crucial, though often covert, one for medieval philosophy and theology and was used by Scholastic thinkers in a wide variety of ways. Its primary purpose was to broaden the basis of explanation to include analogy as a meaningful vehicle of logical analysis. Thus, for example, the propagation of light was often analyzed in medieval accounts as if it followed the rules of projectile motion through space, even though it was assumed in reality to be a formal change occurring instantaneously in a perfectly continuous medium. As far as visual perception is concerned, then, the intentional species was thought to provide a virtual rather than a real representation of the object seen, since it was not taken to be an actual physical model of that object. Accordingly, medieval visual theorists avoided the absurdity of the atomist account, in which actual atom-thick skins, or *eidola*, were sloughed off by objects and passed through the eye into the brain. For some details on the use of virtual explanations in medieval light theory, see A. Mark Smith, *Descartes's Theory of Light and Refraction: A Discourse on Method* (Philadelphia, 1987), 32–56.

[18] See *De anima* 3.3.427b 13–17 and 428b 18–26, for Aristotle's discussion of this idea. Medieval visual theorists also emphasized the inerrancy of brute sight, tracing visual illusions to false judgments stemming from aberrant physical circumstances, such as too much or too little illumination, too much or too little distance between visible object and eye, and so forth. See Bacon, *Perspectiva* I, viii–x; II, i; and II, iii, 1–2, in Bridges edn., 2: 5–91, 99–108. See also John Pecham, *Perspectiva communis* I, 81, in David C. Lindberg, ed. and trans., *John Pecham and the Science of Optics* (Madison, Wis., 1970), 152–53.

[19] Within the Aristotelian world-system, the natural order is subject to a sort of cause-and-effect necessity determined according to the fourfold scheme of material, formal, efficient, and final causation (see *Physics* 2.1–2.2). Accordingly, the natural order is fundamentally teleological in its structure, determined by logical purpose. The ultimate understanding of the natural order is thus contingent on the ability to understand the "why" of natural events or operations in terms of necessary ends or purposes (*Physics* 2.8–2.9; *Posterior Analytics* 1.24). So a true scientific explanation of any natural event or operation depends on a necessary *a priori*, or *propter quid*, demonstration of final cause (*Posterior Analytics* 1, esp. 1.13). Such demonstrations come to ground, finally, in the "Principle of Natural Economy," which takes standard Aristotelian form in the dictum that Nature does nothing in vain, nor does it lack what is necessary for its operation (*De generatione animalium* 5.8.788b 21–23). In short, Nature acts as

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knowing—at least as far as physical particulars are concerned—proceeds from the "outside in," sensation providing the all-important link between us as "knowers" and external reality as knowable and known. The grounds of our internal intellectual certainty lie "outside" us in the absolute certainty of the natural order. Reason is thus subject to an external regulating principle: namely, the logic of that order.[20]

ALTHOUGH THIS THEORY OF ABSTRACTION was almost universally accepted from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, it was not without reservations. These stemmed from both theological and logical criticism of the theory, especially of its suppositional basis. As a result, the theory's credibility was shaken during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, its continuing acceptance dictated more by habit and convenience than by deep, philosophical conviction. This growing doubt about "knowing things outside in" certainly helped prompt the shift to "knowing things inside out." Before turning to that shift, though, I will examine briefly how its grounds were laid over the period from 1300 to 1500.

The theory of abstraction was rooted in two basic principles: that there is a necessary correspondence between objective reality and our conception of it, and that objective reality itself is subject to an inexorable, God-given, logical order. Matter-of-fact acceptance of both principles assured many thirteenth-century thinkers of the almost-limitless capacity of right reason to make perfect sense not only of Nature but of a good part of "Supernature," too.[21] However, by the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century, there was a dawning awareness that these principles were anything but matters of fact. After all, it was possible that the belief

reasonably as possible by acting as economically as possible. For the thirteenth-century Aristotelian, this meant that God had designed the world in as reasonable a manner as possible. Indeed, for such radical thinkers as Roger Bacon, that design was ultimately subject to the dictates of mathematical necessity. Thus light radiates along straight lines because straight lines represent the shortest possible distance between points. Likewise, the universe is spherical because, of all isoperimetric figures, the sphere encompasses the greatest volume (Bacon, "Mathematice in physicis utilitas," *Opus majus* IV, i, 1–2; IV, ii, 2; and IV, iv, 10, in Bridges edn., 1: 97–108, 112, 152–55). Such mathematical reasons provide *propter quid* demonstrations of the facts in question. For a useful summary of the thirteenth-century scientific point of view, see William A. Wallace, *Causality and Scientific Explanation*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972), 10–18, 27–53, 65–88.

[20] In his treatment of syllogistic reasoning, Aristotle clearly assumes that, just as the course of Nature is determined by necessary causal connections under the constraint of economy or logical elegance, so the course of scientific reasoning is subject to precisely the same constraints. For Aristotle, proper scientific reasoning is a natural reflection of Nature itself. Thus he argues, in *Posterior Analytics* 1.6.74b 13–18, that "demonstration implies necessity, i.e., that if a thing has been proved, it cannot be otherwise. Then it follows that the premisses of the (demonstrative) syllogism must be necessary; . . . [f]or necessity directly implies syllogism" (trans. Hugh Tredennick, *Aristotle*, vol. 2, [Loeb Classics Series; Cambridge, Mass., 1976], 55). And, as he advises us later in *Posterior Analytics* 1.25.86a 33–39, "it may be assumed that, given the same conditions, that form of demonstration is superior to the rest which depends upon fewer postulates or hypotheses or premisses, for supposing that they are equally well known, when there are fewer of them knowledge will be more quickly attained, and this result is to be preferred"; trans. Tredennick, 147.

[21] It would be a gross exaggeration to claim that any thinker of the thirteenth century thought that Supernature—that is, the realm of God's law and thus the subject of revelation—was wholly open to reason. The "rationalists," in fact, followed the moderate Augustinian–Anselmian path of "faith seeking understanding" under the assumption that rational demonstration of the articles of faith would enhance and deepen that faith. For two classic studies of the relation between revelation (the domain of theology) and natural philosophy during the high Middle Ages, see Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La Théologie comme science au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1957); and Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938).

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in this correspondence was just a delusion. It was equally possible that what they took to be universal laws governing the natural order were merely local ordinances regulating the operations of their intellect.[22]

That these two possibilities were seriously entertained by Scholastic thinkers of the later Middle Ages should be considered in the light of certain theological and logical conclusions of the time. The theological conclusions can be distilled to two. First, it was presumptuous to think that human intellect was capable of understanding the supernatural order. God's plans for human beings and their salvation were beyond both question and rational explanation.[23] Second, granted that Creation itself—that is, Nature—was part of God's plan, it was presumptuous to think that humans could understand it any better than they could understand "Supernature." For, if they supposed that Nature was ordered according to logical necessity, as it seems to be, then they were putting constraints on God's liberty to create and conserve as he saw fit. Humans were in essence demanding that he create and conserve as *they* saw fit. By so doing, they risked subordinating his rule to the rules of logic, which was blasphemy. It is clearly in response to such a threat that William of Ockham, citing the earlier Scholastic thinker, Henry of Ghent, argues when he reminds us that

> one does not say that it is impossible for God to do something because it is impossible for it to be done, but, rather, that since it is impossible for God to do such-and-such, it is impossible for it to be done. Likewise, one argues affirmatively that, since it is possible for God to do such-and-such, then it is possible for it to be done; and so one does not claim the reverse: that it is possible for God to do such-and-such because it is possible for it to be done.[24]

[22] There is a clear implication in the Aristotelian philosophical system that we are able to reason about the natural order precisely because that order is subject to the dictates of logical necessity (nn. 19 and 20 above). Accordingly, there is a necessary correspondence between objective reality and our subjective apprehension of it. During the second half of the thirteenth century, however, thinkers became increasingly aware that, within the Aristotelian system, the dictates of logic often conflicted with those of Christian faith, leading to such invidious positions as affirmation of the eternity of the world and denial of personal immortality of the soul. Certain thinkers, especially the so-called Latin Averroists, were therefore forced to distinguish between logical and theological necessity, the latter presumably taking precedence over the former. Such a distinction implies that what we conceive of as the "natural order" may be more apparent than real, a function of how we are constrained to apprehend objective reality rather than of how that reality is actually constituted. See William A. Wallace, "The Philosophical Setting of Medieval Science," in David C. Lindberg, ed., *Science in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1978), 91-111; and Charles H. Lohr, "The Medieval Interpretation of Aristotle," in Norman Kretzmann, *et al.*, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1982), 80–98. See also A. Mark Smith, *Witelonis Perspectivae liber quintus* (Wrocław, 1983), 53, 177–78.

[23] In late medieval Nominalist theology, this quasi-skeptical position follows from the dialectic of the two powers of God: his "absolute power" (*potentia absoluta*), according to which he is virtually unconstrained in his ability to act; and his "ordained power" (*potentia ordinata*), according to which he constrains himself to operate according to rules laid down by him at the Creation. Therefore, although he *can* act absolutely willfully, he *will* not do so because he has made a covenant or compact not to flout the rules he has established at Creation. This position has two crucial consequences. First, it emphasizes the total contingency of the "natural" order as created by God, thus also emphasizing God's complete freedom from any necessitarian constraints in creating. This means, for instance, that the Christian sacramental system was not chosen by God at the Creation for its inherently grace-giving nature but, rather, that its grace-giving nature follows contingently from its having been chosen by God. At the moment of choice, the present sacramental system had no more validity than any other possible system. Second, by emphasizing the covenantal side of the Creation, nominalist theology provided assurance that we can depend upon God to keep his "word" by following the rules laid out for us. He will not, in short, prove to be the sort of "malignant spirit" described by Descartes in the second *Meditation*. For further details, see William J. Courtenay, "The Dialectic of Divine Omnipotence," in *Covenant and Causality in Medieval Thought* (London, 1984); "Covenant and Causality in Pierre d'Ailly," *Speculum*, 46 (1971): 94–119; and "Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion," in C. Trinkhaus and H. A. Oberman, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), 25–59.

[24] William of Ockham, *Scriptum in librum primum Sententiarum Ordinatio* I, dist. 43, q. 2, in G. Etzkorn and Francis Kelley, eds., *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera Theologica*, vol. 4 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1979), 642–43.

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No wonder we see a growing emphasis in late medieval theology on: God's absolute freedom, the absolute contingency of his creation, the limitations of human reason, and the provisional nature of "truths" arrived at by such limited reason.[25]

These restrictions on the power of reason were dictated as much by logic as by theology. Ideally, logic was supposed to lead to truth through rational demonstration. At least, that is what most thirteenth-century Aristotelians believed. But a logical demonstration is only as conclusive as its constituent elements are unequivocal. That is, a logical demonstration will be absolutely conclusive only if its terms correspond perfectly with what they signify. Three elements enter into this correspondence: objective reality, varying concepts of that reality, and the terms used to communicate our reasoning about that reality.

The crucial element is the concept. Unless people have precisely the same concepts in mind, they may never agree about their logical relations to one another. But rarely, if ever, does a term evoke the same concept in everyone, so the conceptual basis of logic is very perilous indeed.[26] Worse yet, logic compels us to doubt any necessary correspondence between concepts and the objective reality they supposedly depict. Denied such correspondence, concepts degenerate from universal representations to particular and personal mental constructs. This in turn severely restricts the power and scope of logical demonstration. Whatever "truths" are reached through such demonstration will perforce be highly limited and provisional.[27]

These sorts of considerations seem to be reflected in the late medieval attitude toward logic. Logic became a subject of intense and extraordinarily sophisticated (one might even say sophistical) scrutiny. Linguistic distinctions were drawn in an effort to specify the "intentional" and "suppositional" value of terms. Formal aspects of syllogism were rigorously studied. Modes of logical validity were explored.[28] Accordingly, Scholastic argumentation became increasingly complex

[25] See E. A. Moody, "Empiricism and Metaphysics in Medieval Philosophy," *Philosophical Review*, 67 (1958): 145–63; Wallace, "Philosophical Setting"; Lohr, "Medieval Interpretation"; Edward Grant, "The Condemnation of 1277, God's Absolute Power, and Physical Thought in the Late Middle Ages," *Viator*, 10 (1979): 211–44; and "Science and Theology in the Middle Ages," in David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 49–75.

[26] Over the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Scholastic thinkers became increasingly aware of just how problematic the relationship among external objects (*res*), our subjective "pictorial" representations of them (*conceptiones*), and the terms used to refer to them was. For a fine overview of how this problematic relationship was dealt with by later medieval authors, see Katherine Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham* (Leiden, 1988). See also L. M. De Rijk, "The Origins of the Theory of the Properties of Terms," and Paul V. Spade, "The Semantics of Terms," in Kretzmann, *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, 161–73 and 188–96.

[27] That later medieval thinkers recognized this point is indicated by the distinction they drew between logical truth and logical validity. The latter was seen to reside in "well-formed" syllogisms, which, by their very structure, lead to necessary, and therefore absolutely valid, conclusions. But such conclusions are by no means necessarily true, if the premises of the syllogism are not necessarily true. Indeed, it was recognized by the later thirteenth century that perfectly valid (but false) conclusions could be drawn from patently false premises. Duns Scotus, Ockham, and other later medieval thinkers sought the conditions of truth not so much in necessary logical connections as in simple and unequivocal intuitions, for instance, of actual existence. Such "intuitive cognition" (*notitia intuitiva*) was thought to arouse evident assent, which guarantees certainty. Accordingly, the realm of absolute certainty was considerably diminished over the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. See Tachau, *Vision and Certitude*; and the relevant sections of Kretzmann, *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, for amplification.

[28] The flowering of logic during the high and late Middle Ages followed primarily from the late twelfth-century recovery of the so-called New Logic, which included the *Analytica priora* and *posteriora*, the *Topica*, and the *De sophisticis elenchis*. An early step toward logical sophistication came with the development of what Jan Pinborg and others call "speculative grammar," which centered in the

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and labyrinthine as logical ramifications were followed ever further. Yet, to many later medieval and Renaissance thinkers—above all, the humanists—logic had become an exercise in futility. For all its increasing sophistication and complexity, logic was obviously not leading to certainty in either theology or natural philosophy; it was merely compounding uncertainty. Even worse, it had been perverted from an instrument of truth into a weapon of Scholastic disputation, in which winning, not understanding, was the goal. As Erasmus wryly observed, Scholastic disputants of his day could "boast of so many [logical] 'bolt holes' that the meshes of Vulcan's net couldn't stop them from slipping out by means of the distinctions they draw."[29]

So far, I have dealt with logic in a general way, but let me turn to a particular kind of logical argument: mathematical demonstration—more specifically, Euclidean proof. What sets Euclidean proof apart is its conclusiveness. Once the first principles of Euclidean geometry are accepted, it is virtually impossible to deny the logical conclusions that follow. And those first principles are intuitively obvious, as indeed are all the basic Euclidean constructs, from points to lines, from planes to polyhedrons, and even from equalities to inequalities. The conceptual grasp of all these seems to be unequivocal and, therefore, absolutely universal.[30] According to the theory of abstraction, these mathematical concepts are nothing more than intentional representations borne by, and abstracted from, sensible impressions—which is to say that the world of Euclidean geometry in our minds is just a disembodied replica of the real world outside. So the logical necessity that obtains in the one must also obtain in the other. The certainty of mathematical sciences, such as optics and astronomy, is therefore guaranteed absolutely by the true and inherent mathematical nature of Nature, a point with which such thirteenth-century thinkers as Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon would have readily concurred.[31]

Yet, during the next three centuries, the general view of mathematical science

thirteenth century on the study of "modes of signification" (*modi significandi*). This approach was superseded in the later thirteenth century by the Terminist logical approach, which gave way eventually to the theory of supposition. During this same period, there emerged various sets of sophistical mind-games provided by *sophismata*, *insolubilia*, and *obligationes*—mind-games that were evidently used in schools to hone the arguing skills of Arts students. For a general overview of these developments, see James A. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 28–41. For specific studies, see sections IV and V of Kretzmann, *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*. For some older but still important studies of late medieval logic, see E. A. Moody, *The Logic of William of Ockham* (New York, 1935); *Truth and Consequence in Medieval Logic* (Amsterdam, 1953), esp. 13–29; and "The Medieval Contribution to Logic," in *Studies in Medieval Philosophy, Science, and Logic* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975).

[29] Desiderius Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. Betty Radice (Baltimore, Md., 1971), 153. For an extended humanist critique of late medieval logic, see *Juan Luis Vives against the Pseudodialecticians*, trans. Rita Guerlac (Dordrecht, 1979). For a general account of humanist criticism of late medieval logic, with a focus on German universities, see Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism*, 61–100.

[30] That Aristotle himself took mathematical proof as a paradigm of logic is evident from his continual use of mathematical examples to account for fundamental and self-evident logical principles (for example, "if equals are taken from equals, equals remain") as well as to explain necessary connections within the syllogism (see *Posterior Analytics* 1.11). Bacon, too, emphasizes the paradigmatic nature of mathematical proof when he claims that "neither the principles of demonstration, nor the conclusions, nor the whole subject-matter [of logic] can be understood or clarified except in terms of mathematics, because true and compelling demonstration belongs to that discipline alone"; *Opus majus* IV, i, 2, in Bridges edn., 1: 102.

[31] See David C. Lindberg, "On the Applicability of Mathematics to Nature: Roger Bacon and His Predecessors," *British Journal for the History of Science*, 15 (1982): 3–25. See also James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982); and A. C. Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science* (Oxford, 1953).

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and its validity underwent considerable change. By rendering untenable the belief in a necessary natural order, the logical and theological critique of the later Middle Ages created a potentially sharp rift between objective and subjective realms. Creating such a rift effectively transformed the world of Euclidean geometry into a purely imaginary construct existing autonomously in the mind.[32] That in turn meant that all mathematical explanations of Nature were bound to be at best provisional. As a consequence, the validity of any mathematical theory was judged less by the canons of pure mathematical reasoning than by the theory's ability to "save the appearances." Such an approach seems to be characteristic of late medieval astronomy, where the Ptolemaic theory was generally accepted, epicycles, equants, and all, not because it was thought to be true but because it seemed to fit the observations.[33] Notice, then, that "saving the appearances" still depended on the subordination of reason to sensory perception. Sense continued to be considered less deceptive than reason.

By the sixteenth century, then, philosophers and theologians had sound reason to doubt the knowability of both natural and supernatural orders and equally sound reason to doubt the certitude of even the most punctilious and persuasive reasoning. What had been taken for necessary truths in the thirteenth century were reduced to mere hypotheses. To add insult to injury, Protestant theology, as it developed over the early to mid-sixteenth century, was expressly intended to deepen doubt. The very point of its theology, in fact, was to stress God's purposeful withholding of rational certitude in order to turn us to the certitude of pure faith. As Luther summed it up in Proposition 50 of his *Disputation against Scholastic Theology*: "The whole of Aristotle is to theology as darkness is to light."[34] The carefully wrought, thirteenth-century succession of intentional species, which supposedly guaranteed a faithful picture of objective reality, was now as delusory as the belief in a necessary correspondence between us and that reality. Equally delusory was the belief in a necessary logical order to that reality. Sixteenth-century thinkers found themselves in an epistemological quandary. Not only could they not trust their reason, they could not even trust their senses. Having reached this bleak impasse, they were faced with three choices. They could, as did many at the time, simply withdraw into unremitting skepticism. Or, like most, they could accede to the uncertainty of their understanding and yet accept it on a provisional basis until something demonstrably better came along.[35] Or, finally, like some, they could reject "knowing things outside in," with all its uncertainty, and leap to the certainty of "knowing things inside out."

[32] This transformation is exemplified in the work of the Mertonian *calculatores* on various types of motion—from their development of the mean-speed theorem to their mathematical analyses of uniform and uniformly difform motion. These studies were definitely not intended for practical application to physical problems (for example, to the mathematical analysis of free fall). Rather, they were intended as mere logical exercises *secundum imaginationem*—that is, according to pure hypothetical reasoning. See John Murdoch and Edith Sylla, "The Science of Motion," in David C. Lindberg, ed., *Science in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1978), 206–64.

[33] For a historical account of this development, see Pierre Duhem, *To Save the Phenomena: An Essay on the Idea of Physical Theory from Plato to Galileo*, trans. Edward Doland and Chaninah Maschler (Chicago, 1969). See, however, Amos Funkenstein, "The Dialectical Preparation for Scientific Revolution: On the Role of Hypothetical Reasoning in the Emergence of Copernican Astronomy and Galilean Mechanics," in Robert S. Westman, ed., *The Copernican Achievement* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975).

[34] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, trans. and ed. Harold J. Grimm, vol. 31 (Philadelphia, 1957), 12.

[35] See, for example, Duhem, *To Save the Phenomena*; and Richard H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

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COPERNICUS'S DE REVOLUTIONIBUS ORBIUM COELESTIUM of 1543 reveals the sharp conflict between the typical Renaissance "provisionalist" attitude and a newly emerging "absolutist" attitude toward scientific certainty. Time and again in an editorial preface to the *De revolutionibus*, Andreas Osiander emphasized the provisional status of Copernicus's heliocentric theory. "Nor is it necessary," he assured us, "that . . . hypotheses be true, or indeed even probable; but it is sufficient if they merely produce calculations which agree with the observations."[36] This is "saving the appearances" with a vengeance. But Osiander's disclaimer is clearly at odds with Copernicus's intent in the *De revolutionibus*. As Copernicus explained in his prefatory letter to Pope Paul III: "If the motions of the wandering stars are referred to the circular motion of the Earth and calculated according to the revolution of each star, not only do the phenomena agree with the result, but also it links together the arrangement of all the stars and spheres, and their sizes, and the very heaven, so that nothing can be moved in any part of it without upsetting the other parts and the whole universe."[37] As far as Copernicus was concerned, logical coherence and elegance rather than computational accuracy tipped the scales in favor of heliocentricity.

It appears, then, that Copernicus meant to demonstrate the truth of heliocentricity according to the canons of mathematical proof: logical coherence and elegance. Where sense and reason conflicted, he opted for reason.[38] After all, to ascribe any motion whatever to the Earth was to do violence not only to the authority of Aristotle and Ptolemy but, more to the point, to the intuitively obvious testimony of the senses. Any such movement, especially ones as violently swift as the axial and annual rotations proposed by Copernicus, was bound to be sensed, if not to rip the very Earth itself apart centrifugally. Yet, rather than bow to the dictates of the senses, Copernicus followed the imperatives of logic, being led thereby to espouse heliocentricity despite its "sensible" shortcomings.[39] By subordinating

[36] Nicolaus Copernicus, *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, trans. A. M. Duncan (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1976), 22.

[37] Copernicus, *On the Revolutions*, 26.

[38] Copernicus may have been prompted to take such a position by Platonist leanings that he developed during his ten-year sojourn as an advanced student in Italy. Likewise, his apparent knowledge of "Pythagorean" thought may have been gained during that period. Thus Copernicus's zeal for mathematical reasoning might be linked to the revival of Platonism that followed the Italian recovery of Plato's works in the middle of the fifteenth century. Just how instrumental Platonism might have been, if at all, in the actual development of Copernicus's thought is far from clear, however. See J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (1906; rpt. edn., New York, 1953), 305–21; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); Alexandre Koyré, *The Astronomical Revolution*, trans. R. E. W. Maddison (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 55–66; and Edward Rosen, "Was Copernicus a Neoplatonist?" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 44 (1983): 667–69.

In recent years, there has been lively debate over just how "Realist" Copernicus was in regard to his heliocentric model. The central issue in this debate is whether he actually believed that the "crystalline" carrying-spheres of the various planets were physically real or not; see William R. Donahue, "The Solid Planetary Spheres in Post-Copernican Natural Philosophy," and John L. Heilbron's commentary, "Duhem and Donahue," in Westman, *Copernican Achievement*, 244–84; Noel R. Swerdlow, "Pseudodoxia Copernicana: Or, Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenets and Commonly Presumed Truths, Mostly Concerning Spheres," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 26 (1976): 108–58; Robert S. Westman, "The Astronomer's Role in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Study," *History of Science*, 18 (1980): 105–47; Robert S. Westman, "The Copernicans and the Churches," in Lindberg and Numbers, *God and Nature*, 76–113; and Nicholas Jardine, "The Significance of the Copernican Orbs," *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 13 (1982): 168–94.

[39] Copernicus's efforts to provide a physical defense for heliocentricity are to be found in *De revolutionibus* I, 8 and 9; Kuhn, *Copernican Revolution*, 144–55, dismisses this defense as weak temporizing. Jardine, "Significance of Copernican Orbs," claims not only that Copernicus presented his physical defense seriously but also that it was far more effective than Kuhn and many others have conceded. For a good summary of the various physical and metaphysical arguments used to defend geocentricity

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sense to reason, Copernicus shifted the grounds of certainty from objective to subjective reality. He was, in effect, reasoning "outward" from the subjective certainty of mathematical necessity to the objective uncertainty of the physical world. This is not to say that he denied the evidence of physical sensation altogether. Copernicus realized full well that without a firm basis in visual observation, mathematical astronomy would be impossible. Yet, if taken at face value, those same observations would be absolutely misleading.[40] For Copernicus, to understand or know objective reality was to fit it to reason rather than fit reason to it.

Implicit in Copernicus's approach to science, this shift in epistemological perspective becomes explicit in Galileo's scientific approach. Galileo was convinced that Nature is perfectly (although not entirely) understandable through mathematical reasoning. As he tells us in the *Assayer*, the book of Nature "is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it."[41] Nature, in short, is just a greatly expanded version of Euclid's *Elements*. Galileo's mouthpiece, Salviati, remarks at the end of the "First Day" of the *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems*:

> The human understanding can be taken in two modes, the *intensive* or the *extensive*. *Extensively*, that is, with regard to the multitude of intelligibles, which are infinite, the human understanding is as nothing, even if it understands a thousand propositions . . . But taking man's understanding *intensively*, in so far as the term denotes understanding some proposition perfectly, I say that the human intellect does understand some of them perfectly, and thus in these it has as much absolute certainty as Nature itself has. Of such are the mathematical sciences alone; that is, geometry and arithmetic, in which the Divine intellect indeed knows infinitely more propositions, since it knows all. But with regard to those few which the human intellect does understand, I believe that its knowledge equals the Divine in objective certainty, for here it succeeds in understanding necessity, beyond which there can be no greater sureness.[42]

Galileo is assuring us that we really do know things from the inside out when we view them in the light of pure mathematical reasoning. He has reduced the objective world to an embodied replica of the real Euclidean world in his mind. All that stands in the way of a perfect fit between the two is the deceptiveness of sense perception, which, unless carefully regulated by reason, can easily lead one astray. As a result, sense must either be reduced to reasonableness or be dismissed as one

against the Copernican alternative, see Edward Grant, *In Defense of the Earth's Centrality and Immobility: Scholastic Reaction to Copernicanism in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1984). Grant quite rightly insists that, "in the absence of any compelling evidence to the contrary," the general post-Copernicus Scholastic adherence to geocentrism "was not an unreasonable or untenable position"; 67.

[40] Given the fundamental postulate of perfectly uniform circular motion for all celestial bodies, certain obvious observational inconsistencies or anomalies, such as changes in orbital speed and retrograde motion, were recognized from ancient times. It was, in fact, to account for such anomalies that the homocentric-sphere and deferent-epicycle models were developed in Greek antiquity. Copernicus's willingness to give reason priority over mere sense-data is borne out by Noel Swerdlow's claim that, at least in his precession theory, Copernicus "seems not to have hesitated to (ever so slightly) falsify observations to fit his completed theory"; "On Copernicus' Theory of Precession," in Westman, *Copernican Achievement*, 49–98, quote on 51; see Owen Gingerich's commentary in *ibid.*, 99–107, for an interesting amplification on the problem of observational accuracy and its connection with theoretical imperatives at the time of Copernicus.

[41] Galileo Galilei, *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, Stillman Drake, trans. (New York, 1957), 238.

[42] Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, Stillman Drake, trans., 2d rev. edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 103.

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of those pesky "external impediments" that Galileo was fond of removing in his analyses.[43] "There is no limit to my astonishment," he enthuses later in the *Dialogue*, "when I reflect that Aristarchus and Copernicus were able to make reason so conquer sense that, in defiance of the latter, the former became mistress of their belief."[44]

So heavily does Galileo seem to favor pure intellect over the senses in his scientific reasoning that, like Koyré, we might be tempted to regard him as an unreconstructed Platonist. Accordingly, we might be led to suppose with Koyré that, for all his talk of physical experience and experiment, Galileo was being disingenuous. What he really meant by experiment was "thought experiment," a sort of idealization through which the true and perfect mathematical workings of Nature could be illustrated.[45] But was Galileo as ardently and consistently Platonist as Koyré portrayed him, and did he devalue physical experience as radically as that portrayal would have us believe? Stillman Drake, along with several others, has argued long and vehemently against Koyré that Galileo's scientific method was at least as firmly grounded in empiricism as in rationalism. At its most extreme, in fact, the counter-portrayal of Galileo by Drake and other revisionists reveals a scientific method so thoroughly grounded in physical experiment as to be virtually anti-Platonist.[46]

As is often the case, the truth lies somewhere between the extremes. On the one hand, Galileo's scientific outlook was not simply Platonist, even though at times he manifested what seem to be strong Platonist leanings. That Galileo drew heavily on real, everyday physical experience to frame some of his most persuasive arguments is undeniable; and, in view of Drake's intensive studies of Galileo's working papers, we cannot doubt that Galileo actually did carry out painstaking experiments

[43] In his efforts to idealize "experimental" situations, Galileo commonly discounted material circumstances, such as air resistance and friction, in order to arrive at the true, natural situation; see *Dialogue*, 145–55. The classic justification for this process occurs in the "Second Day" of the *Dialogue*, in which Galileo's spokesman, Salviati, assures his ardent Aristotelian counterpart, Simplicio, that, "just as the computer who wants his calculations to deal with sugar, silk, and wool must discount the boxes, bales, and other packings, so the mathematical scientist, when he wants to recognize in the concrete the effects he has proved in the abstract, must deduct the material hindrances, and if he is able to do so, I assure you that things are in no less agreement than arithmetical computations"; *Dialogue*, 207–08.

[44] Galileo, *Dialogue*, 328. The same notion of reason's natural mastery over sense was forcefully expressed over half a century earlier by Thomas Digges in his *Perfect Description of the Celestial Orbs* of 1576: "Why shall we so much dote on the appearance of our senses, which many ways may be abused, and not suffer ourselves to be directed by the rule of reason, which the great GOD hath given us as a lamp to lighten the darkness of our understanding and the perfect guide to lead us to the golden branch of variety amid the forest of errors?"; quoted from Marie Boas Hall, ed., *Nature and Nature's Laws* (New York, 1970), 21.

[45] Koyré, *Galileo Studies*, 37–38; see also Albert Einstein's "Foreward" to Drake's translation of the *Dialogue*, xvii–xviii.

[46] This counter-portrayal maintains that, far from being naïvely inductivist, Galileo's empiricism was more or less hypothetico-deductivist. Perhaps the best synopsis of Drake's perspective on Galileo's scientific methodology can be found in his short, popular biography, *Galileo* (New York, 1980), esp. 11–20; see also his *Galileo Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970), and *Galileo at Work* (Chicago, 1978). For examples of other critical approaches to Koyré's Platonist interpretation of Galileo's scientific methodology, see Dudley Shapere, *Galileo: A Philosophical Study* (Chicago, 1974); William R. Shea, *Galileo's Intellectual Revolution: Middle Period, 1610–1632* (New York, 1977); Ernan McMullin, "The Conception of Science in Galileo's Work," in Robert E. Butts and Joseph C. Pitt, eds., *New Perspectives on Galileo* (Dordrecht, 1978), 209–57; Winifred L. Wisan, "Galileo's Scientific Method: A Reexamination," *ibid.*, 1–57; and "Galileo and Scientific Creation," *Isis*, 75 (1984): 269–86. Finally, for a reinterpretation of Galileo's science and its relationship to Scholastic Aristotelianism, see William A. Wallace, *Prelude to Galileo: Essays on Medieval and Sixteenth-Century Sources of Galileo's Thought* (Dordrecht, 1981); and *Galileo and His Sources: The Heritage of the Collegio Romano in Galileo's Science* (Princeton, N.J., 1984).

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involving inclined planes and pendulums.[47] On the other hand, Galileo's scientific outlook was not simply empirical. He was aware that, without intellectual mediation, the senses were an improper guide to the truth of things:

> Whenever I conceive any material or corporeal substance [he tells us in the *Assayer*], I immediately . . . think of it as bounded, and as having this or that shape; as being large or small [and] as being in motion or at rest . . . From these conditions I cannot separate such a substance by any stretch of my imagination. But that it must be white or red, bitter or sweet, noisy or silent, and of sweet or foul odor, my mind does not feel compelled to bring in as necessary accompaniments. Without the senses as our guides, reason or imagination unaided would probably never arrive at qualities like these. Hence, I think that tastes, odors, colors, and so on . . . reside only in the consciousness [so that] if the living creature were removed, all these qualities would be wiped away and annihilated.[48]

Too much could be, and indeed has been, made of such passages, but they at least serve to point up Galileo's ambivalence toward "raw" sensory data and his consequent belief in the primacy of reason, as necessary mediator, in the processing of that data.[49] As for Copernicus, to understand or know objective reality through the senses was, for Galileo, to fit it to reason rather than fit reason to it.

HAVING REDUCED THE OBJECTIVE WORLD TO A MERE EMBODIMENT OF THE EUCLIDEAN world in his mind, Galileo limited the actual characteristics of objective reality to mathematical attributes alone. In so doing, he resolved the question of *why* we can achieve a perfect understanding of that reality in mathematical terms. Nevertheless, he left open the question of *how* we can achieve such an understanding. As knowers, we are connected with the objective world through sense perception. Yet sense perception seems to be inherently deceptive. How, then, can we gain a true understanding of that world through such a faulty connection? Not only do the senses tell us in no uncertain terms that many qualities of external objects are not intrinsically mathematical, they also tell us that some of these non-mathematical qualities (for example, luminosity and color) are, by their very vividness, more real and primal than the intrinsically mathematical ones. In fact, these non-mathematical qualities seem necessary as mediators for the mathematical ones (which is why the theory of abstraction accords mathematical attributes an intentional or mediate status in relation to light and color, on whose coattails they ride). But "knowing things inside out" requires that the perceptual grasp of the mathematical aspects of things be as immediate as possible. This means somehow jettisoning the mediating forms central to the theory of abstraction. "Knowing things inside out," in short, must be as senseless as possible.

[47] See Stillman Drake, "Galileo's Experimental Confirmation of Horizontal Inertia: Unpublished Manuscripts (Galileo Gleanings XXII)," *Isis*, 64 (1973): 291–95; Stillman Drake, "New Light on a Galilean Claim about Pendulums," *Isis*, 66 (1975): 92–95; Ronald H. Naylor, "Galileo's Real Experiment and Didactic Demonstration," *Isis*, 67 (1976): 398–419; Ronald H. Naylor, "Galileo's Theory of Projectile Motion," *Isis*, 71 (1980): 550–70; and Thomas B. Settle, "Galileo and Early Experimentation," in Rutherford Aris, *et al.*, eds., *Springs of Scientific Creativity* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983).

[48] Galileo, *Discoveries*, 274.

[49] The context for the above passage from the *Assayer* is a discussion of the "atomic" structure of matter, a discussion that echoes and re-echoes in Galileo's published and unpublished writings, most notably in the "Second Day" of the *Two New Sciences*; see William R. Shea, "Galileo's Atomic Hypothesis," *Ambix*, 17 (1970): 13–27; and *Galileo's Intellectual Revolution*, 27–31, 101–05. These scattered references to atomism have been taken as evidence of Galileo's commitment to a program of science based on a radically anti-Aristotelian metaphysics; compare A. Mark Smith, "Galileo's Theory of Indivisibles: Revolution or Compromise?" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 37 (1976): 571–88.

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As we saw earlier, a critical difficulty for visual theorists from Aristotle onward was to explain precisely how external objects strike the eye. Those theorists recognized that, since immediate contact between object and eye would not cause sight, there had to be some spatial separation between the two. Thus something about the object had to reach the eye over the intervening gap. For medieval theorists, that "something" was the visible species or image of the object's inherent luminosity and color. Abstracted by the eye, this species provided the wherewithal for the abstraction of successive species by the imagination and reason. But these very species stand in the way of "knowing things inside out." As we also saw earlier, the species theory entailed a sharply defined and tightly bound chain of abstractions. The first link in that theoretical chain involved the crystalline lens, which was thought to have a peculiar visual sensitivity that allowed it to abstract coherent visible species from the light rays and color rays impinging on it. Once abstracted, those species would pass through the succeeding ocular humors to the optic nerves, through whose hollows they would eventually wend their way to the brain. As the organ of first visual sensitivity, the crystalline lens inaugurated the process of abstraction. During the sixteenth century, this traditional interpretation was seriously questioned. Perhaps (reasoned some medical thinkers of that period) the crystalline lens had no peculiar visual sensitivity at all; perhaps it was optically inert, an organic "spyglass" designed to do no more than physically channel light rays and color rays onto the retina at the back of the eye. That being the case, perhaps it was the retina instead of the crystalline lens that constituted the true instrument of first visual sensitivity.[50]

As exemplified in Felix Platter's *De corporis humanis structura . . . libri III* of 1583, these two suppositions—that the crystalline lens serves only to focus incoming rays and that first visual sensitivity occurs at the retina—had no solid justification in fact or reason. This changed with the publication of Johann Kepler's *Ad Vitellionem paralipomena* in 1604. Kepler established on relatively firm anatomical and geometrical grounds that the eye is a camera obscura, the pupil funneling the visible radiation inward, the lens focusing and projecting that radiation, and the retina providing a visual screen for it. Thus Kepler reduced the first stage in abstraction to a purely physico-mechanical process governed entirely by geometrical principles.[51] But, by shattering the first link in the theoretical chain of abstractions, he put the entire chain in jeopardy for subsequent thinkers. And, by concluding that the final retinal projection or *pictura* is necessarily inverted, he called the assumption of correspondence into question: why, after all, do we not visually perceive things inverted when they are physically presented to us that way? Despite this problematic entailment, Kepler insisted on the validity of his geometrical analysis.[52] By the early seventeenth century, therefore, the traditional species

[50] For an account of this reinterpretation of the crystalline lens and its role, see Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, 162–77.

[51] Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, 178–208; Lindberg points out on 190–93 that Kepler's understanding of ocular anatomy was influenced by his reading of Felix Platter—hence his acceptance of retinal sensitivity; for Kepler's own discussion, see *Paralipomena* V, 1 and 2, in Max Casper, ed., *Johannes Kepler, Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1939), 166–77. See also Stephen Straker, "The Eye Made Other: Dürer, Kepler, and the Mechanization of Light and Vision," *University of Calgary Studies in History*, 1 (1976): 7–25; and "Kepler, Tycho, and the 'Optical Part of Astronomy': The Genesis of Kepler's Theory of Pinhole Images," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 24 (1981): 267–93.

[52] For Kepler's account of the problem of inversion, see *Paralipomena* V, 4, in *Gesammelte Werke*, 2: 203–04. As for what happens to the visual image after it has been projected on the retina, Kepler professed ignorance, leaving such investigations to the "Physicists," since "Opticians," such as himself, were unconcerned with what occurs beyond the retinal screen; see *Paralipomena* V, 2, in *Gesammelte*

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theory was under fire not only because species themselves stood in the way of "knowing things inside out" but because they had been rendered superfluous according to Kepler's rigorously constructed account of sight. A new theory of light, color, and vision was needed, one that dispensed entirely with species while, at the same time, it linked us as closely as possible with an intrinsically Euclidean physical world. And that brings us to Descartes.

Descartes conceived of physical reality in terms of pure spatial extension. Whatever was extended simply was. In order to give definition to that extension, he broke it up into perfectly contiguous particles that varied among themselves only by shape, size, and relative place, all of which could change. Overall, there were three categories of particle. The largest particles, which he called "earth," were of irregular shape and formed gross physical matter. The intermediate particles, which formed "ether," were perfectly spherical in shape. "Fire" was composed of the smallest particles, which tended to coagulate into spheres completely surrounded by ether.[53]

For Descartes, what medieval theorists called "luminosity" was simply the lively action of swirling fire particles, which are constantly striving to fly centrifugally from the spheres into which they are bunched. Completely hemmed in by ether, however, they cannot actually move outward. All they can do is push against the ethereal envelope, thus creating a pressure against it, which is transmitted instantaneously through it, particle by contiguous particle, in perfectly straight lines. This pressure is "light." Being perfectly contiguous, the ether particles cannot move locally, but, since they are spherical, they can at least spin in place. This spin is "color," variations in rate of spin causing differences in color. Color, in short, became just an intention or by-product of light, as light is of mechanical pressure.[54]

Descartes thus denied light and color all qualitative or formal existence. At an objective level, they became nothing more than mathematically determined actions of mathematically determinate bodies. That, Descartes concluded, is why "there is no need to assume that something . . . passes from . . . objects to our eyes to make us see colors and light, nor even that there is anything in those objects which is similar to the ideas or sensations that we have of them."[55] So, at a subjective level,

Werke, 2: 168–70. That Kepler's theory of light was heavily influenced by Platonist sources is well established; see D. C. Lindberg, "The Genesis of Kepler's Theory of Light: Light Metaphysics from Plotinus to Kepler," *Osiris*, 2d ser., 2 (1986): 5–42. R. S. Westman, "Nature, Art, and Psyche: Jung, Pauli, and the Kepler-Fludd Polemic," in Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, 177–229, argues that Kepler's visual epistemology is fundamentally Platonist as well, based on the assumption that reason informs objective reality. "The soul, then, is the *intermediary* between the perfectly intelligible patterns of *Nous* and the imperfect, material sensibles. Certain patterns are innate in the soul and it, in turn, 'projects' these patterns onto matter. In Kepler's usage, the soul 'propagates' its patterns onto matter thereby re-forming it, embodying it in forms, yet also knowing what it embodies because it *matches* what is written on it by *Nous* with patterns of sensibles"; 204. In short, as Westman characterizes it, Kepler's epistemology is a paradigm of "knowing things inside out."

[53] Descartes's own account of this matter-theory can be found in *Le Monde: Traité de la lumière*; see *Oeuvres de Descartes*, Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, eds. (1897–1913; Paris, 1967), vol. 11. For a fairly recent account of this theory, see John W. Lynes, "Descartes' Theory of Elements from *Le Monde* to the *Principes*," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 43 (1982): 55–72.

[54] For Descartes's equation of ethereal spin with color, see the *Dioptrique* and *Météores* in *Oeuvres*, vol. 6, 92 and 331–35, respectively. For a detailed analysis of Cartesian light theory, see Smith, *Descartes's Theory of Light and Refraction*, 13–19 *et passim*.

[55] From the *Dioptrique*, in *Oeuvres*, 6: 85. That Descartes proposed his theory in logical contradistinction to the medieval species theory is obvious from his contention that, by thinking of light as mechanically transmitted, "your mind will be freed from all those tiny images flitting through the air—the so-called *intentional species*—which so exercise the imagination of [Scholastic] philosophers"; *ibid.* Descartes's familiarity with Kepler's pioneering work on light and vision is evidenced by his acknowl-

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light and color are mere states of mind, products of a sort of perceptual self-deception. As such, they tend to mask rather than reveal the true and inherent mathematical nature of objective reality. The situation is not entirely desperate, though, because our innate capacity for right reason can be brought to bear on the problem. All we need do, Descartes admonishes us at several reprises, is prune away those perceived characteristics of things, such as color, odor, and taste, that are inessential and arrive at a core of essential properties without which the objective world would be inconceivable. The reality of such properties, moreover, can be tested according to the criteria of clarity and distinctness: if they are as clear and distinct to the mind as one's own self-existence, they are perforce to be accepted as real and essential.[56] Thus, like the physical account of vision, objective reality and its scientific analysis are reduced to a minimum of mathematically determined spatio-temporal characteristics and relationships. Qualitatively minimized and mechanized, objective reality is open to a completeness and exactitude of understanding that the Aristotelian world view, with its focus on essences, could not pretend to offer.

The implications of this rigorously mechanistic world view and its account of light, color, and vision are fairly evident. To start with, this account annihilates all hope of preserving a meaningful, sense-based correspondence between objective and subjective worlds. The tenuous conjunction between mind and body so carefully forged by the Scholastics is irrevocably broken. It is equally obvious that Descartes's reversal of the traditional order of primary and secondary qualities is the wedge that forces this mind-body disjunction. Henceforth, intellectual clarity and distinctness must take precedence over sensory vividness. But this reversal in precedence demands nothing less than the reinvention of reality according to the canons of pure reason. That is precisely what Descartes and his followers in the "mechanical philosophy" attempted to do. The result is graphically described by E. A. Burtt: "The world that people had thought themselves living in—a world rich with colour and sound, redolent with fragrance, filled with gladness, love and beauty, speaking everywhere of purposive harmony and creative ideals—was crowded now into minute corners of the brains of scattered organic beings. The really important world outside was a world hard, cold, colourless, silent, and dead; a world of quantity, a world of mathematically computable motions in mechanical regularity."[57] For all that it promised a certain scientific certainty, "knowing things inside out" had its price: the acceptance of a fundamentally senseless reality in which "man with his purposes, feelings, and secondary qualities was shoved apart as an unimportant spectator and semi-real effect of the great mathematical drama outside."[58]

It would be misleading in the extreme to claim that, as canonized by Descartes, the epistemology of "knowing things inside out" enjoyed an easy or unalloyed

edgment of Kepler as "my first master in optics"; Descartes to Mersenne, March 31, 1638, in *Oeuvres*, 2: 86.

[56] At various places in his philosophical and scientific works, Descartes prescribed clarity and distinctness as proper criteria by which to judge the truth of our ideas of things. Accordingly, he was able to reduce the true characteristics of external reality (which spawn such clear and distinct ideas) to mathematically determinable properties alone, starting with extension. For examples, see *Principles of Philosophy* I, 30; *Meditations* IV; *Discourse on the Method* II; and Rule 12 of *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*, in Elizabeth Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, trans., *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1968), 35–49, 92, 171–79, 231–32.

[57] Burtt, *Metaphysical Foundations*, 238–39.

[58] Burtt, *Metaphysical Foundations*, 104.

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triumph during the seventeenth century. Many serious and perceptive thinkers of the time, alive to its radical philosophical and psychological consequences, refused to accept such an epistemological extreme, and even Descartes's most ardent disciples were forced to admit the severe shortcomings of his uncompromisingly mechanistic approach to natural philosophy.[59] Yet, in the long run, the Cartesian ideal of "knowing things inside out" had a profound effect on the development of Enlightenment thought, if only in its definition of the crucial epistemological distinctions and issues. Philosophically, insofar as it created an ineluctable and unbridgeable gulf between ontology and epistemology, "knowing things inside out" found its extreme expression in the work of Emmanuel Kant, which was foreshadowed by that of the British empiricists.[60] Scientifically, by emphasizing the untrustworthiness of sensation and, concomitantly, reducing sense perception to a mathematically determinable minimum, "knowing things inside out" led to two somewhat paradoxical results. First, because it allowed for the distillation of physical reality to mere "point-masses" and "force-centers" in space, such an epistemological position encouraged the radical mathematization of Nature that came to fruition in the works of Lagrange and Laplace.[61] Second, by encouraging a fundamentally positivistic attitude toward factual observation, that same epistemology allowed for the legitimate reentry of sense perception into scientific inquiry, albeit through the narrow back door of "objectivity." Accordingly, scientific "fact" has developed the same sterility and impersonality as the world of which it is presumably a reflection.

TO POSE THE "WHY" OF ANY SCIENTIFIC CHANGE is to ask more than why particular ideas or theories evolved among certain leading thinkers. It is to ask as well why those ideas or theories prevailed when they did within their cultural context. The change sketched above took form over the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in a tandem shift of epistemological perspective and metaphysical commitment. That shift centered on a transition from "knowing things outside in" to "knowing things inside out." Its price seems high: replacement of the qualitatively rich and psychologically comfortable world view of the Middle Ages with the thoroughly cheerless and dehumanized, albeit demystified, world view that came to prevail during the seventeenth century. Why, given its obviously problematic nature, did this world view gain such ready acceptance when it did?

As I suggested, the motivation for that acceptance was no less psychological than

[59] See John Wright, "The Embodied Soul in 17th-Century French Physiology," forthcoming in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*. A devoted Cartesian, Christiaan Huygens was nonetheless forced to admit in his *Traité de la lumière* of 1690 that, although Descartes "has succeeded in [treating the subjects of physics intelligibly] better than anyone before him, [he] has said nothing that is not full of difficulties, or even inconceivable, in dealing with Light and its properties"; *Treatise on Light*, trans. Silvanus Thompson (New York, 1962), 7. Despite such qualifications, many thinkers, including Huygens, Robert Hooke, and even Isaac Newton, who was highly critical of Cartesian mechanics, followed Descartes's lead in attempting to mechanize optics and, in the process, reduce the qualitative characteristics of light and color to subjective representations of mechanically produced phenomena; see Christiaan Huygens, *Treatise*, 3; Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (1665; rpt. edn., New York, 1961), 47-64; Isaac Newton, *Opticks*, 4th edn. (1730; New York, 1952), esp. 339–54.

[60] For an excellent overview, see John Yolton, *Perceptual Acquaintance from Descartes to Reid* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1984).

[61] The tendency to reduce physical bodies to mere centers of mass and force, which can be traced to Newton, reached an apex of sorts with Roger Boscovich's account of physics in the *Theoria philosophiae naturalis* of 1758. For a good review of the pure mathematization of Nature during the Enlightenment, see Thomas L. Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1985), 17–41.

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logical. On the logical side, the reasons are clear enough. First, the new world view was simpler than its Aristotelian counterpart in that it reduced Nature to mathematically determinable qualities alone. Second, it promised a clarity and exactitude of analysis that its Aristotelian counterpart could not hope to match. On the psychological side, acceptance can be traced to the fundamental intellectual malaise of the late Renaissance, a malaise evidently rooted in the logical and theological critique of the fourteenth century. Stressing the utter contingency both of Creation and of human reasoning, this critique left human beings trapped in a limbo of uncertainty about everything. Logical "truth" was at best provisional, subject at any instant to overturn or change, as was what had once seemed to be an inviolable world order. Unmoored from any real philosophical conviction, later medieval and Renaissance thought drifted into a more-or-less empty formalism along increasingly rigid partisan lines.[62] Small wonder, then, that so many finally took refuge in the epistemological extreme of "knowing things inside out." For all its problematic metaphysical entailments, it at least offered the promise of some certainty.

I do not pretend that, in the brief compass of this sketch, I have done justice to the Scientific Revolution as a whole or, for that matter, to the particular part of it on which I have focused. For instance, I have ignored the issue of empiricism, or experimentalism, as a factor in the Scientific Revolution. And I have all but ignored specific Renaissance philosophical currents that presumably influenced the development of the new metaphysics of the seventeenth century.[63] Even within the narrow confines of my analysis, I have stopped unnecessarily short by limiting the cultural context to the intellectual malaise of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. That malaise, in fact, may well have been symptomatic of an even deeper cultural malaise that extended beyond intellectual into religious life. Perhaps, therefore, the search for intellectual conviction, which led to the epistemological extreme of "knowing things inside out," had its natural obverse in the search for religious conviction, which led to the theological extreme of "sola fideism" (for salvation, faith only). But that is somewhat beside the point. What I wish finally to emphasize is that the true foundations of the epistemological revolution described here are to be sought not only in the specific ideas of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Descartes. They are also to be sought in the particular cultural climate within which a sufficiently large audience was mentally and psychologically prepared to accept those ideas and allow them to germinate and develop.

[62] Late medieval Scholasticism fragmented along general partisan lines according to the *via moderna* and *via antiqua* as well as along more specific partisan lines according to preference for Scotism, Thomism, Ockhamism, etc. Precisely what, beyond nominal affiliation, defined these schools is still a vexed issue, but there is no question that members took their various allegiances seriously. In Germany at least, certain universities slanted their curricula exclusively toward specific party lines. See Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism*, 44–60, for a thumbnail sketch of such developments; see also Courtenay, "Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion."

[63] For a good summary of the philosophical currents underlying seventeenth-century corpuscularism, see Christoph Meinel, "Early Seventeenth-Century Atomism: Theory, Epistemology, and the Insufficiency of Experiment," *Isis*, 79 (1988): 68–103.

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Rule by Sentiment: Alexander II's Journeys through the Russian Empire

RICHARD WORTMAN

DURING THE FIRST DECADE OF HIS REIGN, Alexander II traveled extensively through the Russian empire. He made frequent visits to Moscow, journeyed to the Crimea during critical months of the Crimean War in 1855, and made two extended tours of the provinces during the preparation for the emancipation of the serfs in the spring and summer of 1858. In 1862, he visited provincial towns that were strongholds of the noble constitutionalist movement. The ostensible purpose of his trips was informational: he left the remote outpost of government in St. Petersburg and traveled to the provinces to examine the condition of his subjects. But, in fact, Alexander went to the countryside to be seen more than to see. His trips had a ceremonial purpose. At a moment when the defects of the autocracy had been exposed by military defeat, the acclaim of the throngs in the streets and the greetings from representatives of the estates showed that the emperor enjoyed the approval of the people.

One contemporary wrote, "Until this time, it was not the custom of our tsars to speak with the estates about general national interests. They usually flew with lightning speed across the vast expanse of the empire and rarely even bestowed a gracious word or glance upon the subjects who gathered to greet them."[1] In his rapid tours of the empire, Alexander's father, Nicholas I, had devoted his brief stays in provincial towns largely to military reviews and inspections.[2] Catherine the Great and Alexander I had made extended tours of the provinces and sought personal popularity, but their trips had not served as principal expressions of their images.[3] Alexander II's trips were arranged so as to reveal the support of the

I wish to express my appreciation to the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, the International Research and Exchanges Board, and Princeton University for their support in the preparation of this article.

[1] *Materialy dlia istorii uprazdneniia krepostnogo sostoianiia pomeshchich'ikh krestian' v Rossii v tsarstvovanie imperatora Aleksandra II*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1860), 1: 366.

[2] Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 194–96; John S. Curtiss, *The Russian Army under Nicholas I* (Durham, N.C., 1965), 52–53. The minister of interior had to issue strict rules limiting access to the emperor. After 1845, only governors enjoyed the right of presentation during his trips; *Stoletie voennogo ministerstva*, vol. 4, chap. 4, *Imperatorskaia glavnaia kvartira: Istoriia gosudarevoi svity: Tsarstvovanie Aleksandra II* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 349–51; "Delo kantseliarii findliandskogo general-gubernatora: O pravilakh i poriadkakh sobliudaemykh pri puteshestviiakh Gosudaria Imperatora i prochikh chlenov dvora," August 8, 1835, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki.

[3] On Catherine's Volga trip of 1767, see V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Sochineniia*, 8 vols. (Moscow, 1958), 5: 67–68; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, 18 vols. (Moscow, 1965), 13: 315–16; 14: 49–54. See John T. Alexander, *Catherine the Great: Life and Legend* (New York, 1989), 107–12. There is a brief account of her trip to New Russia and the Crimea in Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine*

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Russian people for the autocratic monarch and were presented in newspaper and journal accounts. The trips extended the imperial court's rituals of approval to the population at large, demonstrating a popular devotion to the monarch like that displayed by his servitors. These ceremonies were played to the elite of Russia and Europe. They did not resemble the expressions of mystic union between tsar and people envisioned by the Slavophiles.

Sociology and anthropology make clear the significance of ceremonies in political life. Political ceremonies dramatize dominant values and reveal the nature of the support that governments seek from the governed: they create cognitive maps of the political order, representing "particular models or political paradigms of society and how it functions."[4] The rituals of monarchies express an idealized image of rule, providing "a structure that generalizes the action of the king as the form and destiny of the authority."[5] Recent studies of royal rites have shown their crucial role in the establishment and evolution of monarchical authority in different societies.[6]

In Russia, rituals served to reveal and sustain an image of an all-powerful, godlike sovereign that remained vital to the exercise of autocratic power until the last decades of the nineteenth century. The imperial court provided a setting for the idealization and worship of the person of emperor and empress. There, powerful bureaucrats and officers, the leading members of the noble and merchant estates, joined members of the imperial family in a culture of autocracy whose guiding values, models of conduct, and sanctions for authority were embodied in the monarch. Those who belonged to this magic circle of autocracy were personally known to the emperor or empress. They revered them as persons as well as sovereigns.

From the early eighteenth century, the emperors and empresses of Russia were glorified as European monarchs. They exemplified the ideals of Western royalty for the governing elite, which took its signs for conduct and thought from its sovereigns. Nicholas I (1825–1855) had followed this pattern by emulating Frederick the Great, the all-powerful drill master, who had disciplined his state to fit a martial ideal of obedience. Nicholas I also adopted features of contemporary Western monarchs, who in the first half of the nineteenth century began to emphasize their sympathetic qualities in order to broaden the social support for their rule. Frederick-William III of Prussia and Queen Victoria were depicted as exemplars of family virtues, probity, and work. They presented what Heinz Dollinger has called a *Leitbild* of bourgeois monarchy.[7]

In Russia, the rhetoric and imagery of sentimentalism were used to place Nicholas in this cultural context. Official writers portrayed Nicholas as a paterfa-

the Great (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 370–73. The journeys that Alexander I took late in his reign are summarized in M. I. Bogdanovich, *Istoriia tsarstvovaniia Imperatora Aleksandra I i Rossii v ego vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1871), 6: 361–79.

[4] Steven Lukes, *Essays in Social Theory* (London, 1977), 68.

[5] Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), xi; Clifford Geertz, "Center, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), 13–38.

[6] See the individual essays in Wilentz, *Rites of Power*; David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820–1977," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 101–64; David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987).

[7] Heinz Dollinger, "Das Leitbild des Bürgerkönigtums in der europäischen Monarchie des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Karl Ferdinand Werner, ed., *Hof, Kultur, und Politik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1985), 330–31, 345–57.

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milias who led an affectionate family life and experienced the sentiments of other human beings. They emphasized that, despite the luxury of his court, he lived an austere life of hard work and self-denial. They characterized Nicholas's relationship to his subjects as one of feeling and wrote of wellsprings of popular love for the emperor.[8] Nicholas presented this image of a human and sympathetic monarch not to the bourgeoisie, which was politically insignificant, but to the nobility and educated society. Yet traditional notions of the relationship between emperor and subjects also persisted. His subjects' love for Nicholas was expressed primarily through obedience and self-sacrifice. He ruled by instilling fear and did not like mass demonstrations of affection, which occurred but rarely during his reign. Despite the human touches, he remained the wrathful, awesome godlike figure, maintaining the power of autocracy by his strength of will.[9]

The military and diplomatic debacle of the Crimean War destroyed the idea that Nicholas embodied infallible and invulnerable imperial power. Russian armies proved unable to repulse the expeditionary force sent by the French and British, and the administrative disorganization and corruption revealed by the war showed the corruption and weakness of the imperial bureaucracy. The Treaty of Paris dealt the greatest humiliation—a ban of Russian warships from the Black Sea. The defeat left Russia, the dominant force on the Continent only a decade before, humbled and isolated.

Such circumstances compelled Alexander to assume a more accessible and human image of rule when he came to the throne in 1855. Napoleon III now replaced Frederick the Great as a Western model of rule. But Alexander had assumed a different image long before he came to the throne. His tutor, the sentimentalist poet, Vasilii Zhukovskii, had taught him the early nineteenth-century ideal of a ruler who shared the needs and sympathies of his people. As heir, Alexander was a symbol of his father's familial sentiments. He appeared as an object of endearment, whose kindness and beauty won the hearts of the people.

ALEXANDER II'S FIRST AND PRINCIPAL EXPERIENCE OF POPULAR ACCLAIM was the journey he took across the empire in 1837, when he was nineteen years old. Accompanied by Zhukovskii and an adjutant of Nicholas, S. A. Iur'evich, Alexander traveled for seven months and covered a distance of over 13,000 miles. It was the longest tour of the empire by a tsar or tsarevich and took him to regions, including Siberia, never before visited by a member of the imperial family.

Nicholas himself carefully planned every aspect of the tour, specifying the part his son was to play in his own scenario of power. He laid out the itinerary, gave instructions on what Alexander was to see, whom he was to receive, how he was to act, what he was to learn. "The heir's journey has a dual role," Nicholas declared in the general instruction, which was copied at the beginning of Alexander's travel diary, "to learn about Russia to the extent possible and to let himself be seen by his future subjects." In the specific personal recommendations, he warned his son that

[8] This portrayal appeared as early as Nicholas's coronation. The official account refers to the mutual love between "the adored monarch" and his "good people," confirming the author's faith "in the unshakeable might of the Russian tsardom, where love for tsar and fatherland are not empty words but the highest of virtues"; "Istoricheskoe opisanie Sviashchennogo Koronovaniia," *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 31 (1827): 390–96; Nikita Chakirov, *Tsarskie koronatsii na Rusi* (New York, 1971), 174–75.

[9] The best biography of Nicholas I and general discussion of his reign is by W. Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I: Emperor of All the Russias* (Bloomington, Ind., 1978).

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he would be "severely judged" during the journey. But Nicholas predicted and, in a sense, ordained an enthusiastic reception: "There is no doubt that you will be received everywhere with sincere joy. You will see the interior of Russia and will learn to honor our estimable, kind Russian people and Russian affection. But do not be blinded by this reception, even if you merit it. You will be received everywhere as their *Hope*. May God in his mercy help you to justify it."[10] Throughout the journey, Alexander was presented as the embodiment of the hope of the Russian people, and they responded with the joy and affection that the emperor had predicted. The atmosphere of the trip quickly became more festive than studious. "One can say that the tsar has given Russia a general holiday, unique of its kind," Zhukovskii wrote.[11]

Alexander entered each town amid crowds of people shouting hoorahs. Bands played the national anthem, "God Save the Tsar," which had been composed only three years before. Following Nicholas's orders, Alexander received welcomes from the governor, the provincial marshal of the nobility and other eminent nobles, the town clergy, and the highest civil and military ranks. He visited important historical sites, churches, and monasteries. He was shown schools and charitable institutions. He devoted much time to examining factories and "industrial exhibitions," where he expressed his own and the government's interest in the economic development of the empire. He went to garrisons and reviewed the troops on parade, even though Nicholas's instruction stressed that he was not to conduct inspections and that he should submit no reports. His visits usually concluded with a gala ball given by the provincial nobility.

The principal function of Alexander's journey, as Zhukovskii perceived, was ceremonial—to link the people to the tsar through the son. Everyone said, "The tsar is sending us his son; he respects his people, and everyone's heart is full of gratitude." In his letters to the empress, Zhukovskii emphasized widespread feelings of affection for the imperial family. He wrote of the exultant reception in Tver', "Everyone sees in this also the tender heart of the father who wants to share his love for his son with the fatherland and the caring heart of the tsar who ensures a happy future for his heir and his people in their mutual love, created by himself."[12]

The official newspaper *Severnaia pchela* mirrored Zhukovskii's sentimental mode and made familial love a central theme in its reports of the heir's trip. The anonymous author of the "A Letter from Tver'" told how, returning from a visit with Zhukovskii, he had heard peasant, merchant, and nobleman alike exclaiming with joy about the "paternal concern" of a tsar who sent his son to learn about Russia.[13] A "Letter from Smolensk" quoted words of a new polonaise composed by the "Smolensk landowner," Mikhail Glinka, and performed at the gala ball in Alexander's honor.

[10] "Dnevnik B. Kn. Aleksandra Nikolaevicha vo vremia poezdki po Rossii, 1 maia–12 dekabria, 1837 g.," Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii (hereafter, TsGAOR), f. 678, op. 1, d. 287, 3, 7, 8.

[11] S. S. Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II, ego zhizn' i tsarstvovanie* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 1: 73.

[12] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 74–75.

[13] *Severnaia pchela*, 111 (May 22, 1837): 443.

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May their Power prosper,
Like the ageless flower of paradise,
And resounding glory of NICHOLAS
Pass to his posterity.
And you our guest! A golden star
The splendid son of The Great,
Captivating Russians with tenderness
Flower our young giant![14]

From the beginning of his trip, Alexander captivated the people with his beauty, tenderness, and charm, evoking personal affection for the imperial family. It was the sight of the heir's face (*litsezrenie*) that the people longed for. Memoirs of Alexander's visits to provincial towns unfailingly recall the effect of his beauty. "He was a real beauty [*krasavets*], cheerful, charming everyone with unusual cordiality," a Saratov resident wrote. In the town of Kasimov, in Riazan' province, the local population "was enraptured by his beauty and cordiality." At provincial balls, he danced with and dazzled the local noble ladies and their daughters. Attending a ball in a park in Kazan', "the Tsesarevich danced in turn with the ladies, covered the entire lawn and gave everyone the chance to see and admire him." Alexander impressed the pious by his worship in church and showed intelligence and curiosity when he visited historical sites. His attentive conversation prompted feelings of friendship and affection. "He has an astonishing ability to charm everywhere with his manner, his calm cordiality, his dignity," Iur'evich wrote.[15]

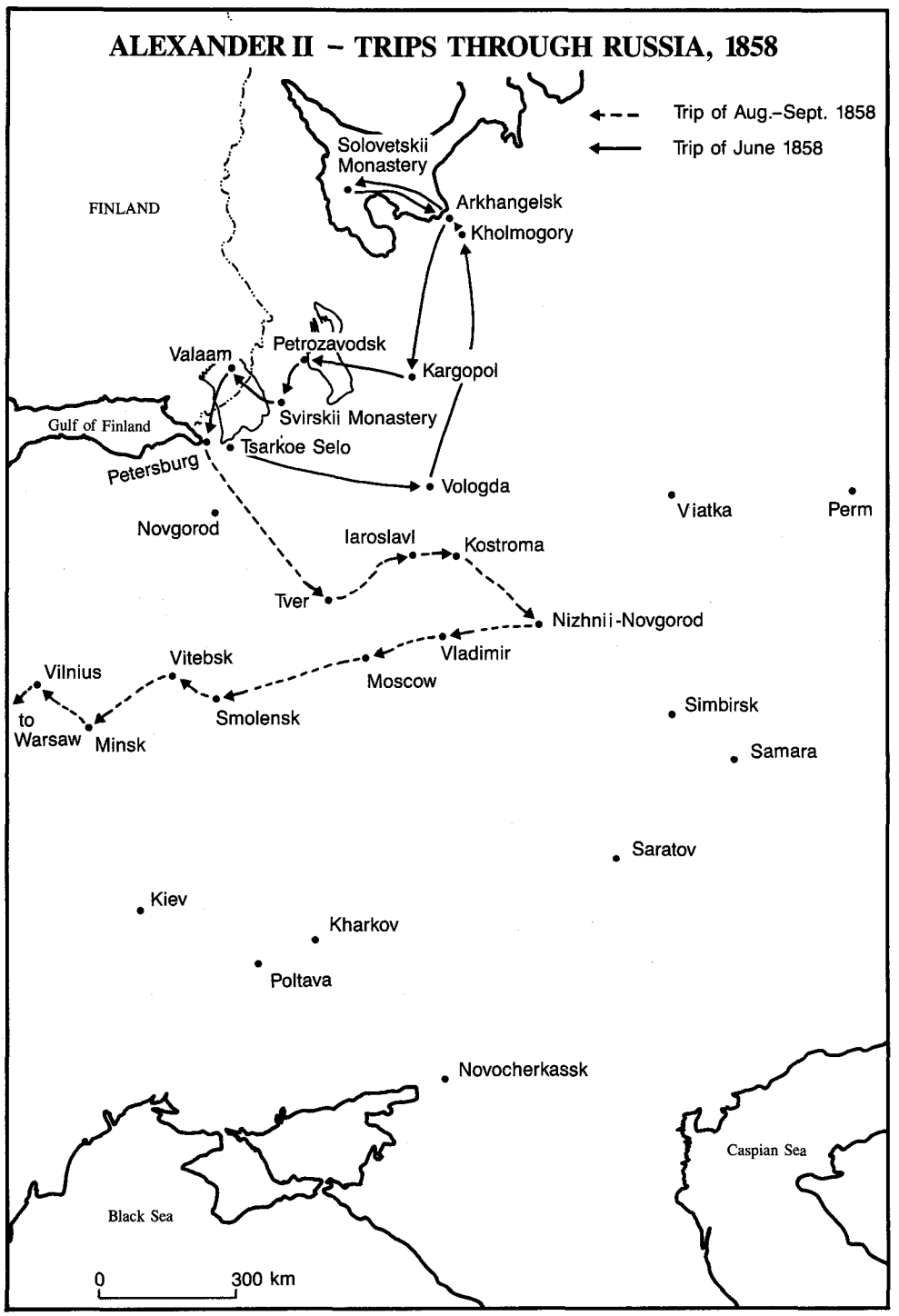
The newspaper accounts also focused on his cordiality and charm. The author of the letter from Tver' reported conversations among the people who stood the entire night awaiting the sight of Alexander's face. "What a fine young man [*molodets*]! Clearly Russian blood runs in his veins! How ardently he prayed in church and bowed to the holy icons! How cordial [*privetliv*] to all!" When he met members of the nobility, officers, and officials, "the HEIR charmed each with his greeting, sowing in the hearts of all the seeds of love and devotion, which will yield a rich harvest in future generations."

The feeling of rapport during the trip developed out of mutual beholding. Towns along the way, many of which had never received an heir or emperor, primped for his inspection. Provincial governments had streets cleaned and weeded, public buildings painted, sidewalks, where they existed, repaired. Barrels along the streets that contained water for use against fire were painted, and their contents, often putrid from standing, were replaced. Multicolored flags enlivened the dreary expanses of provincial streets. The presence of the tsarevich broke the torpor of provincial towns by bringing them into the sphere of imperial attention. The reporter from Tver' described the town as a backwater, or "a pretty postal station," until the heir arrived. "Emptiness and boredom, boredom and emptiness!"

[14] *Severnaia pchela*, 178 (August 11, 1837): 712.

[15] V. A. Shompulev, "Poseshchenie Saratova Naslednikom Tsesarevichem Aleksandrom Nikolaevichem v 30-kh godakh XIX stoletiia," *Russkaia starina*, 7 (1909): 45; A. Mansurov, "Naslednik Tsesarevich Aleksandr Nikolaevich v gorode Kasimove v 1837 godu," *Russkii arkhiv*, 2 (1888): 478; *Severnaia pchela*, 159 (July 17, 1837): 636; Iur'evich, "Dorozhnye pis'ma S. A. Iur'evicha," *Russkii arkhiv*, 1 (1887): 447.

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Departing from Ekaterinburg, he left the population "happy with the sight of his face and his kind, cordial manner, full of love and sympathy."[16] The effect was most profound in Siberia. Inhabitants said of the visit, "Until then our region was Siberia, from that time it became Russia."[17]

Alexander showed his kindliness through acts of charity. Following his father's instruction, he gave 240,000 rubles to the needy and large sums to repair cathedrals and historical monuments. He received nearly 16,000 petitions of grievance to the tsar. In Siberia, he was touched by the lot of many of the exiles, including some of the Decembrists, and petitioned his father for a mitigation of their punishment. To the joy of Alexander's accompanying party, Nicholas informed him that he would reduce many of their sentences. It was entirely his own compassion that moved Alexander to this act, Zhukovskii asserted. Seeing a crowd running behind the tsarevich's carriage, the poet wept and repeated to himself, "Run after him, Russia, he is worthy of your love!"[18]

THE PRESENTATION OF THE TRIP in Zhukovskii's and Iur'evich's letters, and the offical press, set the tone for all of Alexander's future appearances. The people were not described as receiving the tsarevich with composure or mere favor. They mobbed him, swarming behind him, enraptured by his presence. On the Volga, at Iaroslavl', they followed in hundreds of boats and covered the banks. At Kostroma, they walked into the water up to their waists when his boat passed, hoping to catch a glimpse of his face. Letters and newspaper reports expressed a rhetoric of sentimental devotion that was to become general in the official literature during Nicholas's reign. This rhetoric fused a feeling of personal affection for the heir with a sense of worship for the godlike sovereign. Observers used words borrowed from the religious lexicon to describe the emotions of the people greeting the heir. The report from Ekaterinburg was typical. "The ecstasy [*vostorg*] was indescribable. The people could not get enough of a look at him. Tears of tender pity [*umilenie*] shone in the eyes of many."[19] *Vostorg* and *umilenie* evoke feelings of religious fervor and dedication. According to Dahl, *vostorg* carries a sense of rapture, of oblivion—"of self-forgetting, and temporary renunciation of the world and its vanities."[20] In Nicholas's reign, *vostorg* was used to express the sensuous merger of the subject with the sovereign and his family, a worship of and infatuation with their persons. *Umilenie* conveyed the gratitude and love of the subject for the godlike emperor who forsook his majestic reserve and showed human feelings. It described an upsurge of tender pity and love for the benign tsar. It recalled the feelings of self-renunciation evoked by the word *umilenie* in medieval lives of the saints—an "ecstasy of submission" (*vostorg poddanstva*).[21]

Alexander's visit to Moscow in July and August 1837 prompted the greatest

[16] *Severnaia pchela*, 111 (May 22, 1837): 443; 127 (June 10, 1837): 505–06.

[17] Shompulev, "Poseshchenie Saratova Naslednikom Tsesarevichem Aleksandrom Nikolaevichem," 44; Mansurov, "Naslednik Tsesarevich Aleksandr Nikolaevich v gorode Kasimove," 477–78; *Severnaia pchela*, 111 (May 22, 1837): 443.

[18] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 82–83.

[19] *Severnaia pchela*, 127 (June 10, 1837): 506.

[20] Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1955), 1: 251.

[21] B. I. Berman, "Chitatel' zhit'ia," in *Khudozhestvennyi iazyk srednevekov'ia* (Moscow, 1982), 166–67, 179. Dahl defines *umilenie* as "a feeling of sweet pity, humility, grief, spiritual and joyous sympathy, benevolence"; *Tolkovyi slovar'*, 4: 493. George P. Fedotov calls it "a particular grace of the kenotic religion"; Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 vols. (Belmont, Mass., 1975), 1: 393.

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outpouring of feeling. The Kremlin, Alexander's birthplace, was a personal and historical symbol of political devotion. Official writers portrayed Russia's past as a historical romance between rulers and people. The Kremlin provided the setting for explosions of romantic adulation. In Nicholas's reign, the processions from the palaces to the cathedral, the emperor and the heir stopping to bow from the Red Porch, had assumed the central symbolic role in the ceremonies of autocracy.

The descriptions of Alexander's visit to Moscow presented him as a hero in a historical drama that united the emperor-to-be with his Muscovite past. In Moscow, Alexander acquainted himself with the historical roots of the love of the people for his forebears. Andrei Murav'ev, a specialist on religion and Muscovite antiquities, published an account of his tour with Alexander of the shrines of Moscow and its vicinity. Murav'ev described the young heir visiting the relics and shrines of his ancestors. In the Novospasskii monastery, Alexander proceeded slowly beneath a painting of his family tree, "as if attaining at the end of this long genealogical chain, that bright link to which he was predestined."[22] The historian Mikhail Pogodin wrote an essay for Alexander, explaining Moscow's role as political and religious center. Moscow preserved the national spirit, while St. Petersburg represented European influences. "That is why [Moscow] can be called the representative of Holy Rus'," Pogodin wrote. Pogodin awaited Alexander's procession through the Kremlin, with the shouts of hoorah and the ringing of bells, as a great historical revelation. "May He [Alexander] gaze into these faces and hearken to these sounds: he will hear in them, he will read our History in them more clearly than in any chronicle."[23]

Zhukovskii, who had sat at Aleksandra Fedorovna's bedside after Alexander's birth, experienced a revelation during the visit to the Kremlin. He quivered with veneration, he wrote, hearing the words "tsar, heir, gratitude of the fatherland, and posterity" and gazing at the "young, magnificent tsesarevich, surrounded by the people suddenly falling silent and weeping." When Alexander stopped and bowed from the Red Staircase to the people, the thundrous hoorahs of the crowd struck the poet as an expression of popular acclaim for the dynasty, embodied in the young heir. *Severnaia pchela* described people shouting happily, greeting the heir "with feelings of grateful love."[24]

The Metropolitan Filaret's welcoming speech to Moscow gave full expression to the rhetoric of emotion used to characterize the heir. Moscow symbolized the personal, historical bond between tsar and people. Alexander, Filaret declared, had traveled farther than any tsar and now had reached Moscow, the resting place of his ancestors. "Here you will come even more into contact with the heart of Russia and its vital force, which is an inherited love for hereditary tsars, repelling in previous centuries so many enemy forces. You will see it in its free play, in those waves of people striving towards You, in those ecstatic [*vostorzhennykh*] gazes and solemn cries." Affection was the source of the ruler's authority. "May the love of Russians make your task easy, inspired by love for Russia."[25]

The 1837 trip introduced the metaphor of love that was to be invoked frequently in the first decade of Alexander's reign; it was, in Zhukovskii's words, the heir's

[22] [A. N. Murav'ev], *Vospominaniia o poseshchenii sviatyni Moskovskoi Gosudarem Naslednikom* (St. Petersburg, 1838), 13.

[23] M. Pogodin, *Istoriko-kriticheskie otryvki* (Moscow, 1846), 154–59.

[24] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 84–85; Vasilii Zhukovskii, *Sochineniia* (St. Peterburg, 1885), 6: 308–09; *Severnaia pchela*, 172 (August 3, 1837): 685.

[25] *Severnaia pchela*, 172 (August 3, 1837): 685.

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"all-national betrothal with Russia."[26] During the tour, Alexander appeared to understand these demonstrations in the same way and gave indications of the susceptibility to popular acclaim that dominated his later attitudes toward his subjects. After the tumultuous acclaim in Tver', Zhukovskii observed, Alexander returned in the evening full of "a happy feeling of gratitude to the Russian people." Iur'evich wrote, "The splendid heart of our priceless voyager drinks the full cup of satisfaction, seeing how the Russian people receive him everywhere with unfeigned, sincere enthusiasm [*vostorg*]."[27]

AFTER ALEXANDER ASCENDED THE THRONE in February 1855, he continued to seek public acclaim on trips through the empire. As emperor, he still presented himself as the son rather than as the awesome and remote father. He frequently spoke of his intention to govern in his father's spirit and touched his subjects' hearts by presenting himself as the loyal and compassionate son. Alexander's upbringing and his experience in 1837 had instilled in him a sensibility to popular feelings similar to that of contemporary European monarchs. Nicholas had raised a son whose proclivities, in this respect, were opposite to his own but more attuned to the political demands of the nineteenth century. Nicholas's seemingly hypocritical claims of popular support created a sincere response in his son, who sought such support and made it the basis of a transformed image of the Russian emperor.

The transformation of this image followed a traditional pattern of Russian imperial myths: the emperor embodied Western ideals of monarchy by appropriating the images of his rivals and adversaries. In the 1850s, it was Louis Napoleon who exemplified popular monarchy. After the fall of Sevastopol, Napoleon III noted the importance of popular support for monarchial rule. He declared, "At the stage of civilization in which we are, the success of armies, however brilliant they may be, is only transitory. In reality it is public opinion which wins the last victory." Like Napoleon I, Napoleon III sought contact with the people. He began the practice of tours of the empire, the first of which took place in 1850. He visited numerous towns, where he, later accompanied by Empress Eugenie, was greeted by loud demonstrations of acclaim, prepared by conscientious local officials.[28]

The official press in France carried descriptions of the wild enthusiasm of the crowds of workers for the emperor, whom they recognized and acclaimed "as their best friend, he who has braved the danger to aid them and console them."[29] The accounts reveal the same merging of personal and political feelings used by Zhukovskii and Iur'evich in 1837 and by the official press in Alexander's reign. Napoleon III was presented as the worker's friend; Alexander II as the warm and caring father for all the estates. In Russia as in France, friendship and love took on political meaning, and, although the rhetoric may seem stilted and disingenuous to present-day ears, it is clear that the Russian imperial family and those close to them believed these feelings genuine. Alexander's personal statements and correspondence repeatedly expressed his gratification at the demonstrations of love and enthusiasm by the people, which he took as displays of political loyalty and support.

[26] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 89.

[27] Zhukovskii, *Sochineniia*, 6: 298–99; Iur'evich, "Dorozhnye pis'ma," 1: 442.

[28] David I. Kulstein, *Napoleon III and the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire* ([Sacramento], 1969), 3–5, 69–76.

[29] Quoted in Albert Boime, "The Second Empire's Official Realism," in Gabriel P. Weisberg, ed., *The European Realist Tradition* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), 94.

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For the Russian emperor, Napoleon III—the interloper and upstart—certainly provided a strange model. But, after his accession, Alexander and the Russian foreign office began a rapprochement with France even before the conclusion of hostilities. After the Peace of Paris, relations continued to improve. Louis Napoleon appointed his closest adviser, his illegitimate half-brother, Count Morny, ambassador to Russia. Morny arrived to a warm welcome and was celebrated as a guest of honor at Alexander's coronation. Alexander called for harmony (*soglasie*) between the nations and insisted that "this was the policy of my father." He told Morny that Nicholas I had great sympathy for Napoleon III and that "no one had applauded the coup d'état and its consequences more than he [Nicholas]."[30]

Alexander II took his first extended trip as emperor a half-year after his accession, in September and October 1855, during a critical stage in the Crimean War. He traveled to Moscow, New Russia, and the Crimea, trying to revive the morale of the nation. His visit to Moscow was staged as a repeat performance of Alexander I's dramatic appearance in Moscow in 1812, after Napoleon's invasion. Alexander wrote to General Mikhail Gorchakov, who was commanding troops in the Crimea, "Two years after the Moscow fire our victorious troops were in Paris. We are the same Russians and God is with us!" He sent Gorchakov the icon of St. Sergei carried by the Moscow militia in 1812.[31] But this reenactment of 1812 took place under the shadow of irreversible defeat, after the shattering fall of the fortress of Sevastopol. As a result, Alexander's task became salvaging the prestige of his dynasty rather than leading his nation to victory.

Severnaia pchela reported that in Moscow, "where the Russian element is even more dense," the feeling of vengeance was even stronger than in St. Petersburg. The correspondent explained how Alexander prayed at the Iberian Chapel, not for himself but for Russia. People of all estates, many of them in Russian costume, swarmed around the tsar, giving him their support.[32] Pogodin, writing in *Moskovskie vedomosti*, described the tumultuous shouts of hoorah, the exultation of the crowd when Alexander, the empress, and other members of the imperial family appeared on the steps of the Red Staircase. But the words of the people reported by Pogodin were protective, almost pitying. "Our little pigeon [*golubchik*]! How pensive he is! May the Lord console him! Help him. Make him happy! Forgive us!" Watching the procession, the poet Fedor Tiutchev beheld a mystic vision of the future greatness of Russia and felt that the event would be as historic as Alexander I's visit in 1812. Alexander himself took the display as a sign of support for him and the dynasty. He wrote to Ivan Paskevich, "In the midst of these painful circumstances, it was a joy to my heart to meet such a warm and sincere reception."[33]

The reports of Alexander's trip to the south and visits to the theater of war carried in *Moskovskie vedomosti* were couched in the rhetoric of personal devotion and religious reverence. In Odessa and Kherson, the troops greeted him with ecstasy (*vostorg*). When he ventured closer to the front, the soldiers, the report tells us, stopped his carriage and kissed his hands and feet. The tsar himself was deeply moved. The cries of the troops "reached the soul of the TSAR. They caressed his

[30] Tatishchev, *Imperator Alexsandr II*, 1: 231–34; Barbara Jelavich, *St. Petersburg and Moscow: Tsarist and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Bloomington, Ind., 1974), 133–35.

[31] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 161, 163.

[32] [A. Garainov], *O vysochaishem puteshestvii i neskol'ko slov o poleznykh sobytiiakh* (St. Petersburg, 1855), 4–6. This pamphlet was a reprint of articles in *Severnaia pchela*.

[33] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 161–62; "Lettres de Th. I. Tjutsheff à sa seconde épouse née Baronne de Pfeffel," *Starina i novizna*, 19 (1915): 146.

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soul and repaid the August Voyager for his labors and cares." When Alexander stood at the bedside of soldiers in a military hospital in Nikolaev, according to the correspondent, M. V. Garainov, the injured soldiers responded with tender pity (*umilenie*), another expression of deep feelings of love for and religious devotion to the tsar.[34] Garainov's report maintained the elevated tone of worship, alternating between *vostorg*, ecstasy in the presence of the tsar, and *umilenie*, the tender sympathy for him. He invoked a parental metaphor, but with Alexander presented as a kindly rather than a wrathful father. Alexander was the progenitor, *praroditel'*, who "comforts his sons, and they crowd around him to catch every glance and every word. Father!"[35]

Garainov's description concluded that Alexander had proved himself even more devoted to his people than Louis Napoleon, whose concern, the author claimed, was mere pretense. Louis Napoleon, he wrote, had promised to go the front but instead indulged himself in celebrations. Louis Napoleon sat above the nation, exhausting the treasury for his own whims, while the Russian tsars were at the helm of government: "their bent for the general good is tied with the destinies of the fatherland." The upbringing of the Romanov tsars had trained them to feel a sense of responsibility for their subjects. Alexander had shown his concern for the people and his spirit of self-sacrifice by visiting the front.[36]

In the spring of 1856, Alexander traveled to the western borderlands of the empire, Finland, Poland, and the Baltic states, where he reaffirmed his personal and imperial ties with the national groups. He visited Helsinki in March. The reception was warm, and Alexander described the bonds in terms of familial feelings and mutual love. Addressing the Alexander I University, he recalled that his father had shown his feelings toward the university by appointing him chancellor. "I served as a strong bond between him and this university," Alexander asserted and declared that he was appointing his own son, the heir Nicholas Aleksandrovich, chancellor "as proof of my love for this university." He asked the students to serve as a model for other youth. His speech received loud and enthusiastic acclaim.[37]

Alexander's speeches in Poland in May 1856 also stressed his attachment to his father; "my reign will be a continuation of his reign," he declared. But here it took the form of a warning that the Poles would have to accept their lot and forget their "dreams" of independence. He stated, speaking in French, "You must know that for the good of the Poles themselves, Poland must remain united forever with the great family of Russian emperors."[38] After a sojourn in Prussia to consult with the king, he returned to St. Petersburg through Mitava, Revel, and Riga.

Alexander's visits to the Baltic cities were occasions to reaffirm ties with the Baltic nobility, *Ritterschaft*, who dominated the government of the western provinces and sought confirmation of their special privileges. He received an especially warm reception from the nobility and townspeople of Riga, much as Catherine the Great and Alexander I had after their accessions. In addition to the usual presentations, flotillas and torchlight concerts with renditions of "God Save the Tsar!" welcomed

[34] [Garainov], *O vysochaishem puteshestvii*, 7–8; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 168–70.
[35] [Garainov], *O vysochaishem puteshestvii*, 8.
[36] [Garainov], *O vysochaishem puteshestvii*, 10.
[37] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 210–11.
[38] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 212.

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his arrival. The city was bedecked with decorations and flowers. The emperor was entertained by balls and theatrical performances and visited the local churches.[39] Reports in the Riga newspapers, reprinted in the German edition of *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* and in *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok*, explained the cordiality of the reception as an expression of personal sentiment. "Feelings of reverence poured forth in the currents of love that surrounded the Monarch during his visit." The elaborate decorations, flowers, and flags were signs of personal feeling. "The lowliest pauper in the most distant shack" expressed his love with an ornament near the candle he lit for the emperor. A full-page print in *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok* showed the emperor's entry into the city.[40]

Alexander's travels to the front and the western borderlands had presented him in the traditional roles of leader of the nation at war and ruler of the empire. His trips of 1858 revealed him in a new role, the leader of the effort at reform. By appearing in the provinces, he made clear his commitment to the cause of the emancipation of the serfs and his determination to work for economic and cultural betterment of the empire.

His role in the emancipation has been a riddle in the historiography of the reform. While all historians credit Alexander II with formally initiating the work on the emancipation, there is little agreement about his motives or role.[41] With the exception of the monarchist biographer, S. S. Tatishchev, studies of the reform ignore official rhetoric. They share the liberal and radical suspicion of official statements as mendacious devices concealing threats of coercion. But, if Alexander's rhetoric achieved the goal of manipulating the nobility, his correspondence and remarks make clear that he believed that he was acting in accordance with his principles, ruling through a popular autocracy linked with the estates by bonds of sentiment.

Alexander's trips revealed the political system that he believed would accompany the reforms. He understood the emancipation as a product of the affectionate relationship between the imperial family and the people and repeatedly referred to the reform as the realization of his father's cherished wish. His official statements describe the emancipation as a response to the initiative of the nobles themselves. This somewhat disingenuous claim revealed his own expectations of noble behavior and encouraged feelings of trust rather than hostility between nobles and peasants after the emancipation. He and his advisers created a semblance of noble initiative by contriving requests from several noble assemblies in the autumn of 1857 to

[39] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 215; *Moskovskie vedomosti*, May 31, 1856: 576; June 2, 1856: 576–77; June 5, 1856: 583–84; June 7, 1856: 592; June 14, 1856: 613; Edward C. Thaden, *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710–1870* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 170; Edward C. Thaden, ed., *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 23, 34, 124.

[40] *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok*, August 10, 1856: 1–4.

[41] Soviet historians present him as a passive figure bowing before the menace of peasant rebellion or the crisis of the serf system. The definitive American study of the emancipation by Daniel Field shows that, although Alexander made key decisions leading to emancipation, he never revealed his reasons. He left trusted officials, especially the chairman of the Chief Committee, Iakov Rostovtsev, to lead the reform effort. On the other hand, Alfred Rieber and Norman Pereira present Alexander as a leader of reform, taking the initiative at key points to press reform forward. P. A. Zaionchkovskii, *Otmena krepostnogo prava* (Moscow, 1968); L. G. Zakharova, *Samoderzhavie i otmena krepostnogo prava v Rossii, 1856–1861* (Moscow, 1984); Daniel Field, *The End of Serfdom: Nobility and Bureaucracy in Russia, 1855–1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 92–97; Alfred J. Rieber, *The Politics of Autocracy: Letters of Alexander II to Prince A. I. Bariatinskii, 1857–1864* (The Hague, 1966); N. G. O. Pereira, "Alexander II and the Decision to Emancipate the Russian Serfs, 1855–1861," *Canadian Slavic Papers*, 22 (March 1980): 99–115.

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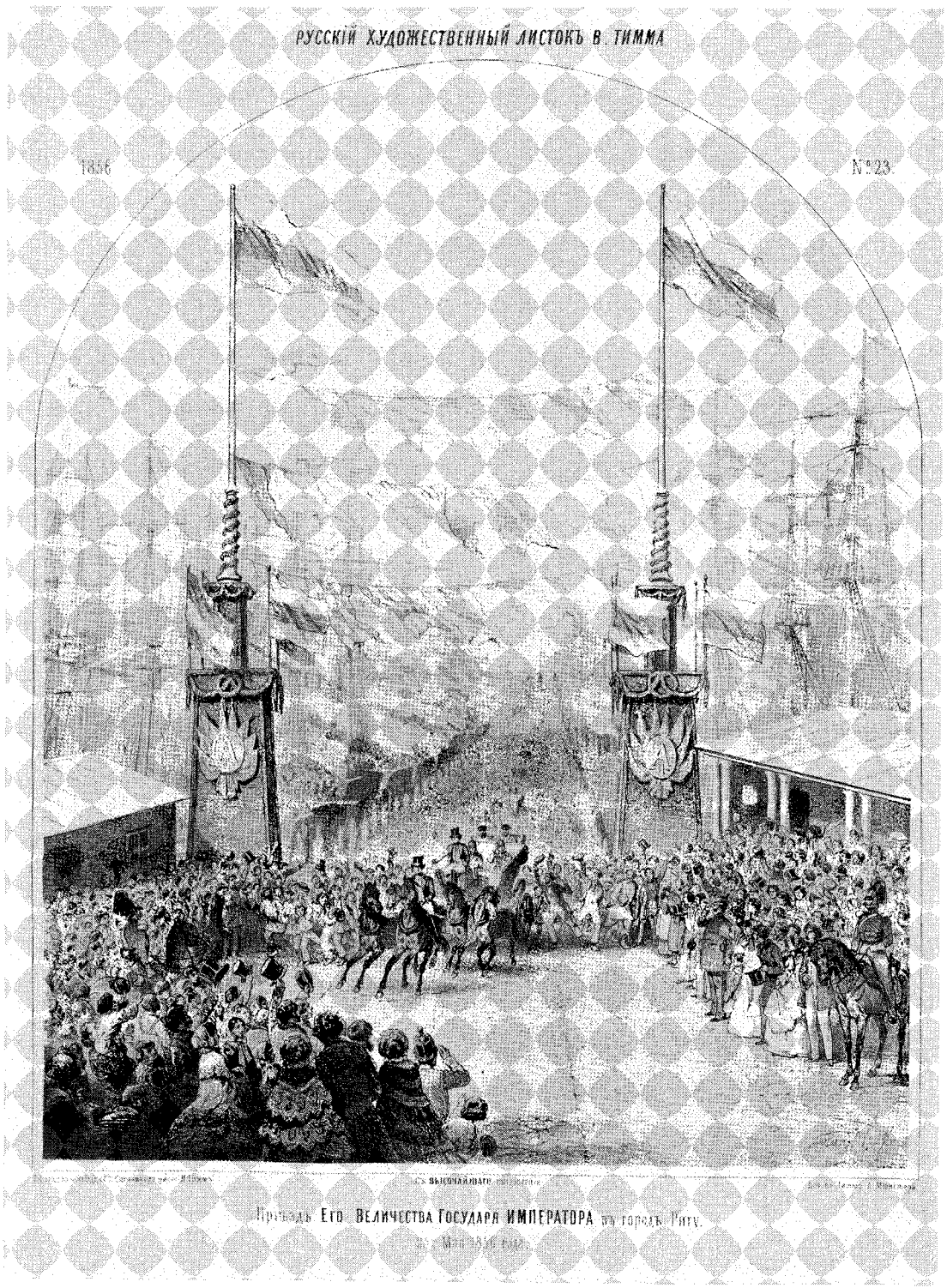


FIGURE 2: The entry of Alexander II into Riga, May 25, 1856, by Vasili Timm. *Ruskii khudozhestvennyi listok,* 1856, no. 23. Courtesy of the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library.

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proceed with emancipation. This step led to the convening of provincial committees of the nobility to discuss the serfs.

During the formulation and implementation of emancipation, Alexander became the symbolic leader of the reform efforts. He continued to present the emancipation as the selfless act of nobles animated by feelings of devotion to the throne and to the general weal. He thus indicated that the nobility's special relationship to the throne depended on their participation in the freeing of their own serfs and made resistance tantamount to betrayal.

Again, journeying through the land was the device Alexander used to replace the bonds of fear with bonds of sentiment and to show himself mindful of his subjects' needs. In the spring and summer of 1858, he embarked on tours of the empire that underscored his commitment to emancipation. Alexander's first trip, in June 1858, took him to the northern provinces, which, except for Vologda province, were inhabited by few serf-owning nobles. In August and September, he traveled to six principal serf-owning provinces of central Russia, then to four western provinces and to Warsaw.

The reports in the press presented the Russian emperor for the first time since 1812 not as a ruler but as a leader in a broad process of national renewal including all groups in society. Glowing accounts of the emperor's reception in the official press emphasized the play of personal feeling. The *Journal of the Ministry of Interior* characterized his visits as "triumphal processions of the beloved of the people [*narodnyi liubimets*]." It reported the reaction of an old peasant who walked up to Alexander's carriage and asked the occupant how he could see the tsar. When Alexander pointed to himself, the peasant bowed low before him and said, "Permit me, little father, to shout 'Hoorah.'"[42] During his June trip through the north, Alexander inspected canals in Olonets province and the Aleksandrov cannon factory in Petrozavodsk. In Vologda, in addition to meeting the nobility, he visited an exhibition of local handiwork. In each town, he made the usual visits to hospitals, schools, and orphanages. He demonstrated his support for education and enlightenment. In Vologda, he even made an appeal, extraordinary for an absolute monarch, to gymnasium students. "Children, study. I hope you will be useful to the fatherland." To this, the students replied with the traditional, "We will do our best, Your Imperial Majesty." Newspaper reports tell of similar meetings during his August–September trip.[43] His June trip also displayed his reverence for religious tradition and the church. He stopped at numerous monasteries and made substantial donations for maintenance and repairs. The official press describing these visits made little of Alexander's piety. Rather, it considered notable the presence of the imperial family, their bestowal of recognition on the monastery, and the warm welcome by the brethren. A monk described the joy at receiving the emperor's attention in an account printed in the Olonets provincial newspaper. The crowd gathered around the imperial family and followed them, "like children of one great family. And only a heart full of devotion and love could understand this benignly paternal look, that angelically tender, truly and completely maternal

[42] *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 8 (1858), part 2: 27; *Stoletie Voennogo Ministerstva . . . tsarstvovanie Aleksandra II*, 571.

[43] *Stoletie Voennogo Ministerstva . . . tsarstvovanie Aleksandra II*, 567–80. In his August–September trip, he continued to support the notion of education. Before the assembled students of the Tver' gymnasium, he declared, "I hope, my lords, that you will do your best in your studies," and the students shouted the same reply; *Moskovskie vedomosti*, August 30, 1858: 978; September 13, 1858: 1035.

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gaze, with which our August Mother and Father bade farewell to their subject children."[44]

According to the description of the imperial family's visit to Valaam monastery in the *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok*, they joined the procession of the cross to the cathedral and then, after the service, spent two hours meeting the monks and sharing in their repast. An accompanying illustration showed the emperor, the empress, their sons Nicholas and Alexander, and members of the imperial suite being rowed by ten monks in full habit on an excursion around the island. Newspaper accounts of the emperor's visit to the Solovetskii monastery told how three thousand worshipers crowded around him as he entered the Transfiguration Cathedral.[45]

The journey made a strong impression on Alexander. Upon his return, he wrote to his mother, "Oh, how glad dear Papa would have been if he could have made the tour which we have just finished. Every time that one sees our good people from up close, one gains new strength, and that gives us new courage to dedicate all our existence to them, as was the aim of our dear Papa's entire life." Then he added, "I am also far from taking all these demonstrations as something personal, for *me*, but rather as a certain indication of the prestige and the *bond* which, thank God, survives here between the people and their sovereign, which was so precious to our dear Papa, and which he was so confident that I would share."[46]

This is a typical expression of Alexander's response to the sight and sounds of popular acclaim. He tries to distinguish his own person from that of the sovereign, but these feelings assume personal meaning nonetheless. The word sovereign (*gosudar'*) continues to mean his father to him, and, during the first years of his reign, he refused to allow *gosudar'* to be used to address him.[47] Although he here denies that the cries were for him personally, he understands them as expressions of devotion to the imperial family, and he responds, as a son, with unfeigned gratification.

ALEXANDER'S VISIT TO THE CENTRAL RUSSIAN PROVINCES in August and September gave him additional evidence of popular affection. In Kostroma, Alexander stepped out onto the hotel balcony three times to bow to the cheers from the square. Huge crowds prevented the progress of his carriage. In Nizhnii-Novgorod, the crush of the crowd broke the carriage windows and injured three women. "Everywhere that their majesties go the crowd is like a raging sea," Tiutcheva wrote. "It parts only to let them through and quickly closes before those unfortunate people who follow behind." It is clear that other members of the family took the acclaim as a sign of personal affection. Even the little Grand Duchess Maria, Tiutcheva's charge, enjoyed the scene. It showed, she said, "that the people know her."[48]

[44] Shvarts Archives, folder 2, part 4: 57–59, Bakhmetev Archives, Columbia University. On the northern tour, he worshiped at the Solovetskii monastery and, on his return trip to St. Petersburg, was joined by the empress and Grand Dukes Nicholas and Alexander Aleksandrovich for visits to the Svirskii, Konovetskii, and Valaam monasteries. He also stopped at many monasteries on his trip to central Russia, among them the Trinity monastery at Zagorsk, the Ipat'evskii monastery in Kostroma, and the Voskresenskii monastery in Vladimir.

[45] *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok*, January 1, 1859: 1; *Moskovskie vedomosti*, July 1, 1858: 717.

[46] Alexander II to Aleksandra Fedorovna, TsGAOR, f. 728, op. 1, d. 2486, June 25, 1858.

[47] A. F. Tiutcheva, *Pri dvore dvukh imperatorov*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1928), 1: 186.

[48] *Moskovskie vedomosti*, August 30, 1858: 976; Tiutcheva, *Pri dvore dvukh imperatorov*, 2: 159–60.

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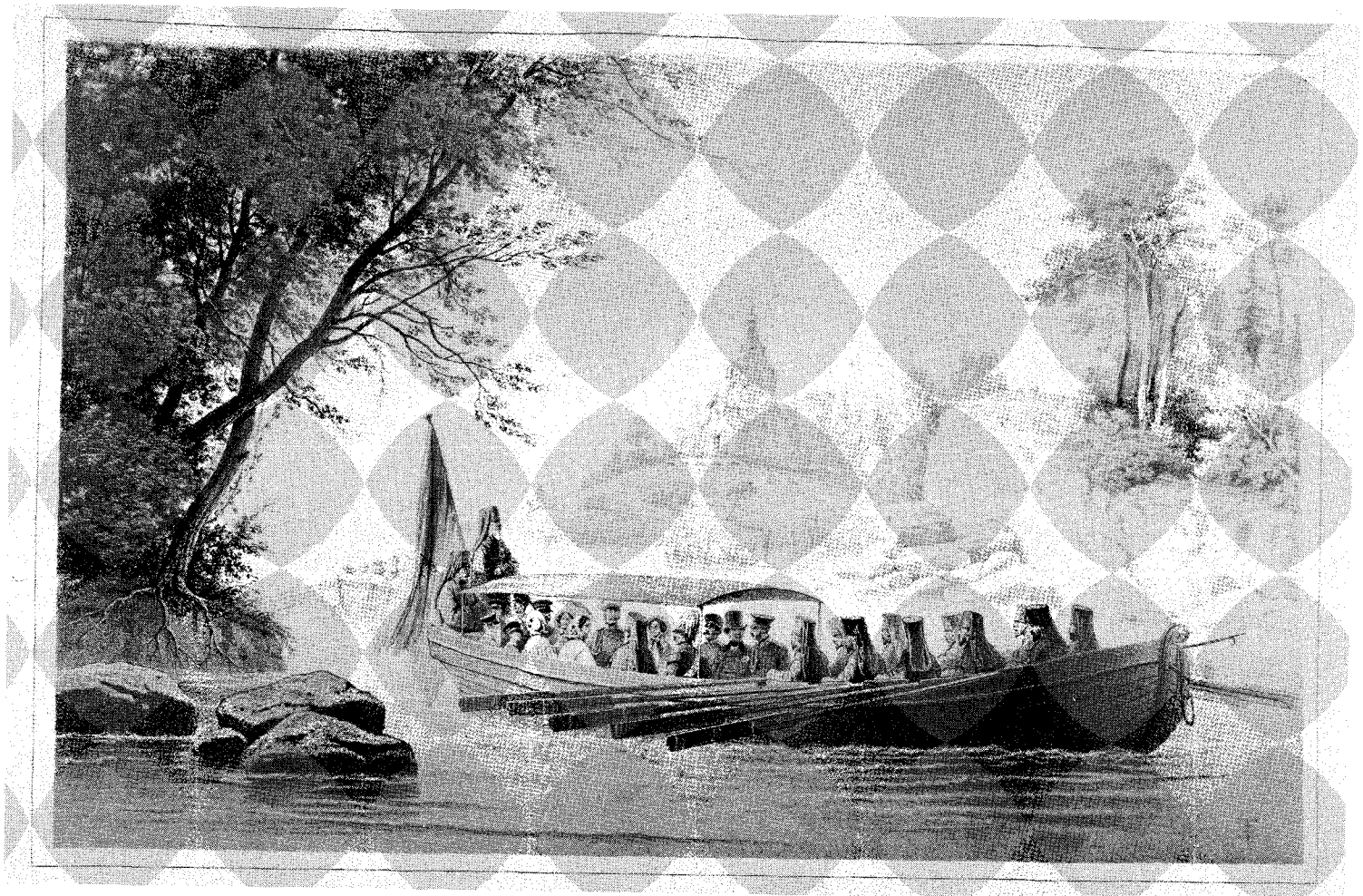


FIGURE 3: Alexander II, Empress Maria Aleksandrovna, and their sons traveling from Nikolskii Island to the main Valaam monastery, June 28, 1858, by Vasili Timm. From *Ruskii khudozhestvennyi listok*, 1859, no. 1. Courtesy of the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library.

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The popular acclaim lent force to Alexander's particular appeal to the nobilities of the central provinces. He approached them personally, securing the sympathetic intervention of provincial marshals, conversing with individual nobles, playing on their feelings in public addresses. Publicity permitted Alexander to generalize the personal relationship he had established with the individual gentry assemblies. Most of his addresses to the nobility were published in the *Journal of the Ministry of Interior* and reprinted in the major newspapers of the capitals. Tiutchev wrote to his wife, "All these addresses prove that the emperor wants the emancipation of the peasants very sincerely."[49]

Alexander's addresses presented the traditional service relationship between tsar and nobility in terms of a personal emotional bond that existed between him and the nobility of each province.[50] To the Tver' nobility, which had already announced its desire for a more extensive reform than the government had proposed, Alexander announced his intention to summon deputies from the noble committees to the capital to consult on the terms of the emancipation. Their efforts during the war, he said, had proved their "devotion and readiness, together with other provinces, always to promote the general good." He assured them that their well-being was always close to his heart and asked them to regard the interests of the peasants as equally dear. "We must not diverge in our actions. Our goals are the same: the general welfare of Russia."[51]

In Kostroma, Alexander appealed to the nobility by evoking the historical memories of the province, the original patrimony of the Romanov dynasty. Kostroma, he declared, "is close to my family, and we regard it as kindred." He thanked the people of Kostroma for their reception and for their readiness to assist with the work of ameliorating the peasants' lives. He asked them to observe the terms of his rescripts and to justify his trust in them. The Kostroma provincial newspaper reported, "His words, said from the depths of his soul and with deep conviction, inspired the nobility. A loud, enthusiastic, unanimous 'hoorah!' was the general sincere response. Tears of tenderness [*umilenie*] involuntarily revealed what was happening in everyone's soul."[52]

Alexander spoke sharply to the Nizhnii-Novgorod nobility, whose marshal, S. V. Sheremet'ev, had organized a majority against emancipation. "You know that my goal is the general welfare. Your business is to harmonize your individual advantages with the general welfare. But I hear with regret that personalities [*lichnosti*] have arisen among you, and personalities spoil everything. It is a shame. Remove them." He urged them not to depart from the principles set forth in his rescript. In this way, they would prove their "love and devotion and also the selfless striving for the general good."[53]

[49] "Lettres de Th. I. Tjutsheff à sa seconde épouse née Baronne de Pfeffel," 189.

[50] See Zakharova, *Samoderzhavie i otmena krepostnogo prava v Rossii, 1856–1861*, 113–14, for an explanation of the choice of provinces visited.

[51] *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 8 (1858): part 2, 33–34; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 335–36. During the visit, the chairman of the Tver' committee, Aleksandr Unkovskii, gained the ear of Count Adlerberg and suggested that the whole peasant allotment be called the *usad'ba*—the land and appurtenances immediately around the homestead. Adlerberg brought the proposal to Alexander, who, he said, was "delighted with the idea." Unkovskii, elated with his success, tried to move further toward his goal of obligatory redemption of peasant lands in the Tver' committee. Terence Emmons, *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861* (Cambridge, 1968), 105–07.

[52] *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 8 (1858): part 2, 38; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 336; Account from *Kostromskie gubernskie vedomosti* printed in *Moskovskie vedomosti*, August 30, 1858: 976–77.

[53] *Materialy dlia istorii usprazdneniia krepostnogo sostoianiia pomeshchich'ikh krestian'*, 1: 371–74; *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 8 (1858): part 2, 43–45; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 336–37.

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In Moscow, Alexander celebrated the second anniversary of his coronation and gained moral support from the church. During the religious service, the Metropolitan Filaret—hardly a sympathizer of the cause of emancipation—praised the tsar's efforts in behalf of the general welfare. "Your exploits are our hopes. You laboriously sow, so that we can reap the longed-for fruits."[54] The Moscow nobility, on the other hand, had actively resisted the 1857 rescripts. When Alexander met them on the last day of his stay in the city, he complained of this betrayal of the bond of affection. The governor-general, Zakrevskii, had greeted him with a memorandum attacking the government's program and even the peasants' right to redeem their own garden plots. Alexander replied, barely containing his anger, that after issuing the rescripts in 1857, he had expected the Moscow nobility to respond first. But Moscow had not responded. "This was grievous for me, because I am proud that I was born in Moscow, have always loved her when I was heir, and love her now as my native city." He declared that he had stated principles in his rescripts that he would never renounce. After repeating these principles, he said, "I love the nobility, consider it the chief support of the throne. I want the general good, but I do not want it at your expense. I am always ready to stand up for you, but you, for your own welfare, should strive for the good of the peasants. Remember, all of Russia is watching Moscow province. I am ready to do everything that I can for you . . . I repeat once more, my lords, act in a way that I can stand up for you. In this way you will justify my trust in you."[55]

In Smolensk, Alexander recalled that Nicholas on his deathbed had expressed special thanks to the nobility for their sacrifices during the Crimean War. Tears moistened his eyes. "I too love you," he declared. During the Crimean War, the noblewomen of Smolensk province had presented Aleksandra Fedorovna with an icon of the Smolensk Mother of God, to protect Alexander during the war. Alexander declared that that icon was serving as a new bond, "which ties you and me even more strongly." In subsequent months, the Smolensk nobility sought to play on these feelings of mutual affection to convince the tsar to support their claims for compensation for the loss of their serfs as well as their land.[56]

Alexander made visits to Vitebsk, Minsk, and Vilnius before reaching his destination of Warsaw. His speech in Vilnius expressed his gratitude to the provincial nobility for their participation in the war and for their reception of the guards regiments that passed through the province in 1849 on their way to Hungary. He also maintained the fiction that they had initiated the work of reform by requesting the right to discuss emancipation. "You were the first to give an example, and the entire empire followed you." But here the preponderantly Polish nobility did not show the sympathy of their Russian counterparts, and only Governor-General V. I. Nazimov's tact avoided an embarrassing situation.[57]

ALEXANDER'S SPEECHES WERE NOT DISTINGUISHED BY ELOQUENCE or even precision of expression; one anonymous commentator doubted that they had been prepared

[54] *Moskovskie vedomosti*, August 28, 1858: 965.

[55] *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 10 (1858): part 2, 4–5; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 338; Field, *End of Serfdom*, 157–58; *Materialy dlia istorii uprazdneniia krepostnogo sostoianiia pomeshchich'ikh krestian'*, 1: 374–76.

[56] *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, 10 (1858): part 2, 7–8; *Stoletie Voennogo Ministerstva . . . tsarstvovanie Aleksandra II*, 589; Field, *End of Serfdom*, 196–99.

[57] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 339; Field, *End of Serfdom*, 157.

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beforehand.[58] But they made clear his resolve to proceed with emancipation. His appearance dispelled the equivocal impression about the tsar's resolve left by the state secretary, V. P. Butkov, and the deputy minister of interior, A. I. Levshin, during their visits to the provinces the previous summer.[59] P. D. Stremoukhov, a leader of the opposition to reform in Nizhnii-Novgorod exclaimed, "Ah my friend, there is no more hope. The tsar is a red." By presenting emancipation as an expression of the emotional and personal bond between monarch and nobility, Alexander disarmed the enemies of emancipation: to oppose it, the opposition would have to challenge or violate the love and devotion members of the nobility were supposed to feel for their sovereign. Disobedience would have violated their bond with the throne. G. B. Blank, a defender of serfdom who was removed from the Tambov Provincial Committee, lamented in a letter to the minister of justice, "The greatest misfortune in life for a faithful subject is the wrath of the beloved Monarch." Such statements expressed sentiments appropriate for loyal nobles.[60]

The trip also affected Alexander's own attitudes toward the emancipation. He learned that opposition to the reform was weaker than he had been led to believe and that the peasants believed emancipation to be imminent. He returned with a new resolve to proceed with the emancipation and to overcome his differences with the reformers, whose program he now gladly supported. Before he left, relations between him and the reformers in the ministry of the interior had been strained. He now assured Minister Sergei Lanskoi, "We began the peasant matter together and will take it to the end, arm in arm."[61]

As the reform unfolded, the emperor's view of a popular autocracy free of contention and conflict and united by feeling to a benevolent tsar became all the stronger. Such a vision relied more on feeling than on reason, more on symbols and rhetoric than on law and institutions, more on sacrifice than on participation. The need to proceed with emancipation temporarily obscured the differences between the emperor and many of the reformers, who believed that emancipation heralded the beginning of a transition to a state based on law, equality of rights, and administrative regularity free from personal whim.[62]

The emperor and his advisers knew that the terms of the emancipation would disappoint most of the peasantry. They feared violence and took extraordinary measures of security. At the same time, they staged public meetings to confirm the image of grateful peasants worshiping the imperial family. The most important was the demonstration organized before the Winter Palace on Sunday, March 12, one week after the issuing of the manifesto. Alexander, on his way to his weekly review of the guards at the manège, met on the Palace Square a crowd of peasants especially chosen to visit the capital. A delegation of artisans and factory workers greeted him with bread and salt. Alexander asked them whether they understood what he had done for their "general welfare." They answered obediently, "We thank your imperial majesty with feeling for your great deeds by which you have

[58] *Materialy dlia istorii uprazdneniia krepostnogo sostoianiia pomeshchich'ikh krestian'*, 1: 379.

[59] Rieber, *Politics of Autocracy*, 43; *Materialy dlia istorii uprazdneniia krepostnogo sostoianiia pomeshchich'ikh krestian'*, 1: 361–66.

[60] Zakharova, *Samoderzhavie i otmena krepostnogo prava*, 114; Tiutcheva, *Pri dvore dvukh imperatorov*, 2: 157; Field, *End of Serfdom*, 186.

[61] Zakharova, *Samoderzhavie i otmena krepostnogo prava*, 114; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 339–40.

[62] On the enlightened bureaucrats, see W. Bruce Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825–1861* (DeKalb, Ill., 1982); Richard S. Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness* (Chicago, 1976), 243–89.

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renewed our life." Alexander replied, "This task was already begun by my parent, but he did not succeed in finishing it during his life." He urged them to thank God and pray for Nicholas's eternal memory, then called upon them to act for the well-being of society.[63]

A similar demonstration was organized in Moscow in May. A delegation of factory workers approached him bearing bread and salt and declared their gratitude. He described the scene and his feelings in a letter to the heir. "Nearly four thousand of them gathered, and when I went out before them in the courtyard before the palace, they fell to their knees and responded to a few words with unceasing hoorahs." When the empress appeared on the balcony, there were more hoorahs. "You understand that it is impossible to look upon such scenes coolly, and inside I thanked God with all my heart for the consolation and reward for our cares."[64]

The peasants, though hardly satisfied with the terms of emancipation, retained their posture of outer compliance and faith in the authorities. Disturbances were few and isolated in 1861, but rumors continued to circulate of a "true emancipation."[65] Official reports confirmed the scenario of affection and gratitude that Alexander entertained. The first report of the minister of interior after the promulgation of the reform told Alexander that the peasants were avoiding noisy expressions of joy. Instead, "the people reverentially crossed themselves, bowed to the ground, placed candles before local icons, and prayed for the health of their beloved tsar. They did not content themselves with what the peasants call 'the official prayer service' [*kazennyi moleben*] at the time of the reading of the manifesto." Dispatches from provincial officials, Lanskoi reported, described prayer services of gratitude to the tsar held by demand of individual peasants and peasant communes.[66]

In Moscow, Lanskoi wrote, a subscription had been opened to build a cathedral to Alexander Nevsky, the tsar's patron saint. Collections were begun in peasant villages for their own Alexander Nevsky shrines or churches, poorhouses named after the tsar, and other charitable and religious purposes. *Severnaia pochta*, the official organ of the ministry of interior, propagated the image of a grateful peasantry adoring their tsar. Through 1862, the newspaper carried reports of peasant celebrations of Alexander's name day and collections for shrines to Nevsky, in gratitude for the emancipation. Articles told how peasants prayed for the tsar. "Attentive eyes could note how great was the love of the tsar in the simple hearts of the people."[67]

THE NOBILITY WAS NOT PACIFIED SO EASILY. A movement for a representative voice in government spread through the provinces in late 1861 and 1862. It was led by the Tver' noble assembly, which asked for the "summoning of elected representatives from all the Russian land." Other noble assemblies followed with demands for

[63] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 387–88.

[64] Letter to Nicholas Aleksandrovich, May 21, 1861, TsGAOR, f. 665, op. 1, d. 13.

[65] On the peasant response and peasant monarchism, see Daniel Field, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (Boston, 1976); and Terence Emmons, "The Peasant and the Emancipation," in Wayne S. Vucinich, ed., *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), 41–71.

[66] S. N. Valk, ed., *Otmena krepostnogo prava: Doklady ministrov vnutrennikh del o provedenii krest'ianskoi reformy, 1861–1862* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 7.

[67] Valk, *Otmena krepostnogo prava*, 8, 11–12; *Severnaia pochta*, September 16, 1862: 805; September 19, 1862: 813; September 22, 1862: 829.

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public participation. Members of the Moscow and St. Petersburg nobility advanced projects that favored wealthy landholders.[68] So strong was the movement for participation that several leading figures, among them Petr Valuev and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, drafted their own plans for limited public participation in the government. In 1861, Dmitrii Tolstoi, then a deputy minister of interior, was convinced that representative government would come to Russia within five years.[69]

Alexander allowed talk of political reform to continue until the nobility had weathered the first effects of emancipation, but he gave it no support. He retained his father's faith in unlimited autocracy and wished, he declared, to correct the shortcomings of the tsarist administration, "without touching the basic foundations of monarchical and autocratic government." Representative institutions conflicted with his conception of the political organization of Russia. He told Bismarck in November 1861 that the people see in the monarch "a paternal and unlimited lord, placed there by God." This feeling, he claimed, had "the force of religious belief and does not at all depend on the personal attachment, that they may nurture to me, and which, I would like to think, I enjoy." He concluded that to renounce this power would deal a blow to "that mystique ruling among the people." "The deep respect with which the Russian people, from their innate feelings, surround the throne of their emperor cannot be divided. I would only decrease government authority without benefit if I recognized any participation of representatives of the nobility or the people. God knows what the business between nobles and peasants will come to if the power of the emperor is not full enough to realize unconditional supremacy."[70]

In the fall of 1862, Alexander made several trips to the provinces to win the sympathy of the nobility and discourage calls for constitutional government. Just as his 1858 trips had made known his commitment to emancipation, those of 1862 showed his determination to preserve the prerogatives of the autocrat. He addressed the nobility directly, evoking sentiments of personal devotion that could submerge oppositional feeling. A combination of repression—punishment of the outspoken peace mediators of Tver' province—and concessions to various demands of the gentry regarding the emancipation and local government reform deprived the liberal leaders of their backing.[71] The emperor's appearance in the province revived feelings of devotion to the throne that had been tested by an emancipation imposed from above.

In July, after a trip to the Baltic provinces, he visited Tver' and Moscow. In Tver', he expressed his sadness at being misunderstood and opposed rather than receiving the support of the country in the work of emancipation. This feeling, he declared, had forced him to punish the peace mediators. The celebration of the anniversary of his coronation in Moscow was ecstatic. Crowds shouted rapturously and rushed through the streets following his carriage. The Metropolitan Filaret greeted Alexander with a speech that announced the celebration of the anniversary

[68] Emmons, *Russian Landed Gentry*, 340–50; A. A. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie pri Aleksandre II (1885–1881)* (Moscow, 1909), 113–17; N. G. Sladkevich, *Ocherki istorii obshchestvennoi mysli Rossii v kontse 50-kh—nachale 60-kh godov XIX veka* (Leningrad, 1962), 87–136.

[69] V. G. Chernukha, *Vnutrenniaia politika tsarizma s serediny 50-kh do nachala 80-kh gg. XIX v.* (Leningrad, 1978), 24–26, 253–55.

[70] Chernukha, *Vnutrenniaia politika tsarizma*, 26; Emmons, *Russian Landed Gentry*, 394–96; Baron B. E. Nolde, *Peterburgskaia missiia Bismarka, 1859–1862* (Prague, 1925), 259.

[71] Emmons, *Russian Landed Gentry*, 396–404.

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of the millennium of the Russian state and emphasized the role of the church in the education and development of the civic spirit in Russia.[72]

Alexander's celebration of the millennium of Rus' in Novgorod in September 1862 was the most successful expression of his vision of a popular autocracy. The festivities commemorated the legendary founding of the Russian land in Novgorod in 862, the summoning of the three Viking princes "to come and rule over us." Alexander took an active part in planning a millennium monument and in organizing the festivities, which took place on September 8, 1862, the anniversary of the battle of the Don as well as the heir's birthday. M. O. Mikeshin's massive millennium monument in the Novgorod kremlin placed the emperor at the center of cultural and political progress. The sculpture was the first tsarist monument to depict poets, artists, and historians—on the bas-reliefs—along with the figures of tsars, generals, and churchmen. Its melange of figures and artistic styles showed all the disparate and irreconcilable elements of the notion of popular autocracy, a common effort without common principles, people of different stations and interests united by affection for the sovereign.[73]

Novgorod was a center of the noble opposition, and the atmosphere was tense in the days before the celebration. On the eve of the celebration, the Novgorod gentry made known that they would refuse to address the tsar or give a ball in his honor. The government, apprehensive about the situation, sent ahead the director of the department of police of the ministry of interior, Dmitrii Tolstoi. *Severnaia pochta* carried a series of editorials glorifying the event and accounts of the celebration written by the minister of interior, Petr Valuev. Even the official, unpublished journal of the imperial court, which rarely described events occurring outside the precincts of imperial residences, included a detailed account.[74]

These texts reveal the sentiments of loyal officials within the magic circle of autocracy who were inspired to express their commitment to the tsar and autocracy. They elaborate the view that autocracy had strengthened and expanded the Russian state and made possible the Great Reforms. An unsigned article in *Severnaia pchela* described the summons to the Viking princes to "come and rule over us" as a sign of the Russians' "submissiveness to authority" and devotion to "the great idea of order." The drama of the growth of autocratic power, one of the articles contended, overwhelmed even "the most inveterate pessimist," inspiring the feeling of *umilenie*, gratitude and love for the irresistible power of the monarch.[75]

Valuev's and Tolstoi's accounts of the celebrations give poignant expression to the loyal officials' dedication to the tsar and their suspicion of independent political action. In his *Severnaia pochta* column, Valuev described the feelings he experienced as the emperor arrived by boat along the Volkhov. At the embankments, men stood under the large decorative initials of the emperor, women under the empress's

[72] N. Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina*, 22 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1905), 19: 260–67; *Severnaia pochta*, September 2, 1862: 766.

[73] E. N. Maslova, *Pamiatnik "Tysiacheletiiu Rossii"* (Leningrad, 1977).

[74] Valuev mentions his visit in his diary and directs the reader to his *Severnaia pchela* article. P. A. Zaionchkovskii identifies the September 11, 1862 "Pis'ma iz Novgoroda" as his. Petr Valuev, *Dnevnik* (Moscow, 1961), 1: 189, 393; *Kamer-fur'erskii tseremonial'nyi zhurnal za 1862 g.*, Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (hereafter, TsGIA), f. 516, op. 28/1618, d. 179, 391–402. On the ethos of the official loyal to the autocracy, see Daniel T. Orlovsky, *The Limits of Reform: The Ministry of Internal Affairs in Imperial Russia, 1802–1881* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 102–03. Wortman, *Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness*, 70–78.

[75] *Severnaia pochta*, September 8, 1862: 786; September 14, 1862: 801; on Valuev's notion of a progressive autocracy, see Orlovsky, *Limits of Reform*, 70–75.

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initial. Alexander, with the imperial family and officers of his suite, stepped off the boat onto the red carpet on the wharf. "Mothers with babies at the breast, decrepit old men, all came out to meet, to behold [*litsezret'*] their adored tsar!" The shouts of welcome were unusually impassioned. "Persons of all callings and ages greeted him in like manner."[76]

Tolstoi's memoir describes the change in mood that overcame the Novgorod nobles at the sight of the tsar. They stood at the wharf, defiantly awaiting a confrontation. They wore flamboyant capes over their uniforms and "some kind of crazy caps" to shock those present and make clear their oppositional feeling. "Their movements and poses, in other words everything, indicated people who were dissatisfied and somehow aware of their autonomy."[77] As the tsar's boat approached, their hostility melted, to Tolstoi's great delight. "Their faces expressed not only curiosity. No, in their eyes one could see love. Many, looking at the ship, crossed themselves, and crossed themselves not from cowardice. They were all overcome with a feeling of love, joy, enthusiasm!"[78] The emperor's appearance brought out what for Tolstoi were the true feelings of rapture and devotion of the Russian nobility. "So much for the opposition of our nobility!" he remarked.

The next day, at the reception of the Novgorod nobility before morning Mass, the local nobility showed their change of heart. The provincial marshal Prince Myshetskii welcomed Alexander with bread and salt to "the cradle of the Russian tsardom" and declared the Novgorod nobility's "unchanging feelings of warm love and devotion, about which they have always prided themselves and always will pride themselves." The tsar then spoke of the emancipation as "a new sign of the indestructible bond of all the estates of the Russian land with the government, with one goal, the happiness and well-being of our dear fatherland." Alexander thus identified himself with the state and took the feelings for him to be feelings for the government. Then he addressed the nobility. "I am accustomed to regarding you, milords the nobility, as the chief support of the throne, the defenders of the unity of the state, the comrades-in-arms of its glory, and I am sure that you and your descendants, following the examples of your ancestors, will, with me and my descendants, continue to serve Russia with faith and justice." The Novgorod nobles responded with vows to serve tsar and fatherland. Alexander assured them that he believed their feelings of devotion, and they replied, "Believe us tsar, believe!" The falling out of partners ended in tearful reconciliation.[79]

The ceremony of dedication became a moving statement of the bond felt between the tsar and the estates of his empire. After a service in St. Sofia, the clergy and the emperor proceeded to the millennium monument. Before lines of troops and spectators who filled the stands, Isidore, the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod, blessed the statue with holy water, and all those present fell to their knees. A court deacon, Vereshchagin, delivered in a booming voice thanksgiving and memorial prayers written by the Metropolitan Filaret.

Filaret's prayer, at Alexander's request, mentioned not only members of the ruling house but "all chosen sons of Russia" who "over the course of centuries loyally worked for her unity, well-being, and glory, on the fields of piety, enlightenment, government, and victorious defense of the fatherland." The prayer

[76] "Pis'ma iz Novgoroda," *Severnaia pochta*, September 8, 1862: 790.
[77] Graf D. N. Tolstoi, "Zapiski," *Russkii arkhiv*, 2 (1885): 56–57.
[78] Tolstoi, "Zapiski," 2: 57–58.
[79] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 403–04.

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concluded with an allusion to the spirit of rebirth and reform. "May the ancient plant of good not wither and may the new stem of good be grafted onto it and from it grow a new flower and fruit of perfection."[80] At the end, there was a hundred-and-one gun salute and cries of "hoorah." The tsar embraced the empress and the heir. "In this kiss, He gave them the happiness of Russia," the correspondent from *Severnaia pochta* declared.[81]

Reading the prayer, Valuev was overcome with tender pity, *umilenie*, he wrote in *Severnaia pochta*. "This prayer breathes such spiritual warmth, such pure heartfelt loving tenderness [*umilenie*], such deep religious moral feelings that reading it, you unconsciously forget yourself and are transported into another world, a celestial world." Deeply moved himself, Alexander wrote to his brother, Konstantin, "The reception by all the estates was exceedingly joyous. The dedication of the monument could not have been more marvelous or touching; especially the three prayers, composed specifically for this occasion by Filaret at my instance, which were pronounced so clearly by our Vereshchagin that the words were heard over the whole Kremlin square."[82]

The warm feelings continued during the festivities. In the evening, the imperial family attended a dinner for the Novgorod nobility, which Alexander opened with a toast to the well-being of Russia. Afterward, he rode out to the ancient residence of the Novgorod prince, the "village" (*gorodishche*) on the edge of Lake Ilmen, where Riurik, the legendary founder of Rus', presumably had lived. There he was greeted by the usual joyous reception. According to *Severnaia pochta*, "The people met their beloved monarch with unbelievable joy and rapture [*vostorg*]." Since the ground was damp, several peasants spread their kaftans on the ground before the tsar's carriage. They called the tsar "heavenly angel." "One might say that the air trembled with the sound of 'Hoorah.'" The emperor wrote to his brother Konstantin that this joy appeared "unfeigned." "The peasants' zeal deeply touched me," the empress remarked to Tolstoi.[83]

But, taking no chances, Alexander on the next day admonished official deputations from the peasantry about the widespread rumor that his emancipation did not represent the true emancipation. "Do you understand me?" he asked. "We understand," they replied obediently. Valuev described the scene in his newspaper report. "We saw the rapturous tenderness [*vostorzhennaia umilenie*] of the Russian peasant when he crossed himself at the sight of his tsar. We saw women falling to their knees and kissing the spot where the tsar walked. We heard the following words from old men. 'Just to see our Little Father the Tsar, then I don't mind dying.'"[84]

The Novgorod nobility did give their ball, on the second day. Feelings were cordial. Spirited toasts proclaimed the mutual loyalty of tsar and nobility. When he

[80] N. V. Sushkov, *Zapiski o zhizni i vremeni sviatitelia Filareta, Mitropolita Moskovskogo* (Moscow, 1868), Appendix, 88; Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina*, 19: 268, 275–76; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 404.

[81] M. R., "Iz Novgoroda," *Severnaia pchela*, September 15, 1862: 981.

[82] *Severnaia pochta*, September 14, 1862: 801; "Perepiska Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem," *Dela i dni*, 2 (1920): 82.

[83] Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina*, 19: 277; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 405; "Perepiska Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem," 2: 82.

[84] "Perepiska Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem," 2: 82; *Severnaia pochta*, September 16, 1862: 805.

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was not dancing, the tsar used the opportunity to chat graciously with local nobles. The next day, after visiting the Iur'ev monastery, the emperor and empress returned to St. Petersburg.[85]

Those responsible for the organization of the trip deemed the celebration a great triumph. Valuev, who had worried about both the nobles and the threatening weather, wrote that "everything was fine and successful." In *Severnaia pochta*, he recorded his feelings, the appropriate feelings for a loyal official devoted to authority. As the boat disappeared from view to the tolling of bells and band music, the inhabitants stood on the wharf. "Everyone was deep in tenderness [*umilenie*] and warm feelings for the Father-Tsar, for his August Family." Novgorod, he believed, would long remember the visit of Alexander, "The Monarch-Emancipator, the Monarch-Benefactor, the Monarch-Friend of Humanity."[86]

The events at Novgorod were followed by a lull in political conflicts. It was one of the few moments of serenity and confidence during Alexander's reign, Valuev wrote. In the winter, the emperor visited Moscow, where oppositional feeling remained strong. Alexander repeated the appeal he had made in Novgorod to the Moscow nobility and apparently won their trust. The round of gala festivities concluded with a ball given by the Moscow nobility for the heir on his name day, December 6. Alexander's "gracious cordiality" enraptured everyone, as it had in Novgorod, Valuev wrote. Tolstoi also judged the visit a triumph. "Everyone, even if they did not forget their abnormal situation, at least fell under the charm of the enchanting kindness of the Tsar so much that they were ready to give their life for him."[87]

After 1862, Alexander no longer toured the provinces in search of popular approval. The reforms were under way, and the constitutional movement had been defeated. The Polish uprising of 1863 produced an outpouring of patriotic, anti-Polish feeling that focused on the throne. He now sent his sons as his emissaries on trips through the provinces and understood the acclaim for them as a sign of the persistent sentiment for him and the dynasty. He wrote to the heir, Nicholas Aleksandrovich, during the latter's tour of 1863, describing his delight with his son's "joyous reception" everywhere. "The expressions in addresses, and especially the money donations you have sent have touched me to the depths of my soul, for they are deeds that show that true Russian patriotism that one must take pride in and that constitutes our strength."[88]

The many demonstrations of sympathy after Karakazov's assassination attempt in 1866 confirmed Alexander's belief in a bond with the Russian people, who had not been misled by "false teachings" from abroad.[89] In his letters to Grand Duke Vladimir, who toured Siberia in 1868, Alexander expressed his joy about his son's reception. "In this lies our strength," he wrote. "And may God not permit the bond of the people with the Ruling House to be weakened. But it also obliges us to love this people and devote ourselves to the service of our native land." In another letter, he wrote, "I hope that [the journey] will not remain without benefit for you.

[85] *Severnaia pochta*, September 16, 1862: 805; P. A. Valuev, "8ogo sentiabria 1862 goda," *Russkaia starina*, 1 (1888): 12–13.

[86] Valuev, "8ogo sentiabria 1862 goda," 1: 12–13; P. A. Valuev, "Pis'ma k A. G. Troinitskomu," *Russkaia starina*, 2 (1898): 212–13; *Severnaia pochta*, September 18, 1862: 808.

[87] Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 1: 406–08; Tolstoi, "Zapiski," 2: 59; Valuev, "8ogo sentiabria 1862 goda," 1: 13.

[88] Letters to Nicholas Aleksandrovich of July 3, July 15, July 28, 1863, TsGAOR, f. 665, op. 1, d. 13.

[89] N. N. Firsov, "Aleksandr Vtoroi: Lichnaia kharakteristika," *Byloe*, 20 (1922): 132–33; Tatishchev, *Imperator Aleksandr II*, 2: 6.

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Having seen with your own eyes the touching attachment of the Russian people for their ruling house, you will understand that we are obliged to love them and try to be useful to them when possible on the field of service that will be assigned to you and about which we will speak on my return."[90]

THE CEREMONIAL TRIPS of the first years of Alexander's reign both presented and sustained the sentimental scenario elaborated by Zhukovskii for Alexander during his trip as tsarevitch. They were quintessential manifestations of his personality—brief, ingratiating meetings that sustained an illusion of love. Alexander, the members of the imperial family, and many of those close to him took this sentiment as an emotional mandate for the autocracy that obviated the need for political reform.

Here ceremony intersects with politics. Alexander's scenario dramatized emancipation as an expression of traditional values, thus adapting autocratic rule to a major social and institutional transformation. Ceremony and ceremonial statements lifted serf reform out of the arena of political conflict and set it in a sphere of personal affection congenial to the tsar's persona. It characterized his father as a precursor of the reform, carrying on an autocratic tradition of humanity. It presented the nobility as benefactors of the peasants, thus making the sacrifice of their interests an essential component of their special relationship to the throne. It made Alexander seem a humane, progressive, Western monarch, as attentive to his people as the emperor of the French. He thus revised and preserved the Petrine tradition of a Westernized autocracy and an elite concerned to protect the well-being of the people.

Alexander's scenario represented more than an instrumentality that secured acceptance of emancipation. It was his own "cognitive map," which helped to define and to express his conception of monarchy and continued to do so even after the introduction of the serf reform. Alexander expected the emancipation and the other Great Reforms to eliminate the discord between monarch and society and to usher in an era of grateful reconciliation and harmony. But, unlike his Western models, in France, Prussia, and Austria, Alexander absolutely refused to permit representation in the work of government. Liberal society took his unswerving defense of autocratic prerogatives not merely as a disappointment but, in keeping with Alexander's personal scenario, as a betrayal by a fickle lover who had promised much but had given little. The benign emperor became the focus of the bitter hatred of those who hoped for political change. Alexander's assassination at the Catherine Canal on March 1, 1881, provided a bloody denouement for the sentimental scenario of 1837.

Conservatives, on the other hand, reacted with contempt to Alexander's search for public support, which they took as a betrayal of the image of supreme and all-powerful emperor embodied by his father. The historian Sergei Solov'ev wrote derisively that Alexander "wanted to be popular, a kind, good person," which he took as an indication of weakness. The reforms were a way to offset the mistake of signing the Peace of Paris. "By popular internal reforms, he wanted to make people

[90] Alexander II to Vladimir Aleksandrovich, August 23, September 1, 1868, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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forget the shame of our foreign relations."[91] The rule by sentiment exhibited on Alexander's trips expressed a state of mind that permitted the Great Reforms to proceed without sacrificing the sacred prerogatives of autocracy. But such a political vision could only defer the clash of opposing principles of government. The rhetoric of tender pity and joyful enthusiasm eventually gave way to the rhetoric of ruthless struggle between irreconcilable foes.

[91] S. M. Solov'ev, *Izbrannye trudy: Zapiski* (Moscow, 1983), 336–46.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

PETER BURKE and ROY PORTER, editors. *The Social History of Language*. (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, number 12.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 219. Cloth $34.50, paper $10.95.

This collection is informed by the sensible belief that "language is too important historically to leave to linguists" (p. 17). Several of the essays do suggest new perspectives on important issues. Peter Burke's lively discussion titled "The Uses of Literacy in Early Modern Italy," which documents a variety of written expression perhaps unique to Italy at that time, makes one wonder if there was not at some point a regression in literacy in Italy, given the literacy rate of 38 percent documented in the 1911 national survey (p. 22). Dorinda Outram's "Women and the Discourse of the French Revolution" argues that the "language mâle de la vertu" excluded women from political self-expression even more emphatically than was the case under the old regime, which may account for the fact that "women played an important, and enduring role" (p. 129) in the counter-revolution. (Outram perhaps misses an opportunity by neglecting to ask whether women who offered religious objections to the Terror might have been expressing a distinctive ethical outlook and not just opting for a more familiar discourse.)

Apropos of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), by which Maori chieftains were considered to have ceded sovereignty over northern New Zealand, Don F. McKenzie argues that language in this instance truly was power; in dealing with chieftains who had no comprehension of the implications of a written instrument, British commissioners took the added precaution of employing Maori terms, which fudged the critical issue of what it was the chieftains were giving up. Finally, starting from the maxim that a language may be defined as a dialect backed by an army, Jonathan Steinberg emphasizes the factitious character of linguistic and hence national identity: just as nation states were created as individuals chose (or accepted) a uniform language, smaller linguistic nationalities are asserting themselves as the European Economic Community erodes the sovereignty of nation states.

By way of criticism, one might note that some of the other essays are less successful in relating matters of language to major historical issues. And, apart from Burke's brief introduction, the essays do not claim to discuss how aspects of linguistic theory (for example, semiotics or Basil Bernstein's notions about "codes" of speech proper to persons of differing social background) may be of use to historians. But one may argue that history as a discipline is presently poised between the quantitative social sciences, in which language tends to be seen as a transparent medium for data, and literary studies, for which, in some fashionable theories, language is so opaque that it ceases to be a medium for anything. In such a situation, these essays are welcome as (in the editors' phrase) "stepping stones into the unknown" (p. 17).

JAMES D. TRACY
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JEFFREY BURTON RUSSELL. *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 288. $29.95.

As Jeffrey Burton Russell states in the preface to this volume, the problem of evil has been the focus of his research for two decades. He has published four excellent studies since 1972, tracing the idea of evil in Western civilization from the ancient world to the present. This book is a distillation of the four, accompanied by a selection of the fascinating illustrations that graced the earlier volumes, all in fewer than three hundred pages. Russell has dispensed with both footnotes and bibliography, referring the interested reader to the earlier volumes. Because this book is intended for the general reader, some sort of bibliographical essay might have been a good idea.

Russell's prose style is as clear and graceful in this volume as in all of his previous works. He has a valuable talent for explicating complicated theological arguments simply and cogently. He also provides reliable summaries of the expected literary classics on the problem of evil, including *The Divine Comedy*, *Faust*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*. Unlike Russell's splendid studies of witchcraft, this work is essentially old-fashioned intellectual history without much social context. His definition of popular religion as the study of the way theological concepts filtered down into

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the religious consciousness of the "uneducated" (p. 111) misses much of the work on the subject published in the last decade.

A comparison of this book with his earlier volumes in the series on evil reveals that Russell has not settled for simple compression. In many places he has substantially reworked the material, tightening arguments and clarifying connections. Despite his efforts, the brevity of *The Prince of Darkness* produces some distortion. For example, his account of the impact of the Cathar heresy on the orthodox Roman Catholic understanding of evil cannot, in three pages, reflect the importance, which Russell's earlier books demonstrated, that Catharism had. His analysis of late medieval beliefs about witchcraft and the devil neglects the diversity of popular conceptions that the books of William Monter and Richard Kieckhefer demonstrated and that Russell himself was careful to bring out in *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (1984).

In discussing the modern era, Russell places diabology within the context of the theological disputes of the Reformation era. He demonstrates that the Faust story that appeared at the end of the sixteenth century was "the great watershed in the literature of the Devil" (p. 177); the isolated individual confronts the devil without the traditional protections of community and church. And the devil wins.

Less satisfactory is a discussion of the power of evil in Shakespeare's last tragedies. Russell advances a peculiar interpretation of *Hamlet* in which he contends that the ghost is not really Hamlet's father at all but rather the devil. Surely an examination of Iago in *Othello* or Edmond in *King Lear* would have served Russell's purpose better.

The discussion of the shift in conceptions of evil during the Enlightenment overestimates the significance of Marquis de Sade. More might have been made of the attitudes implicit in the writings of traditional figures such as Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau; one is tempted to add Choderlos de Laclos's *Liaisons Dangereuses*. The treatment of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, is a nice blend of major and minor figures.

Russell's analysis of Mark Twain's *Mysterious Stranger* and Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* leads to a discussion of evil in the twentieth century that is thoroughly bleak. He believes that the "flat, materialistic assumptions" of contemporary society have "censored concern with radical evil" (p. 274) along with other notions of transcendence. Russell states in his preface that his study of evil is as much a personal as it is a scholarly enterprise. He calls on his readers to confront the possibility of the existence of radical evil—the devil—and then to respond as Jesus or Alyosha Karamazov would, through love.

CLARKE GARRETT
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COLLEEN MCDANNELL and BERNHARD LANG. *Heaven: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 410. $29.95.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading; as Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang explain, "We have not written a history of heaven. We have written a history of the images Christians use to describe what happens after death, when time ceases and everlasting life begins" (p. x). Descriptions of everlasting life inevitably have to rely on images drawn from this life. More often than not they suggest that heaven is in many ways remarkably like our own world, where the differences speak of fears, desires, and hopes that depend on the quality of life on earth. The history of heaven is thus an important part of history.

The authors faced an enormous task. No doubt most readers will find omissions of texts or images that they feel could have enriched this book. Inevitable, given the amount of material discussed, is a certain superficiality. This work reads a bit like a well-written introductory college text; chapters conclude with summaries, the whole book with a summary of its main points. Experts on, say, Dante or Goethe are likely to be left dissatisfied by the authors' treatment. But such dissatisfaction is difficult to avoid in a survey of use to a variety of disciplines, including history, art history, literature, philosophy, and, not least, the study of religion.

The variety of representations of heaven offered by theologians, preachers, visionaries, artists, poets, and many others is almost endless. The authors bring some order into this variety by distinguishing between a theocentric and an anthropocentric model of heaven. The theocentric model is exemplified by the New Testament view, "characterized by a clear, uncompromising, 'charismatic' fixation on God" (p. 353). The authors chronicle the reaffirmation and redefinition of the theocentric heaven by the early Augustine, medieval scholasticism, medieval mysticism, Protestant reformers, and contemporary theologians. Such a listing blurs what separates Augustine's "beatific vision" from the intimate union granted by God in "heavenly lovemaking to the purest of his virgins" (p. 354), the Puritan version of a God-centered heaven from the minimal heaven of contemporary theologians, where, "at times, the human presence in heaven, becomes so weak that it almost disappears and nothing of ourselves continues after death" (p. 355). Nonetheless, it makes sense to group these different views together and to locate their origin in a dissatisfaction with life. "Religious enthusiasts and charismatic leaders; philosophers inspired by some form of Platonism; members of celibate groups who want to lead the unmarried life of the angels here on earth; reformers who discover the power of a demanding God and find themselves in an alien and often hostile world: these Christians find rest in an eternity filled with the divine" (p. 355).

But the majority of Christians have not been such naysayers. At least as important as the theocentric is the

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anthropocentric model. Irenaeus of Lyons is singled out for having placed emphasis not on "life everlasting proper" but on the millennium, on the renewed earth (p. 355). Augustine, too, came to understand heaven as a place of physical beauty, where we rejoin old friends. In countless variations this theme has survived to the present. The theology of the Latter-day Saints offers thus reassuringly earthly descriptions of heaven.

The sacred has always been shadowed by the erotic. In this history of heaven, eros is given a prominent place. The authors show, for example, how the love mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux became overtly sexual in the visions of Mechthild of Magdeburg or Gertrude of Helfta. An entire chapter is devoted to "love in the heavenly realm." Is there sex in heaven? Those interested in a positive answer will find in this book a great many authorities to support their hope.

Generally content to report the changing images of heaven, the authors do not attempt to offer the kind of deeper analysis for which such reports call. A literalist approach prevents them from examining how particular descriptions are to be taken. I would have welcomed some discussion of the changing relationship between the visual and the sacred, of that secularization of the visible that is inseparable from modernity. Without some understanding of what was thought to be the spiritual significance of things, we cannot do justice to medieval representations of heaven, for example, Dante's or that of the Gothic cathedral. An adequate history of heaven, which is, after all, a story of fictions meant to answer to our deepest hopes, needs to pay more attention to the figural dimensions of representation.

This book claims to "assemble and interpret the ways in which Christians have understood everlasting life" (p. x). Interpretation here lags behind assembly, but the authors' patient labor will prove of lasting significance.

KARSTEN HARRIES
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W. M. SPELLMAN. *John Locke and the Problem of Depravity.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 244. $49.95.

The difference between what thinkers intended to say and how posterity interprets them is frequently so great that intellectual historians are forced to have a double focus, one on the thinker's own context and another on later contexts. In practice, a division of labor too frequently occurs. One author, looking for the "ancestry" of an idea, will quote just what seems to provide a harbinger of later developments, regardless of the qualifications a study of the broader original context of the quotation would provide. Another, reacting against the resulting distortions, will deny or render unintelligible the alleged influence by drawing attention to the enormity of the gulf between original intention and subsequent interpretation.

W. M. Spellman's account of John Locke's understanding of human nature successfully combines a dual perspective and, consequently, avoids these pitfalls. He is aware that Locke's concept of the tabula rasa in epistemology, and his faith in the powers of education to shape character as well as skill, reinforced the optimism of eighteenth-century progressives about the possible amelioration of human nature in direct opposition to Christian teachings. And Spellman does not deny that Locke wrote several passages that stress the malleability and, by implication, the improvability of humanity. But he places them within a context that qualifies them.

This context, Spellman insists, was one of Latitudinarian Christianity. Locke was not a Calvinist who harped on the ravages of original sin, but he also was not a deist for whom people could rise unaided to eternal bliss without benefit from the saving act of Christ. In fact, Spellman plausibly argues, Locke's emphasis on the importance of education means less that education can accomplish everything than that fallen humanity has a desperate need for the most careful education in order to develop virtuously. Similarly, the tabula rasa explicitly denied the reality of innate moral ideas and thus demanded careful search for moral truth. Moreover, Locke's epistemology as a whole emphasized the limits of human understanding, an emphasis conforming to the spirit of Christian teaching and opposing the "pride" of the overconfident metaphysician. Even Locke's belief in religious toleration depends, according to Spellman, not on a positive view of human nature but on a negative conviction: kings have no authority over matters of faith.

Most important, perhaps, is Spellman's emphasis on the point that Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* was intended for gentlemen and must not be taken to imply especially sanguine views about the improvability of people in general. Locke's harsh proposals for the poor do not involve attempts to educate them above their station. Yet, Spellman adds, the claim that the more liberal precepts of *Some Thoughts* were really universal in potential applicability was made early by others and helps explain the book's impact on more egalitarian thinkers.

This study, enriched by numerous citations from seventeenth-century theologians either friendly or inimical to Locke, provides a useful caveat to anyone tempted to merge Locke entirely into the Enlightenment. It is slightly weakened by emphatic remarks about the weaknesses of humankind that can often still be heard, *mutatis mutandis*, among people with no belief in depravity. The impact of Spellman's book on the reader will perhaps depend on whether he or she has been prone to emphasize Locke's similarity to some Enlightenment thinkers or his differences from the strictest Calvinism.

JOHN ANDREW BERNSTEIN
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ANDRZEJ RAPACZYNSKI. *Nature and Politics: Liberalism in the Philosophies of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 302. $29.95.

Andrzej Rapaczynski has written a challenging and controversial book. He has two interrelated aims. Primarily he is concerned to study "the origins of the thought-formation known as 'liberalism'" (p. 5). He believes that these origins can best be understood by examining in turn the philosophies (not just the political philosophies) of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Liberalism, he asserts, "is a genuine *tradition* of political thinking" (p. 6), one with coherent philosophical foundations. The foundations are those that underpinned seventeenth-century natural science. Studying these foundations has contemporary relevance, because liberalism "continues to shape our own intellectual formation" (p. 6). This quest for contemporary relevance is part of Rapaczynski's second aim. He wants "to bridge the widening gap between the history of ideas and political philosophy" (p. 2). There is no strong distinction between these disciplines, he claims, and he attacks "revisionist" historians such as John Dunn, James Tully, and J. G. A. Pocock for suggesting that there is. Rapaczynski is remarkably successful in both his goals: the first is a success on its own terms; the second, despite its own terms.

Although Rapaczynski has nothing to say about what he means by a tradition or about how to distinguish a genuine from a nongenuine tradition, his argument is compelling. Indeed, in bare outline, it is familiar. Faced with the collapse of Aristotelianism and the world views of the Christian Middle Ages, political philosophers turned to the emerging natural sciences for a foundation on which they might order and justify modern political life. Hobbes's science of politics was reworked by Locke into a genuinely liberal political philosophy. Rousseau effectively criticized both. His rejection of the reduction of the moral world to the scientific and his insistence on the subordination of the individual to the community provided the basis for most subsequent critiques of liberalism.

So far, so familiar. But the familiarity is deceptive. Rapaczynski's argument gains originality and excitement from the resolute way in which he pursues the idea that the philosophical foundations of liberalism are those underpinning seventeenth-century science and that new ways of understanding science and nature provide the interpretive keys for unlocking the meanings of a proto-liberal Hobbes, a genuinely liberal Locke, and an anti-liberal Rousseau. Insights abound. Both specialists and generalists can learn from Rapaczynski's discussions of Hobbes's contractualism, Locke's theories on property, and Rousseau's historicism. Yet serious doubts remain about the plausibility of Rapaczynski's overall project. Strange things happen to Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Hobbes becomes a positivist with no prudentialist connections. He is certainly a streamlined philosopher, but he is only half the political theorist of modern historical scholarship. Locke is an empiricist with no theological connections. He is an "individualist who sees man through the prism of a secular, scientific outlook . . . an unabashed philosopher of capitalism" (p. 117). He is a much less complex theorist than recent historical studies have revealed. And Rousseau is turned into an extraordinarily coherent critic of liberal individualism. At times, on Rapaczynski's reading, Rousseau becomes Kant; at other times, he becomes Hegel. Rousseau is twice the philosopher and next to nothing of the artist of modern historical scholarship. Thus, from a historical point of view, at least, Rapaczynski's enterprise seems suspect.

Rapaczynski is well aware of this and completely unabashed. He frequently notes that his readings of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau were motivated by a desire to make them fit his own insights. He admits taking liberties with his texts. He rejects a concern with "narrow historical accuracy" (p. 12). This, after all, is the province of irrelevant, "revisionist" history. But the implications for Rapaczynski's proposed bridge between philosophy and history are disastrous. No such bridge can stand without the support of historical accuracy. Nor can it stand without the support of philosophical rigor. Rapaczynski delivers the philosophical rigor, and, despite his own professions, he delivers much that is historically accurate. His bridge is remarkably stable. Certainly he does not give us Hobbes's Hobbes, Locke's Locke, and Rousseau's Rousseau. Instead, by good judgment or good luck, he gives us something close to Pufendorf's Hobbes, Hume's Locke, and Kant's Rousseau. These characters are directly to Rapaczynski's purpose. They perform so well because they pass the test of historical accuracy, not in spite of it.

MARTYN P. THOMPSON
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DONALD J. WILCOX. *The Measure of Times Past: Pre-Newtonian Chronologies and the Rhetoric of Relative Time.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 292. $27.50.

One of the most striking features of Fernand Braudel's great book on the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II is its self-consciousness about time. Braudel explicitly argued that different kinds of events took place on what he called different temporal planes, and he divided his book into three differently paced segments. He thus sparked a continuing debate about the relations among geographical, social, economic, and political events. He gave younger scholars what sometimes amounted to a license to claim that only those deep developments that took place to the imperceptibly slow rhythm of changes in climate and patterns of settlement and cultivation were really important, while the rapid tempo of politics governed only a superficial realm of little interest. And he suggested that the chronological frame into which historians set their

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work is not a single set of rules rigorously determined in advance by the science of history but a variable and subjective matter that varies from case to case as each historian chooses among contending possibilities.

Donald J. Wilcox shows that Braudel was less original and iconoclastic than he and some of his critics thought. In fact, throughout most of Western history, historians have normally accepted the coexistence of different planes within historical time and have made different sections of their works, or different works, unfold on the particular plane that has seemed thematically appropriate, even at the cost of apparent self-contradiction. If Herodotus veered between long- and short-term, precise and amorphous, ways of locating events in time; Thucydides between linear and episodic ones; and Tacitus and Suetonius between the long term on which the life of the state of Rome was lived, the short term of individual emperors' lives, and the still less rigorous tempo at which other parts of the world became relevant to Rome, they did so deliberately. The subject matter of a given section within a history determined the method of dating that would help bring out the appropriate political or moral lesson of a ruler's choice or a battle's outcome. What positivist historians treated in the nineteenth century as mere errors and inconsistencies were in fact deliberate tactical choices made by men whose sense of time was different from our own. Only in early modern times did chronologers and philosophers, from Joseph Scaliger and Petavius to Descartes and Kant, work out the notion of a single absolute time that measures the intervals between all events by a single quantitative standard but abstains from any evaluation of their meaning. And this new absolute time—not to mention the absolute human subject in whose consciousness it existed—was soon subverted in its turn by the post-modern chronologies elaborated by the likes of Proust, Foucault, and Braudel.

This general thesis is supported by a rich and informative survey of the chronological systems used by historians from Herodotus and Thucydides to Petavius and Vico. Wilcox knows much of the detailed—and sometimes impenetrable—modern secondary literature on chronology and historiography. He reads with assurance and perceptiveness a range of primary sources that span two millennia and more. He offers guidance to the reader unacquainted with the mysteries of the indiction cycle and the reckoning of Easter—matters of great importance for the Christian chronologers and historians of the Middle Ages. And he sketches out particularly original and penetrating analyses of both the humanist historians on whom he has long been an acknowledged expert and the great Mannerist scholars—Bodin, Scaliger, and Petavius—whose long and technical Latin books have successfully repelled the attacks of most previous historians. He has a particularly good eye for the many occasions on which historians' implicit practices qualified or contradicted their explicit professions about the time-frames they used.

The book does not solve all of the diverse problems that it raises. Wilcox's treatments of technical matters and questions are somewhat less precise and perceptive than his readings of historical narratives. And he does not exhaust the relevant material (not that anyone could); Plutarch's *Lives*, in particular, exemplifies several forms not considered by Wilcox of self-conscious manipulation of chronology to make a specific political, religious, or moral point. On the whole, however, this book is a sensible, well-informed, and immensely helpful guide to a wide range of texts and issues. It should make students of historiography far more conscious of the role of chronology in the works of the authors they study—and students of history far less condescending toward the apparent chronological incongruities and errors in classical and medieval texts. For both services Wilcox deserves gratitude.

ANTHONY GRAFTON
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MICHEL FOUCAULT. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977–1984*. Translated by ALAN SHERIDAN *et al.* Edited by LAWRENCE D. KRITZMAN. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. xxv, 330. $25.00.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of Michel Foucault's work for contemporary cultural studies. Even where his specific conclusions have been called into question by subsequent empirical research, he has succeeded in revealing constellations of problems crucial to our attempts to understand our relations with others and with ourselves. Foucault does not have a methodology that can be taught to historians, but his writings display a style of inquiry that will continue to have an important impact on a variety of fields concerned with power, culture, and the construction of a knowing subject.

This book is a collection of some of the important interviews and public lectures that Foucault gave from 1977 to 1984. The book is made up of six parts: "Self-Portraits"; "Theories of the Political: History, Power and the Law"; "The Politics Of Contemporary Life"; "The Ethics of Sexuality"; "The Politics of Sexuality"; and "Notes on the Power of Culture." Foucault published *Surveiller et punir* in 1975 and *La volonté de savoir, histoire de la sexualité* in the following year, so the texts in this collection all date from the period during which Foucault was working on his final project on the history of sexuality in ancient Greece. In other words, they were produced during the time when he was becoming increasingly interested in what he called "technologies of the self," that is, in the ways in which individuals are constructed as objects and subjects of knowledge and as moral beings.

One can agree that it was a good idea to collect Foucault's interviews even if one does not subscribe to the hyperbole of the editor: "No other intellectual since Jean-Paul Sartre has been so committed to the interview as a cultural form" (p. vii). Unfortunately, the

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collection is poorly edited and produced. The introduction is less than helpful in that it invokes but never gives substance to the idea of "the politics of experience." No sense of the debates about the political significance of Foucault's work is provided. At one point Lawrence Kritzman talks about politics being replaced by a critical history of the present (p. xxiv) and at another about "liberating the power of truth from the forms of hegemony that imprison it" (p. xv). How can any history replace politics? How can Foucault, who provided a radical critique of both liberation and the possibility of a truth free of hegemony, be invoked in that way? Readers of the book will also be surprised (and sometimes amused) by the choice and content of the annotations. For me the greatest surprise was seeing the historian of science Alexandre Koyré identified by the biography of his friend Alexandre Kojève, the most important Hegelian philosopher in twentieth-century France (p. 23).

Although Foucault often spoke about the desirability of abandoning the idea of the intellectual as someone qualified to speak on almost any subject, he allowed himself to hold forth on a wide range of topics and issues. But Foucault is not at his best when speaking of the concrete needs of social security today nor when he opines about contemporary music or even the functions of literature. On the other hand, when he is talking about power, confinement, psychiatry, or the subject of sexuality, Foucault's interviews contain many powerful insights about important problems as well as subtle reflections on his own work.

Foucault used the interview form to make connections among his various projects and to show how his historical and philosophical concerns were linked to his politics. This collection confirms the importance of Nietzsche and Heidegger for Foucault, and it also underlines his aestheticism. Foucault saw the absence of legitimate moral criteria in the modern world as opening the possibility for an aesthetic ethics of existence. His aestheticism had a reflexive dimension, and his intellectual work aimed less, he claimed, at transforming the world than at transforming himself (pp. 14–15). But self-fashioning is not only a by-product of Foucault's work, it is an important object of study. "This is my question," he asserts (p. 30), "at what price can subjects speak the truth about themselves?" Having investigated the complexities of speaking the truth about oneself, Foucault often seems to have approached the interview situation with a fair amount of irony and playfulness.

The most interesting passages of the book are those that deal with the intersection of Foucault's three major concerns: the problems of truth, power, and individual conduct (p. 243). For example, when discussing the development of criminal psychiatry during the nineteenth century, Foucault emphasizes the important role played by the "pathology of the monstrous" (p. 131) and the difficulties created by the existence of crimes without reason. Here his interests in transgression, in punishment, and in technologies of the self come together. How were legal responsibility and psychological determinism interconnected to create the category of the dangerous individual? How has our society become more constrained as experts acquire the knowledge and power to protect us from danger? Those are a few of the questions Foucault explores in some of the most interesting passages in this collection.

Some of Foucault's interventions, however, have already aged badly. Discussions of the evils of psychiatry would today have to address not only the persecutions of treatment and confinement but also the oppressions of poverty and neglect. Much of the talk about sexuality would be enriched by a serious confrontation with the concerns of women and the work of feminism. The spirit of transgression is often maintained by insensitivity to objects of desire. There are extremely superficial discussions of rape (pp. 201–04) and of sexual relations between adults and children (pp. 271–85). Furthermore, Foucault's enthusiasm for the "absolutely collective will" he saw in the Iranian revolution shows that his desire for "something quite different" could at times overwhelm his critical faculties (pp. 211–24).

This collection is not the "up to date guide to Foucault" (p. vii) that the editor claims it to be. The organization of the selections makes it difficult to trace the development of the genealogist's ideas, and the failure to provide an index makes the volume less useful than it otherwise would be. The collection is, however, a valuable complement to Foucault's other published writings, including the collections of interviews and essays *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (1977) and *Power/Knowledge* (1980). Although the pieces published in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture* do not show us how to read (nor are they substitutes for reading) Foucault's major works, they do offer valuable insights into the thinking of one of the major figures in twentieth-century intellectual history.

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HARVEY GOLDMAN. *Max Weber and Thomas Mann: Calling and the Shaping of the Self*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 284. $30.00.

It seems that Max Weber and Thomas Mann met only twice, both times in late 1919. If Harvey Goldman is correct, they almost certainly did not grasp, in their two brief encounters, how many concerns they shared or how much their work overlapped thematically.

It is one of the purposes of this fine book to explore two interconnecting topics that drew the social scientist and the novelist together intellectually: the concept of "calling" (*Beruf*) and the concept of "personality" (*Persönlichkeit*). Although Goldman's approach is largely biographical, and although it rests on a careful and

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often brilliant explication of some central texts of these two men, there is also a sense in which this work is a sophisticated exploration in *Begriffsgeschichte*. By the time the reader finishes the book, he or she not only will be well acquainted with the thought of the two individuals but will also comprehend something of the complex history of the terms "calling" and "personality" in European thought between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries.

Weber's investigations of *Beruf* are, of course, better known than Mann's. In his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–05), Weber defined the term and traced its trajectory into the modern era. Originally, *Beruf* (as distinct from the medieval *vocatio*) was understood in a strictly religious sense. It meant the selfless dedication to a pursuit for the greater glory of God and for the sake of one's own salvation. In following a calling, one labored resolutely at a task with great discipline and self-restraint but without asking about material rewards. By doing so, one achieved not only character but also meaning: the meaning that comes in placing one's paltry self in the service of something higher and more spiritual. According to Weber, the Reformation focus on self-denying, methodical action in the world not only helped produce a new type of individual but also released tremendous amounts of energy that made possible extraordinary achievements. In time, however, the calling lost some of its original content while still maintaining its original form. Seventeenth- or eighteenth-century capitalists, for example, preserved the idea of disciplined, rational activity but directed it toward capital accumulation. By the twentieth century in Germany, the notion of a calling had degenerated even further into a mindless work ethic that Weber observed firsthand among the officials and bureaucrats of the German empire. The once impressive *Berufsmensch* had become a mere *Fachmensch*, and the exalted notion of calling had become simply an occupation. As the concept of calling eroded, so, too, did the idea of personality, for in Weber's view the two terms were inextricably linked. When an individual followed only routine, or based conduct on prescribed roles, no powerful self of the kind the Reformation had produced could come into being.

According to Goldman, one of the tasks Weber set for himself around 1900 was to rescue the original meaning of calling and thereby make a strong, vigorous personality possible again. But, in order to achieve this goal, Weber wanted to substitute the notion of "ultimate values" for the God of the Reformation and then ask individuals to live their lives in disciplined submission to such values. By consciously placing themselves in the service of higher ideals, individuals could restore meaning in an otherwise rationalized, disenchanted, meaningless world. Exactly what these "higher values" were to be, however, remains unclear. Although Weber had a good idea of what they were for him, he was reluctant to impose his values on others. Ultimately, each individual had to decide for himself or herself what values provided meaning for life.

Mann was also concerned with the concepts of calling and personality and, in his early works, explored both in great detail, though from an artistic rather than a scholarly point of view. In *Buddenbrooks* (1899), for instance, Mann charted the decline of the sense of calling in a German family whose faith in the inherent value of *Beruf* eroded inwardly from one generation to another. His novella *Tonio Kröger* (1903) focused on the way the bourgeois calling could be appropriated by an artist to create a unique artistic personality. In *Death in Venice* (1912), by contrast, Mann began to wonder if the artistic calling was a kind of prison that shut one off from inner experience, thereby destroying one's "healthy" relationship to the world at large. If that were the case, the aesthetic calling would prevent rather than promote genuine personality.

This brief summary only barely suggests the depth and richness of Goldman's excellent book. He has written a first-rate work in German intellectual history, one that is not so much a critique as a careful and subtle explication of some central themes articulated by Mann and Weber. If the book has one shortcoming, it is that Goldman ends his discussion of Mann before World War I (thus covering only Mann's work from the 1890s to 1912), and he concludes his analysis of Weber with Weber's studies of religion (thus dealing only with the period between 1904 and 1915). Those choices prevent any detailed discussion of Mann's important later work up to *Doctor Faustus* (1947), which it is essential to treat in order to round out the themes Goldman has chosen to address. Similarly, Weber's "Science as a Vocation" and "Politics as a Vocation" (lectures delivered in 1917 and 1919 respectively) are not discussed, but they, too, are fundamental for an understanding of Weber's final comments on *Beruf* and *Persönlichkeit* before his death in 1920. Goldman has promised a second book that will deal with this material, but he might have been wiser to add it to the present study. Such an addition would have made the book considerably longer but would have given it more thematic unity.

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ALLAN FRANKLIN. *The Neglect of Experiment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 290. $42.50.

Allan Franklin argues, correctly, that historians and philosophers of science have, in the main, neglected the nature and role of experiment in modern science. The almost universal belief that science is theory-driven is, however, softening, and this book is an important contribution to that end.

Franklin begins with a brief introduction in which he lays out the major philosophical positions on the role of experiment (those of Thomas Kuhn, Paul Feyerabend,

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Imre Lakatos, Pierre Duhem, and Willard Quine). Next he examines in close detail critical "episodes" of experimental argument: the experiments in 1957 on parity nonconservation (the overthrow of a fundamental law of symmetry); the discovery of CP violation (space inversion and particle-antiparticle interchange); and Robert Millikan's famous oil-drop experiment. Although the arguments are intricate, Franklin's conclusions are refreshingly simple. Against those who have denied it, Franklin argues that experiment has a philosophically legitimate role in the choice between competing theories; he considers the parity experiments to be "crucial" (p. 29). Experiments have a role in confirming and shoring up theories and hypotheses. Moreover, he argues at great length that we have good reason to believe experimental results. As Franklin disarmingly notes, these conclusions when baldly stated seem almost commonplace. But, given the powerful armament deployed against them, Franklin's careful and reasoned arguments are patient, powerful, and extremely valuable.

But Franklin does more in this fine book. He challenges historians and philosophers to examine real and not "mythical" experiments, and, above all, he prescribes a new agenda for the philosophy of science. This new agenda calls for philosophical appraisal of what scientists actually do and how they are in fact "convinced" rather than supposition about what they ought to do and how they ought to believe.

Regarding the parity experiments, Franklin demonstrates how quickly these revolutionary results were accepted. He suggests that the experiments solved an especially vexing problem for the community (the theta-tau puzzle), which had resisted conventional attempts to solve it, and novel predictions were made that were quickly confirmed. Interestingly, experiments were made almost thirty years earlier by Robert Cox, Carl Chase, and others that have provided evidence for nonconservation of parity in what are known as the "weak interactions." Franklin suggests that these experiments were "overlooked" (p. 53) partly because of a lack of an appropriate theoretical structure in which to place them and partly because they were overshadowed by other contemporary debates.

The most accessible chapters to nonphysicists are those relating to the famous American scientist Robert Millikan, who measured very precisely the charge on the electron. Franklin has made a minute examination of Millikan's notebooks and has subjected his calculations to exacting scrutiny. He found that, although Millikan said that he published all of his results, in fact he discarded one series of measurements as "not an oil drop"; other drops were discarded for other reasons. Although technically "guilty" of cooking and trimming, Millikan's transgressions were, in effect, of small significance (p. 232). The strength and accuracy of Millikan's procedures have subsequently been confirmed. There has been a major industry among historians and science journalists to ferret out such activities among experimentalists from Lavoisier to Mendel. The experimentalists' instincts for a "bad" measurement usually seem more appropriate than the critics' ire.

In the end, Franklin's book is a rewarding and thought-provoking reaffirmation of the soundness and the necessity of the experimenter's role.

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DANIEL M. FOX and CHRISTOPHER LAWRENCE. *Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America since 1840.* (Contributions in Medical Studies, number 21.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. 357. $49.95.

This book about photographs in medicine is concerned with the social and medical contexts in which the photographs were taken, the ideas behind selection and configuration of objects to be placed within their frame, and the use of such material in the writing of history. The 271 pictures included span the century and a half since the invention of photography.

The book is innovative, for it represents a first effort to catalog broadly and discuss such photographs. It further seeks to establish a place for photography in historical accounts of medical development that is more than illustration of textual commentary. The photograph, Daniel M. Fox and Christopher Lawrence argue, has a place as an important primary source, being a self-contained exposition of relationships among people and objects that reveals significant facts. This book provides a detailed and valuable bibliography of sources that give historians ready access to photographic material and commentary bearing on medicine. Before this work appeared, such material was difficult to locate.

The argument that the photograph can and should serve as more than illustration is convincingly presented here and should help to increase attention to such visual evidence in historical analyses of medicine. The effort, however, to use the photographs to illustrate themes of relationships of power among patients, physicians, nurses, and lay governors of hospitals—a central issue in this work—does not quite meet the mark. That is because there is too little text (forty-eight pages) to make those complex arguments spanning the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Here, ironically, too much is asked of pictures alone.

Furthermore, opportunities were missed by the authors in not making in-depth comparisons between particular images a more essential part of their discussion. For example, a detailed comparison between the last photograph in the book of a new ward for AIDS patients, taken in 1987 (fig. 4.66), and an earlier picture of a London ward, taken in 1897 (fig. 3.13), would have been dramatic and instructive.

Despite such shortcomings, the book is an important addition to historical works on medicine and photography. It provides ideas and data to make photo-

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graphic images a more valuable source for understanding the development of medicine.

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EDMUND S. MORGAN. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America.* New York: W. W. Norton. 1988. Pp. 318. $18.95.

Edmund Morgan, like James Madison, finds inspiration in David Hume. "The governors," Hume observed, "have nothing to support them but opinion," in any form of government. For Morgan (although whether for Hume, too, is unclear given his emphasis on "opinion of interest"), this idea means that government depends on "fictions," and he charts the life and hard times of one particular fiction, the idea of popular sovereignty, from England in the sixteenth century to the United States in the nineteenth century. "The English House of Commons in the 1640s . . . invented a sovereign people to overcome a sovereign King"; in 1787, Madison invented "a sovereign American people to overcome the sovereign states" (p. 267). What was being invented (and reinvented) was a fiction and a potentially embarrassing one. Governments could not be coequal with the people, with the governed (although Morgan does not consider referendums); that was a logical and a physical impossibility, as Royalists in the 1640s and Tories in 1688–89 attempted to argue. Nonetheless, in the United States, at least, very shortly after 1787, a mode for "the exercise and authentication of power" (p. 15) had come into being, to general satisfaction: the fiction of popular sovereignty had been definitively accepted.

In the course of following his fiction through Anglo-American history, Morgan revisits many a scene of historiographical interest, and nearly always he leaves useful pointers for future travelers, for example, on the implications of the fiction that "the king can do no wrong" (chap. 1) and on the failure of the English in the 1640s and 1650s to find a way of protecting "the people as subjects from the people as rulers" (chap. 3). But whether Morgan fully traces the travels and travails of his fiction may be doubted. He ought to have examined more closely the interrelationships of king, parliaments, and "people" as they were invoked in late medieval England (compare William Huse Dunham, Jr., and Charles T. Wood, "The Right to Rule in England: Depositions and the Kingdom's Authority, 1327–1485," *AHR*, 4 [1976]: 738–761). His discussion of the events of 1688–89 in England, concluding that "the Convention's restraint meant that England did not achieve—and never would—a formulation and establishment of the constitution by a popular sanction or authority separate from its government" (p. 120), seems to close off the possibilities for change in England far too early. It follows that Morgan gives short shrift to the proliferation of notions of "association" and "convention" in England from the 1770s to the 1840s (p. 232: "none of these associations achieved its objectives"). One understands the acceptance of the fiction in the United States after 1787, but Morgan seems just a little too brisk with its apparent rejection in Britain. He misses a few profitable stopping points. He does not, for example, discuss the exclusion by the people of other people from membership in the political community (an issue that is touched on with respect to the 1640s in England [p. 72] but that recurs in the United States in the 1770s and suggests that a full exploration of this theme would require consideration of changing ideas of nationality and of treason). The important question of the arrogation of power by representative institutions over their own membership is hardly explored, while the American arguments of 1787 (over whether interests were to be established at the local level, by the concerns of a homogeneous electorate, or at the national level) might be set alongside those used in Britain in 1832 (and elaborated by D. C. Moore). Occasionally issues are jumbled together. The discussion of elections (chap. 8) and their "resemblance to a carnival" is fascinating: elections become a "make-believe world . . . where men are equal," where a fiction is lived out (p. 208). But it is surely wrong to yoke together, in censorious fashion, elections where "popular choice becomes a charade" and elections where "issues are reduced to triviality" (p. 174): the eighteenth century, like the twentieth, knew that the two did not necessarily go together. And Morgan occasionally tidies things up too much. There is little on the position of the House of Lords in England. The events of and around 1787 are looked at in resolutely nationalist terms. More should have been said of the states themselves and of the uncertainties lurking in popular sovereignty, of the ambiguities that were exploited in the Dorr Rebellion and in the arguments employed in *Luther v. Borden*.

To the discussion in Philadelphia in 1787 of representation, Morgan devotes a fascinating chapter (chap. 11). Doubters lamented that representation in the new House of Representatives would be nominal, "would be merely virtual, similar to what we were allowed in England" (p. 279, Rawlins Lowndes). Morgan might have linked this disagreement to the theme of his concluding chapter, "the separation of political preeminence from social status" (p. 292), for part of the argument over representation was, in rather similar terms, an argument over the decoupling of numbers and communities. We know of the arrival of the terms "constituents" and "constituency" in England. What of the U.S. "district" and its implications? Thus, a number of important questions are begged on page 41.

The eighteenth century in the United States saw (pp. 295–306) the arrival of charismatic leaders (in and

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after the Great Awakening), professionalism (in military matters), and the notion of political leadership (a word first used, apparently, in England in 1834). From the enthronement of this triumvirate in the nineteenth century, the United States is still benefiting and suffering. Citizens in a land of popular sovereignty have only themselves to blame; a reading of this excellent and provocative book will console them in their predicament.

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THEODORE DWIGHT BOZEMAN. *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1988. Pp. x, 413. $34.95.

Puritanism is notoriously hard to describe. In this excellent book Theodore Dwight Bozeman gives a partial solution to the problem. English Puritanism, he writes, can be identified by three distinctive features: its morality, its pietism, and its "biblicist 'primitivism'" (p. 9). The last of these is the subject of this book.

In two chapters Bozeman describes how English Puritans developed a unique epistemology based on the Bible and the contemporary world's relationship to past time. He says nothing here about typology, which he ignores on the grounds that typology was not distinctively Puritan (p. 242, n. 29). Instead, he leans heavily on Mircea Eliade's formulation of a mythic First Time. Biblical primitivism, Bozeman argues, was the Puritans' effort to experience again the perfection of the biblical First Time. Puritans strove to annihilate the time intervening between biblical events and their present: "sacred antiquity was not to be conceived of historically as a distant, alien, and heterogeneous world. It was to be reentered and experienced" (p. 34).

Although Puritans rejected patristic tradition with the scornful label of "human invention," the Anglican wing of the church developed a countertheory, *adiaphora*, "things indifferent," a theory that justified tradition from the church fathers precisely because scripture had not been specific on many details one way or the other. In these two background chapters, Bozeman brings the Church of England to the eve of the argument over Arminianism and shows that it stretched between a Puritan position on one end and an Anglican position on the other. Biblical primitivism was one of the clearest differences separating the two extremes.

Starting with his third chapter, Bozeman deals with a number of discrete topics in the history of New England to about 1674. There are chapters on the errand into the wilderness, church structure, political structure, on the millennium, John Cotton, John Eliot, and two chapters on the jeremiad. In all of them Bozeman argues that Puritans looked backward to the mythic First Time and were not, as is sometimes suggested, harbingers of the modern world.

In each chapter he is ardently and specifically revisionist. The errand into the wilderness did not include a future role for the reformed church, the jeremiads "were not dominated by a future horizon, [but] were pre-occupied with loss and recovery, with remembrance and imitation" (p. 342). Expectations of the millennium, by definition forward-looking, came after the Great Migration and played no part in the motives for founding New England. When millennial ideas did become important, they were for the most part based not on the second and final coming of Christ but on the "Middle Advent" described by Thomas Brightman. For me this chapter alone is worth the price of admission.

Bozeman's control of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed sources is superb. I venture to guess that there is no historian of Puritan New England who will not find obscure books freshly explained or new meaning given to familiar but poorly understood passages. Bozeman makes his arguments with clarity and force. On some topics he develops important information that is not found elsewhere. The modern historians with whom he takes issue on questions of interpretation are a veritable roll call of the profession. This book with its wealth of new material and its forceful argument of an important interpretation of Puritanism is a stunning achievement.

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M. KAY FLAVELL. *George Grosz: A Biography*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 355. $39.95.

M. Kay Flavell has set out to write both a revisionist biography and a historical reconstruction of cultural debates in European and American life in the first half of the century. It is her contention that George Grosz's position as a social and political satirist during this American sojourn has been underestimated and misunderstood and that Grosz's art and writing can illuminate the cultural complexities in Germany and America after 1933. Flavell contests the charges advanced after Grosz's emigration to America that he abandoned his position as a social and political critic. She argues that Grosz was consistently an ironist and a skeptical moralist and that his revolutionary satirical art of the early 1920s was only the first aspect of his social and political critique, which shifted in the mid-twenties into political allegory and turned into tragic irony in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Because the book is intended to be a corrective to previous studies (including my own) that have emphasized Grosz's political work in Germany, Flavell concentrates on his years in America and on his voluminous letters. As she makes clear, Grosz wielded his pen as a weapon of social criticism in both his visual and letter-writing arts. The incisive observations, the ironic mocking voice, the sharp thrust into the core of an issue are present in both. Flavell's book, exploring the multiplic-

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ity of his perspectives and his insistently ironic stance, ambitiously seeks to locate Grosz's activities and ideas in relationship to those of his correspondents and, in so doing, to provide a network of interlocking group intellectual biographies. Grosz wrote to an extraordinary number of cultural luminaries in Germany and America, including Gottfried Benn, Felix Weil, Hans Sedlmayer, Henry Miller, Edmund Wilson, and John Dos Passos, not to mention his friends among German left-wing artists and intellectuals. Flavell uses these letters, many of which have already been published in German, to situate Grosz in the tension among the anxieties of the German exile community, his struggle for a place in the American art community, and his intense preoccupation with the political disasters in Europe. As a specialist in eighteenth-century German intellectual history, Flavell is also concerned to situate Grosz in the satirical tradition of Hogarth, Swift, Gillray, and Cervantes and the grotesque tradition of Goya, Grandville, and Breughel.

An ambitious and lengthy undertaking that does not fully succeed, the book makes its case for both the continuity of Grosz's satiric vision and the richness and variety of his cultural contacts and observations. Although Flavell does reconstruct Grosz's ironic views, as a writer, on the cultural debates surrounding the role of the artist and artistic styles in both Europe and America, the book too often lapses into long, labored presentations of tangentially relevant material and frequently tedious overinterpretations. The argument for the quality of Grosz's work as an artist in America is not adequately sustained and is marred by a poor choice of illustrations. In its exhaustive examination of Grosz as writer and artist in America, the book suffers from a lack of balance in its presentation that suggests the author was not firmly in control of the wider historical context and allowed herself to be overwhelmed by her fascination with the subject and her eagerness to redress the record. It is a brave, but flawed, effort.

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DANIEL LEVINE. *Poverty and Society: The Growth of the American Welfare State in International Comparison*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 355. Cloth $40.00, paper $14.00.

The usual approach in discussing the origins of social welfare institutions and programs in the United States is to point out that many such programs previously existed abroad and were imported into the United States, thus emphasizing cross-cultural similarities. Daniel Levine takes the opposite approach. His purpose is to show how social insurance programs (accident, health, unemployment, and old age) developed differently in four leading countries: Germany, Denmark, Great Britain, and the United States. His time frame is roughly from the poor law reform of 1834 in Great Britain to the end of World War II. In discussing each country, Levine sees the differences in the nature of its programs and its circumstances of emergence as being rooted in that country's history, already existing institutions, and values or attitudes relating to poverty, social class, and government. Levine's pattern of organization is to devote most chapters to one of each of the four countries, thus further emphasizing differences.

Comparative study of four countries is a formidable task. Levine relies on printed primary sources and secondary works, including some in foreign languages, but his secondary works do not always do what he wants them to do. For example, in looking at forces for social insurance around 1900 in Britain and the United States, Levine discusses the British and American settlement house movements. Most of the works he cites on that topic, however, are not comparative studies, and the one that is emphasizes similarities rather than differences. Nevertheless, Levine concludes that the American settlements were more politically active than the British settlements. In the process, he fails to describe American activity that parallels the British experience. For example, he mentions that key figures in the development of the British welfare state, specifically William Beveridge and Clement Atlee, were settlement residents at one point in their lives but did not achieve their successes in social reform as settlement workers. Levine fails to mention that the same could be said of Frances Perkins, a former Hull House resident and the key bureaucrat in the formulation of the American Social Security Act. Similarly, in discussing the intellectual basis of settlements, Levine neglects to mention the American acceptance of reform Darwinism, with its references to the great British naturalist. Although Levine mentions both Charles Booth, author of a detailed analysis of poverty in London, and *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, he neglects to mention that Booth's work served as a model or inspiration for the Hull House study. Finally, Levine ignores the roles of national settlement federations in each country as well as the functions of the International Federation of Settlements. In other words, what Levine needs is more comparative studies on which to base his analysis.

Nevertheless, the book is generally useful because Levine calls attention to the differences that do exist and relates those differences to the varying national characters of the countries discussed. It is also useful because Levine presents material on the much lesser-known Danish welfare system, which was more significant during these years for the development of Scandinavian welfare systems than was Sweden's.

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JEFFREY HAYDU. *Between Craft and Class: Skilled Workers and Factory Politics in the United States and Britain, 1890–*

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1922. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. x, 302. $32.50.

In this book Jeffrey Haydu documents the struggle over questions of job control that developed in the early part of the twentieth century between skilled American machinists and British engineering workers, on the one hand, and their respective employers on the other. He focuses on the issue of how much of the shop-floor control that had traditionally been exercised by those workers over the pace of work, monetary rewards, and the skill levels needed to secure those rewards would remain in their hands and how much of it would be given up to the employers. By comparing the tactics espoused by members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in Bridgeport, Connecticut, with those followed by members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) in Coventry, England, Haydu provides us with an opportunity to test a number of generalizations about factors that are often said to distinguish the British from the American labor movement but that are rarely discussed in a common setting. Haydu's narrative begins with the 1890s, but the most important chapters of his book deal with the period surrounding World War I, when issues relating to the speed-up, skill dilution, and the employment of women in industry to replace the men who had gone to the front assumed their most critical dimensions.

Haydu deserves much praise for having established the proper method for comparative analysis: the detailed examination of the behavior of workers in the same industry in two different countries, instead of the assertion of unsubstantiated generalizations that usually accompanies the debate over America's alleged exceptionalism. To a considerable degree his conclusions also deserve respect. He shows convincingly how the apparent conflict of interest between skilled machinists, who were fearful of losing their craft privileges, and unskilled workers in the same industry, who sought to move up in the job hierarchy, was resolved by the equal commitment of both to shop-floor control. He also demonstrates how and why rank-and-file militants in the engineering industries of both countries used different methods to pursue the same ends. In Bridgeport insurgent machinists used preexisting local Metal Trades Councils and shop committees within the framework of the IAM to protect their skill levels and to protest against the American Federation of Labor's acceptance of a wartime no-strike pledge. In the ASE, on the other hand, the radicals set up an alternative structure of shop stewards' committees both outside and inside the ASE that directly challenged the ASE's bureaucratic hierarchy.

There are a number of weaknesses in Haydu's analysis. He could have drawn his parallel between the British and American insurgencies more sharply by exploring their common heritage in the transatlantic role of the Industrial Workers of the World and the American Socialist Labor party. He could have made more of the fact that the insurgency of the American machinists was in some respects more radical than that of the British—regarding equal pay for women workers, for example—a fact that contradicts received opinions about the weakness of American radicalism. And, despite his references to the work of John Foster and Ira Katznelson, Haydu's narrow focus on the workplace leads him to disregard the role of political and social factors such as inflation, wartime peace initiatives, and the impact of the Russian revolution on the engineers' militancy. A broader focus along those lines would have transformed this book from a very useful work into a path-breaking one.

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W. H. VAN DER LINDEN. *The International Peace Movement, 1815–1874*. Amsterdam: Tilleul. 1987. Pp. 1237.

On the back cover of this book, the publisher comments, "If this work should be furnished with a motto, it ought to be: 'No stories, no theories, no pictures, only history.'" By history, W. H. van der Linden means facts, every fact that he was able to discover in the European and American archives during the decade or more that went into compiling this book. In its way, it is the definitive study of the subject.

The author devotes almost every chapter to coverage of a specific society, association, or organization created either in Europe or the United States during the years from 1816 to 1874 that addressed methods to obtain or preserve peace. The book unfolds in strict chronological sequence. Even the few chapters devoted to ideas (such as "Europeanism") list the ideas in the chronological order in which they initially appeared. The effect, therefore, is that of a massive research effort, presented as if the three-by-five-inch cards were printed in chronological order. The work is written in English, not the author's native language, and its style cries out for editing.

For most readers, this book will serve as a reference tool. The author has ferreted out surviving archival materials in The Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Britain, France (Paris and Nantes), Norway, and the United States. The bibliography, a thoroughgoing summation of the vast, unassembled outpouring of writing in the last century on war, peace, and revolution, emphasizes original sources, published and unpublished. It is invaluable.

One infelicitous result of van der Linden's determination to write "pure history," unencumbered by interpretation, is the omission of more recent scholarship on the period he surveys. His use of secondary accounts reveals familiarity with works published in the 1930s but not much thereafter.

In many cases, readers will have to bring their own grasp of nineteenth-century political philosophies and upheavals to their understanding of the setting of many of the organizations and programs that van der

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Linden presents. Students interested in the subject should read this book with biographical dictionaries handy.

The author's indifference to interpretation produces a body of data that lacks a beginning and an end. The book starts abruptly with the creation of a peace society in London in 1816 (with no historical setting provided to explain this curious birth). It ends, equally abruptly, with reference to a motion in favor of arbitration that was discussed in the Dutch legislature in 1874. There is neither introduction nor conclusion. The result is that the author has made no case for an "international peace movement" spanning these years. Readers will have to treat this formidable contribution as a list of ingredients awaiting a chef.

SANDI E. COOPER
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PAUL AVRICH. *Anarchist Portraits*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 316. $27.50.

Paul Avrich's contribution to the historiography on anarchism has been immense. In a field once dominated by partisan accounts emphasizing the idealistic pursuit of noble and unattainable political goals, Avrich has reestablished the content and boundaries on a solidly objective foundation. In his latest book, Avrich has collected a number of essays that, with one exception, he has published in different versions over the last two decades. The essays, written in a biographical format, cover a wide range of anarchist activity. Although six of the essays deal with the more familiar figures Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, and Petr Kropotkin, there are also chapters on Anatoli Zhelezniakov (one of a number of anarchists who supported the Bolsheviks), Nestor Makhno (the anarchist guerrilla leader who at one point fought both the Red and White armies), V. M. Eikhenbaum (author of an enduring anarchist history of the Russian revolution), Benjamin Tucker (the pioneering American anarchist), and Paul Brousse (the French anarchist who is generally credited with coining the term "propaganda by the deed"). Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the book is Avrich's research on anarchists such as C. W. Mowbray of Britain, J. W. Fleming of Australia, Ricardo Flores Magon of Mexico, Mollie Steimer and the Yiddish anarchists in the United States, and the anarchists of Brazil, about whom comparatively little has ever been published outside of sectarian periodicals.

Although Avrich is not beyond criticizing his subjects, his portraits are, for the most part, full of respect and even admiration. For example, he favors the image of Bakunin as a serious and inspiring revolutionary over the criticism of the Russian anarchist offered by scholars such as Aileen Kelly and Arthur Mendel. Avrich's assertion that "wherever he went, Bakunin exercised a powerful fascination on nearly everyone he met" (p. 21) is not universally accepted. Similarly, after reviewing the charges of anti-Semitism leveled against Makhno, Avrich concludes that the allegations are indefensible. In the brief amount of space devoted to that topic, however, a convincing resolution of the problem cannot be rendered.

The content of the book is organized into three sections: Russia, America, and Europe and the world. There is some awkwardness to those geographical divisions. Whereas the essay on Proudhon's influence in America is in the section on America, "Bakunin and the United States" and "Kropotkin in America" are placed in the section on Russia.

Avrich has made efforts to show that the anarchist movement has a contemporary significance by drawing parallels between Bakunin, for example, and the writings of Franz Fanon, Eldridge Cleaver, Regis Debray, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, among others. Although it is true that during the 1960s a new generation of rebels in the United States discovered the anarchist creed, there is a certain anachronistic flavor about the way that political connection is described. This may be because Avrich does not provide a comparative historical context in which to place the linkage.

Although the essays generally vary in scope and significance, two of the most interesting and innovative chapters concern the Jewish anarchist movement and the activities of the Italian anarchists in the United States, mainly during the period before World War I. The research materials here are sources that have not been widely used. In some instances Avrich has interviewed survivors of the movement or friends and family members of the anarchists he has studied.

We cannot know whether these materials are too limited for an analysis of the formation of an anarchist mentality. Yet in reading these essays, one does wish to know what forces or conditions influenced the development of these fascinating and dedicated individuals in such disparate cultures. How did they come to embrace such an extreme anti-statist world view, which threatened not only bourgeois society but also most of the revolutionary socialist community? Avrich's book does not answer that question, but it does provide stimulating reading and calls our attention to the timeless message of these opponents of tyranny "in all forms."

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DAVID STEVENSON. *The First World War and International Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 392.

Europe's drift into the First World War, the politics of that war, and the making of the peace are here recounted in a single volume. David Stevenson's book fills a gap for those who wish a comprehensive, balanced assessment of the tragedy of 1914 and its aftermath.

Austria-Hungary's inability to deal with Bosnia and

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the Serbian threat prompted the local war in 1914. The expansion of that local war into a continental conflagration Stevenson attributes as much to Russian aggressiveness as to Germany's decisions in the July crisis. And the author does not exculpate Paris and London in the slide to war. "A general precondition for the outbreak of the First World War was the failure of resistance to belligerency within the Great Powers. This was not only a failure to prevent the war, but in large measure a failure even to try" (p. 38). War remained an acceptable, if dangerous, form of political activity.

Once underway, the fighting progressively turned into a world war. Stevenson succinctly traces the addition of Turkey, Japan, the Balkan states, and Italy to the conflict. Each decision fit coherently into an unfolding human catastrophe. The author puts the reality starkly when analyzing Rome's decision: "The Italians in *Italia irredenta* who were eventually united with the mother country were almost equaled in number by those other Italians who paid for Radiant May with their lives" (p. 58).

Eschewing any intensive analysis of the fighting, Stevenson examines the issue of war aims as a product of the interaction of domestic and international agendas. The stalemate of the battlefield was reflected and reinforced by the clash of political and diplomatic goals. Back and forth within the respective alliances, the debate over what to demand, what little to concede, and how to cajole their allies into agreement characterized the situation. And the clash did not abate, even as the Austrians sought a separate peace in 1917, as Russia departed the war, and as the impact of American intervention grew.

In the author's account of the expanding war, Woodrow Wilson emerges as the major figure. From the start the president, Stevenson argues, hoped to remodel the international system. His decision to intervene, his commitment to the League of Nations, and his personal role throughout—all command detailed comment. Wilson's successful manipulation of the Germans (and his associated allies) ended the war. But the president's success in late 1918 did not ensure a successful peace or even a successful peace process. Security against Germany, reparations, territorial adjustments, and the League of Nations preoccupied the statesmen. As Wilson's political credit ebbed at home, so it did at the peace conference without resolving the fundamental problem of containing the defeated Germany.

Stevenson's sense of irony and his ability to pierce through the illogic of the peace negotiations are substantial contributions to understanding the peace process. His assessment of the overall peacemaking is especially severe: "For the Versailles Treaty, even if justified, as Wilson thought, by the enormity of Germany's transgressions, rivalled Brest-Litovsk in being more exacting than any dictated since Napoleon's prime. . . . A war that had inflicted measureless sacrifice was now unable to redeem it with lasting stability" (pp. 306–07).

In analyzing the collapse of the peace, the author is cautious. The 1920s did not necessarily foreclose the chances of stability. Rather, the depression and subsequently the American, British, and Russian retreats into isolation in the 1930s did foreclose it, leaving the French to confront Adolf Hitler alone. Paradoxically, the failure to solve the German problem in 1919 left Europe no better off for having fought the First World War. After the second conflict, Stevenson notes, both sides took precautions to ensure that Germany would be throttled. For four decades, at least, that policy has worked.

This monograph exploits recent archival studies and the author's own work on French war aims, and it reflects throughout competence and thoroughness. Its weaknesses are few. There could be more attention to wartime economic activity, a few more paragraphs on domestic politics, and fewer page-long paragraphs. But these are quibbles. This is a superb contribution, one that synthesizes relevant research and puts it into a manageable whole. Its rapid appearance in paperback will be welcomed by all.

SAMUEL R. WILLIAMSON
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MICHAEL KETTLE. *Russia and the Allies, 1917–1920*. Volume 2, *The Road to Intervention, March–November 1918*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. 401. $49.95.

Soviet historians have always overemphasized the significance of Allied intervention in the Civil War. They have attempted to convey the impression that the Bolsheviks defeated not only a motley collection of domestic enemies but also the forces of world imperialism. Western historians have also frequently turned to this topic. Many, but by no means all, recent writers have seen the intervention as an example of Western imperialism. There are few small topics in twentieth-century diplomatic history as thoroughly worked over as this one. Michael Kettle, a British journalist, is attempting to make a contribution to a voluminous literature that includes the superb works of George F. Kennan, Richard Ullman, and George Brinkley. He has embarked on a five-part study in which the book under review is the second volume.

Kettle, who has written on the Algerian and Angolan civil wars, has worked diligently in the British archives. It is, therefore, sad to report that his contributions to scholarship are minor. Although the series is called *Russia and the Allies, 1917–1920*, the author is entirely concerned with the Western side of the story. He lacks familiarity with and even interest in the history of the Russian Civil War. He does not read Russian and did not find it necessary to consult the extensive Western literature on the subject. Brinkley's major work, for example, does not even appear in the skimpy bibliography. Instead, Kettle has relied on books that are outdated (such as George Stewart, *The White Armies of Russia* [1933]) or unreliable (such as Tom Mangold and

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Anthony Summers, *The File on the Tsar* [1976]). How could one understand the attitudes of Western leaders toward Lenin's government without considering such issues as who the Whites and the Reds were, what kind of social support each had, and what policies they introduced?

Further, Kettle has a quaint, old-fashioned patriotism: for him only the British really mattered. The title of the book promises an examination of Allied policy, but the author goes no further than London. Kettle worked only in British archives, and he looks at French and American behavior entirely from a British point of view. Even as a history of British policy toward Russia, however, this book is disappointing. The author tells us little about the pressures under which the ministers had to operate. We learn nothing of conflicting ideologies and interests. Instead, we get summaries of governmental papers and accounts of innumerable meetings. To be sure, once in awhile a few gems do appear, such as, for example, the fact that Lloyd George thought Alexander Kerensky was Jewish. Unfortunately, Kettle does not seem to appreciate the significance of this particular misunderstanding.

Kettle is not a historian. By this I do not mean that he lacks the proper academic credentials. The problem is that the author does not appreciate that historians present their material in order to make arguments, pose questions, and locate their own findings in the already existing literature. It remains something of a mystery why a journalist, not a particularly vivid writer or one interested in anecdotes and characters, ever undertook this arduous venture. He has no obvious ideological agenda, and he does not even attempt to convey why he thinks his subject is worthy of attention. Under the circumstances the account of one cabinet meeting after another is just mind-numbingly dull.

PETER KENEZ
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LAWRENCE SPINELLI. *Dry Diplomacy: The United States, Great Britain, and Prohibition.* (America in the Modern World, number 1.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1989. Pp. xviii, 181. $35.00.

Lawrence Spinelli's book focuses on the international ramifications of the American attempt to prohibit the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages in the United States after World War I. Based on extensive research in both British and American sources, it shows an important linkage between domestic and foreign affairs during this era. In this brief study, Spinelli examines a feature of Anglo-American relations that has been largely ignored by historians. Most scholars have either treated prohibition as a domestic issue or dealt with other aspects of diplomacy during the interwar years. Spinelli, in contrast, reveals how prohibition was at once a domestic and an international issue.

Enforcement of prohibition, Spinelli argues persuasively, was an example of "independent internationalism" (p. x). Using Joan Hoff-Wilson's characterization of American foreign relations in the 1920s, he shows that the United States did not evidence isolationism in its liquor diplomacy. Rather, paradoxically, it pursued its own national agenda of prohibition by entangling itself in international diplomacy.

Because Great Britain was the world's largest exporter of liquor, the Eighteenth Amendment created problems in Anglo-American relations. These problems arose particularly in the British West Indies, where the Bahamas quickly emerged as the center for liquor smuggling. Nassau, the capital of this British crown colony, served as headquarters for a profitable trade as rumrunners delivered their illicit products off the New Jersey and Long Island coasts. By the late 1920s, Canada, an independent dominion in the British Commonwealth, supplanted the Bahamas as the smuggling headquarters, but liquor diplomacy still involved the British government in London. Even after repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, liquor smuggling continued as a minor irritant in Anglo-American relations.

When, in 1921, the U.S. Coast Guard seized the first rumrunner captured beyond American coastal waters, the British Foreign Office defended this British-registered ship in the name of freedom of the seas. British officials wanted to restrict American jurisdiction to the three-mile limit in accordance with their traditional interpretation of international law. Within the United States, there were opposite pressures on President Warren G. Harding. In the Justice Department, Assistant Attorney General Mabel Walker Willebrandt zealously attempted to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment by unilateral American action without much regard for international implications. She subsequently found a legal basis for this action in the Tariff Act of 1922, which authorized the Coast Guard to board and search foreign vessels off the American coast to a distance of twelve miles. The State Department under Charles Evans Hughes, reflecting Harding's tolerant attitude, sought a middle ground between the British government and American advocates of prohibition. At stake as well were competing British and American shipping interests.

This conflict over prohibition enforcement was eventually resolved when Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's government, following Stanley Baldwin's earlier initiative, accepted an American treaty proposal in 1924. By settling conflicts over international law and economic interests, the liquor treaty contributed to better Anglo-American relations during Calvin Coolidge's presidency. Although some disputes continued, the treaty provided a framework for resolving them. Especially after the London Conference of 1926, liquor diplomacy became a fairly routine matter in Anglo-American relations. During Herbert Hoover's administration, after Canada supplanted the Bahamas as the headquarters of liquor smuggling, Ottawa

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largely replaced London in dealing with the United States on this issue.

Spinelli's book is a contribution to the history of American foreign relations in a largely unexplored area. The place of illicit drugs in international diplomacy has not yet received as much attention from historians as it has from journalists. Jonathan Kwitny's *Crimes of Patriots: A True Tale of Dope, Dirty Money, and the CIA* (1987) and Leslie Cockburn's *Out of Control: The Story of the Reagan Administration's Secret War in Nicaragua, the Illegal Arms Pipeline, and the Contra Drug Connection* (1987) have explored this topic in recent years. Spinelli's book is a welcome addition to the literature on drug smuggling—in this instance, of liquor—in international relations.

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DESMOND DINAN. *The Politics of Persuasion: British Policy and French African Neutrality, 1940–1942*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1988. Pp. xii, 307. Cloth $32.50, paper $16.25.

Relations between Free France and Vichy France, on the one hand, and between them and Britain and the United States, on the other, were murky, conflict-ridden, and productive of envenomed controversy at the time and considerable inquiry, much of it partisan, ever since. Desmond Dinan's monograph sets the record straight within the parameters indicated by his subtitle. It may profitably be read in conjunction with R. T. Thomas's *Britain and Vichy: The Dilemma of Anglo-French Relations, 1940–42* (1979).

It is a virtue of Dinan's work, "largely based" (p. xii) on British governmental files now at the Public Record Office, that he places his account squarely within the context of Britain's overall wartime strategy. The justification for placing France's African empire at stage center was Britain's hope—eventually fulfilled after Torch, the North African landings of November 1942—of bringing that area back into the war on the Allied side.

After the rupture of relations with Vichy France, brought about by the naval bombardment of French naval forces at Mers-el-Kébir in Algeria in July 1940, the British supported de Gaulle's efforts to acquire the southern and outlying portions of French Africa. The defeat at Dakar was to a degree counterbalanced by de Gaulle's acquisition of French Equatorial Africa. Therewith, however, his military activities in Africa came to an end, and Churchill and the War Cabinet had to contend with how best to influence the alleged division of the Vichy government between collaborationists and *attentistes*, among whom General Maxime Weygand, "recently appointed Delegate-General in French Africa" (p. 70), was speculatively included. A local "Weygand" alternative to either Marshal Pétain or de Gaulle supposedly emerged. The desire to bring about that somewhat illusory alternative (for "Weygand was completely committed to Vichy" [p. 112]) goes far to explain British receptivity to Louis Rougier's mission, approved by Pétain, in October 1940, and scholars are indebted to Dinan for that explanation.

In 1941, Morocco, in particular, became the object of intense American diplomatic effort, which involved both economic aid and intelligence operations and which was accepted by Britain in the interest of bringing the United States into the war. Moreover, the Germans were expected to attack. The British, however, became increasingly restive. In May 1942, after the Japanese had entered the war, the British invaded Madagascar with mediocre military results and without preparing the ground with either Free France or Vichy. The Anglo-American decision to proceed with Torch, which again excluded de Gaulle, was largely the outcome of British pressure.

Dinan halts his account there. "By the end of 1942, all French Africa was again in the Alliance" (p. 269). Relations with the Gaullist movement were, however, in shambles. Moreover, despite the lengthy political preparations, the landings themselves encountered heavy casualties. The ensuing deal with Admiral Darlan, the ranking French official in North Africa, followed by his overly convenient assassination was a grave embarrassment to the Allied cause, and the Americans "established effective control of the . . . Alliance" (p. 275).

Although Dinan's work lacks color, the exposition is clear and illuminating, and his observations are to the point.

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MASSIMO DE LEONARDIS. *La Gran Bretagna e la resistenza partigiana in Italia (1943–1945)*. (Biblioteca Storica, number 8.) Naples: Scientifiche Italiane. 1988. Pp. 430. L. 46,000.

This is an important, scholarly book that demolishes many myths propagated by leftist Italian writers regarding Britain's policies toward the Italian armed resistance from 1943 to 1945. Massimo De Leonardis has done careful research in relevant files in the British Foreign Office and War Office pertaining to the Italian Resistance. Although records of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) are still closed, De Leonardis discovered copies of many SOE documents in the Foreign Office and War Office files. He is also conversant with much of the published literature on the Resistance and weighs the arguments carefully. The author sides with the SOE position on most of the controversies. The result is a well-documented, generally persuasive assessment that must be taken into account by anyone who wishes to unravel many of the emotionally charged controversies surrounding this subject.

The author focuses strictly on British military and

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political attitudes toward the Italian armed resistance. He contends that Britain played the primary role in shaping Allied policy toward the Italian Resistance. Thus, he seldom mentions the U.S. role (which has been explored by Elena Aga-Rossi, Bradley F. Smith, myself, and others).

De Leonardis argues that pragmatic military rather than political considerations shaped British policy toward the Italian Resistance. The SOE was anxious to help the resisters, but most army officers were skeptical of irregular forces until the Allied invasion of France revealed the value of partisan fighters, as did the liberation of Florence in August 1944 and the news of partisan warfare in the mountainous rim of the Po Valley. The Foreign Office and the Allied commission in Italy showed little interest in the northern Resistance until the outbreak of the civil war in Greece in November 1944 caused them to fear a similar conflict in northern Italy upon its liberation.

De Leonardis does a fine job in clarifying General Harold Alexander's widely misunderstood order to the partisans in mid-November 1944 to reorient their activities in light of the Allies' inability to break into the Po Valley before winter set in. De Leonardis also explains well the different views of the British SOE, army leaders, Foreign Office, and Allied commission in drafting the important agreement that the Allies signed on December 7, 1944, with representatives of the Committee of National Liberation for Upper Italy (CLNAI). The Allies recognized the CLNAI as the "agent" of the Italian government and promised it substantial financial support. Early in February 1945, however, the Allies ordered a cutback in the delivery of arms to the partisans, but this order was largely ignored by the Fifteenth Army Group, which wanted to make as much use of the partisans as possible in the final offensive in the northwest.

De Leonardis is skeptical of inflated claims about the extent of resisters' contribution to the Allied victory in Italy but agrees that they helped pin down numerous German divisions that otherwise might have been shifted to the Western front and that they accepted the surrender of Germans in Genoa and helped safeguard port facilities.

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ROLF STEININGER, editor. *Die Ruhrfrage 1945–46 und die Entstehung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Britische, französische und amerikanische Akten.* (Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Reihe 4, Deutschland seit 1945, number 4.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1988. Pp. 1036. DM 220.

This massive volume, over five pounds by weight, contains 244 documents, 12 maps, 4 plates, an 8–page archival register, a bibliography, and a list of cited documents as well as a 222–page introduction by the editor. Its subject is the founding of the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW), which Rolf Steininger quite rightly argues was inextricably bound up with Allied uncertainty and disagreement on what to do about the industrial heartland of the former Reich. The new state, he shows, was a by-product of the Ruhr policies of the occupying powers, and neither the German public nor their political representatives played a role in its creation.

The main purpose of this publication is to make key sources available to scholars contemplating research in the archives. All but nine of the documents reproduced in this volume are from the Public Record Office in London. Steininger is careful to explain the criteria used for selection, and these seem quite reasonable. State Department records have already been published in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series; the archives of the French Foreign Ministry are in disarray; and the decision to create the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen was British. Steininger's documentation does not, however, accurately reflect either the positions of the three Western Allies with regard to the Ruhr problem or the interplay between them that led to the results that are the concerns of this book. The lengthy introduction has a similar shortcoming.

Steininger maintains that the British meant to create NRW as a single, large north German state without historical antecedents that would combine Germany's industrial heartland with the more numerous population of an agrarian hinterland and thus provide stability and security. The author demonstrates that the British wanted to head off French demands for the territorial separation of the Ruhr from the rest of Germany as well as forestall Soviet-instigated unrest among the working class of the coal and steel district. Doubting that the United States would be much help to them, the British arrived at the painful conclusion that international control could not be effective. They wanted, Steininger says, a *Land* that could be run by the Christian Democrats (CDU), the main conservative party, but in which an Allied-dominated international consortium would supervise the operation of the mines and mills.

Steininger is at his best when tracing the intricacies of British policy on the Ruhr. Like that of the other Allies, it evolved from the interplay of contrary forces: an urge to punish and exact retribution conflicted with a desire to rehabilitate and reform; the need of Germany's victims for material reparation clashed with the practical urgencies of European industrial recovery; the exigencies of short-run economic and financial policy making could not be squared with the long-term desirability of maintaining the wartime alliance; fears of a German nationalist revival competed with concerns about Russian expansionism. The author shows that the leading figures in the Foreign Office, and those who advised them, were seldom of one mind about how to fit these contrary requirements into a single overall policy but that, as time went on, Draconian proposals gave way to more reasonable ones.

The British, he discloses, imbibed more moderately

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of the potent wartime spirits of revenge than did Americans such as Henry Morgenthau and the day after had less to rue. While many British policy makers could contemplate the dismemberment of the Reich with equanimity, none of them went to the extreme of advocating the physical destruction of the mines and factories of the Ruhr. The sobering-up process that followed the actual onset of occupation was therefore less painful for the British than it was for the Americans or the French who, in the author's view, had remained longer on the "bender" than either of the other Western Allies. Most British plans of late 1945 and 1946, he maintains, were intended either to frustrate France's dismemberment policies, which the British would have had to underwrite, or to prevent the Soviets from gaining an opening in the West. The British decided to set up the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen shortly after Secretary of State James F. Byrnes announced in September 1946 that the United States was ready to merge its zone with that of any other power ready to cooperate in promoting recovery and reconstruction.

Steininger can be criticized for not setting his discussion of British policy in the context of either the nation's larger imperial and global responsibilities or its pressing immediate concern with payments. He also asserts, with scant evidence, that a vision of a socialist equivalent to the later Schuman Plan guided Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's personal policy with regard to German heavy industry. Steininger does not emphasize strongly enough that, compared for instance to events in the Middle East, the British were relatively unconcerned with what was happening in the Ruhr; that the welfare of the German public affected British policy only insofar as it added to or subtracted from the costs of the occupation; and that the British, Bevin included, were committed to socializing German coal and steel less for ideological reasons than from a belief that state-administered enterprises were easier to supervise than those in the private sphere.

Steininger's explanations of certain key developments in British policy are thus unconvincing. Although he repeatedly states that fear of Soviet-instigated Communist party activity in the Ruhr was the critical consideration in the decision to set up the new state, the many documents from which he quotes extensively cite this factor as only one among several major concerns. The material cited also fails to prove that the United Kingdom intended to create a political unit that the Christian Democrats would be able to dominate, as Steininger asserts: the British may merely have wanted to strengthen the conservatives in order to offset the Communists. And he does not satisfactorily explain why, if socialism featured so strongly in British plans, they never made a serious effort to socialize industry.

Problems also arise in connection with Steininger's treatments of American and French policy. The United States did not, as he suggests, have only a bit part in the Ruhr drama. London and Paris both had to clear policy with Washington. The Americans intervened infrequently in German coal and steel issues in the first twelve months after the war for three main reasons: they wanted to bring the troops home as soon as possible, and they recognized that primary responsibility for the Ruhr would fall to the European powers and hoped, against increasingly long odds, that some form of joint four-power control could still be worked out.

Steininger also lacks the evidence to support his contention that France single-mindedly pursued the political separation of the Ruhr from Germany even during the first year or so after the war. Although the deplorable state of the French Foreign Ministry archives makes it all but impossible to re-create the policy-making process, the available material (which is substantially more complete than that consulted by the author) suggests that the Quai's approaches to dealing with the Ruhr problem were every bit as varied and nuanced as those of Whitehall. The French were, in fact, keenly aware of their weakness and the future need for reconciliation with Germany. The proposals tabled by the French at official Allied gatherings such as the Councils of Foreign Ministers in 1945 and 1946 had a tactical rather than a strategic purpose; they were not an expression of an ultimate design but a means of stalling a Ruhr settlement until France had regained its strength.

This volume, even with its shortcomings, is an immense contribution to the study of the previously obscure, inglorious founding of an odd and improbable yet surprisingly stable and remarkably successful political unit. Its publication is a major achievement.

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MCGEORGE BUNDY. *Danger and Survival: Choices about the Bomb in the First Fifty Years*. New York: Random House. 1988. Pp. xiii, 735. $24.95.

McGeorge Bundy combines the methodology of a professional historian with the experience of a high-level presidential adviser to provide a thoughtful and enlightening review of nuclear weapons policies since World War II. Taking "considerable comfort" (p. 583) in the historical record, he argues that the United States, the Soviet Union, and other nuclear powers have been well aware of the limited value of the bomb as a diplomatic and military weapon, keenly alert to its dangers, and firmly committed to avoiding a nuclear war. "On balance," he writes, "the major lessons of this history are more encouraging than not" (p. 584).

Bundy's generally favorable assessment of the history of the nuclear era does not mean that he offers a blanket endorsement of U.S. policies. He is particularly critical of Harry S. Truman, who, he believes, was too shallow in his judgments and hasty in his actions on nuclear issues. Bundy finds fault with the decisions and programs of other presidents as well, including John F.

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Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, whom he served as special assistant for national security affairs. Bundy contends that in too many cases presidents and their top advisers were not only overly secretive but also lamentably inept in informing the American people about nuclear matters. But he maintains that, despite misperceptions and misjudgments, every postwar president has understood the fundamental fact of the nuclear age, namely, that a nuclear war must never be fought and can never be won.

The most interesting section of Bundy's book, not surprisingly, is his lengthy discussion of the Cuban missile crisis. He gives high marks to both Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev for acting with restraint once the confrontation began, and he submits that the chances of a nuclear war were never great. He does not underestimate the seriousness of the situation, but he argues that U.S. officials, himself included, failed to realize the overwhelming strength of their position at the time. Bundy concludes that U.S. nuclear superiority was not the decisive factor in resolving the crisis; he believes that it ended peacefully because both Kennedy and Khrushchev acted out of their recognition of the mortal danger that they faced.

Although Bundy's judgments are always reasoned and lucid, they are not always convincing. They are least persuasive when he offers speculation with little supporting evidence. He fails to make a strong case, for example, in suggesting that the use of the bomb against Japan might have been avoided by inviting neutral observers to the Trinity test shot and that the Soviets might have responded favorably to a genuine effort to achieve international control before they developed their own bomb. The book has a few other weaknesses. It underplays the role of the Kennedy administration in fueling the arms race with a massive build-up of nuclear weapons. And, although Bundy draws from a wide variety of published primary sources, he does not make extensive use of many of the unpublished materials now open. This is a particularly glaring omission when he bases his conclusions on evidence that he examined rather than on all that is available.

Nevertheless, the strengths of Bundy's book greatly outweigh the flaws. By discussing complex and emotional issues with clarity, even-handedness, and insight, he provides the best comprehensive survey of nuclear weapons policies now available.

J. SAMUEL WALKER
U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

ANCIENT

HANS J. NISSEN. *The Early History of the Ancient Near East, 9000–2000 B.C.* Translated by ELIZABETH LUTZEIER and KENNETH J. NORTHCOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 215. $34.95.

Hans J. Nissen has written this book to provide a chronological survey of the ancient Near East. The work should have been titled "A Social and Cultural History of Mesopotamia and Environs, 9000 to 2000 B.C." The book omits Egypt (an omission that can be debated) and refers occasionally to eastern Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and western Iran. Mesopotamia and Babylonia, to be more specific, receive the lion's share of the treatment.

The author sets out to show that there are no sharp distinctions between the prehistoric and historic periods, as most scholars would have us believe. According to Nissen, the development of civilization is the result of human ingenuity forced to meet the harsh challenges of an ever-hostile environment, such as the lowering of water levels and the salinization of the soil in Babylonia, an example of the "challenge and response theory" of Arnold Toynbee. It can be stated that the book is a study of human ecology.

The volume is the result of years of scholarly research, both in the field and in the library. It is filled with original sketches by the author. He has included a very good bibliography, although not exhaustive, that will point the way for future scholars.

There are serious shortcomings to the work. In the first two chapters, Nissen attempts to describe the transition from the food-gathering life of the Paleolithic Age to the agricultural economy of the Neolithic. This is not accomplished very well by the author. Practically no mention is made of metallurgy, a very important step up the ladder of civilization, or the transition from implements of stone to those of copper and bronze.

Moving into the historic period, Nissen reveals that, out of economic necessity, regions made loose political alliances. His economic data are based entirely on texts, and he almost ignores archaeology. Very little space is devoted to religion, an institution that played a dominant role in the everyday life of the people.

The region under discussion evolved from the locus of one cultural entity into an area of diverse cultures and political organization. Because Nissen limited the scope of the study, the reader is not able to perceive this. The author should have, in the last chapter, discussed the migrations into the area that came to be known as Assyria. Why did the Assyrians, colonists from Akkad, develop such a different culture? This question should have rated at least a paragraph or two.

Nissen's book is not very readable; the reader is forced to struggle through it digging for information. This work belongs on the shelf of every library, but I would not recommend it to an undergraduate student.

C. WADE MEADE
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GÜNTER STEMBERGER. *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land: Palästina unter Konstantin und Theodosius*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. 298. DM 45.

The history of Christianity in Palestine, in comparison to Christian Egypt and Syria, presents a series of disconnected sketches, not a unified portrait. There are

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specialized studies of various aspects of Palestinian Christian history, the building of the church of the Anastasis, Egeria's account of her pilgrimage in the area, the thought of Cyril of Jerusalem, and the politics of Juvenal, but, unlike the history of other geographical areas, Palestine's history is seldom presented as regional history. The reasons for this are unclear. Christianity has a continuous history in the region from its beginning to the present day. Palestine had its share of resourceful leaders and outstanding teachers, it was the center of religious debate and the setting for noteworthy events, and its soil has yielded rich archaeological finds. Yet these persons and events are seldom viewed as part of a common history against the backdrop of regional history. For this reason Günter Stemberger's thorough account of Palestine in the fourth century is most welcome. Well-researched and judiciously written, it systematically covers the chief topics that bear on any understanding of the period: political and economic history, the geographical spread of Christianity (largely on the coastal plain and Jerusalem), the rise of pilgrimage and its religious (and economic) impact, the character of Palestinian monasticism, the status of the Jews before and after Christian domination, the building of synagogues, the patriarchate and rabbinate, Samaritans and pagans, and many other topics. Stemberger has at his disposal the most recent archaeological data; he has read the relevant rabbinical sources as well as the Christian texts and is conversant with Israeli scholarship, which has been so active in the study of "Byzantine" Palestine, that is, Christian Palestine. The one topic about which he says little is the embryonic consciousness on the part of Christians (for example, in the works of Cyril, Hesychius of Jerusalem, and the monks) that living in the land itself bestowed blessings. Even Eusebius called Palestine "the venerable land." Only there could one see with one's own eyes and touch with one's hands the places of salvation.

Stemberger's theme is the history and consequences of the Christianization of the region. From all over the empire, Palestine drew not only pilgrims but also artisans, entrepreneurs, and monks, and many made Palestine their hope. The new institutions, the extensive building, the economic boom changed the face of the land. Here more than any other place Christians were self-consciously building a Christian society. Nevertheless, and this is one of Stemberger's most important conclusions, the status of the Jews did not alter significantly in the fourth century. In this respect Palestine conforms to what we know of other regions in the Eastern empire. During the "first Christian centuries in Palestine" (p. 251), Jewish tradition showed itself stronger and more vital than it was in the previous century and later. Whether the comparison with the later period can be supported is disputable, but the argument for the fourth century is surely correct.

ROBERT L. WILKEN
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PETER BROWN. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. (Lectures on the History of Religions, new series, number 13.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. Pp. xx, 604.

Long before this review appears in print, Peter Brown's many admirers will know that he has indeed written the important book we have been awaiting. The first printing was sold out even before the lengthy and eloquent reviews in daily and weekly journals appeared. There is no possible way, in this brief space, to indicate the many delights that every reader, from the neophyte to the most sophisticated specialist, will encounter in this complex and beautifully written book. I can only add to the praises and append a brief descriptive summary.

Brown begins with a broad account of how Romans and Jews at the time of Christ viewed the body as a building block of society whose very existence depended on the reproductive efforts of its citizens and the effectiveness of its patriarchs in controlling the bodies of women, children, and slaves. Greek and Roman thinkers, in this context, equated manliness with moderation in all bodily functions including exercise and diet. Manly deportment, the trained carriage and modulated voice, evidenced membership in a class made fit to rule by self-control. Brown then launches an investigation of the Christian effort to transform and indeed subvert this society by transcending and even eliminating the needs and desires that classical man sought to control.

Part 1, "From Paul to Anthony," covers the first three Christian centuries when a persecuted and alienated religion sought to reconcile its belief in the resurrection of the body in another world with its awkward role in the continuation of this one. By the third century, theologians had subdued the extremes of asceticism to the needs of a well-ordered church. Their elevation of continence facilitated fruitful cooperation between wealthy widows and clergymen who lacked social status in simultaneous struggles between the celibate and the married and between clergy and laity. Part 2 discusses the efforts of the Eastern church, once Christianity was legally recognized, to translate the ideal of renunciation into a concrete way of life. The Eastern fathers saw virginity as a vehicle to hasten eternity, expressing Christian rejection of the pagan belief in the permanence of the city. In the desert, the renunciation of the social world took on a specific location where an alternative city could grow. Through fasts and vigils the ascetic purged his body of the effects of appetite characteristic of the fallen state and sought to anticipate the body that would arise on the last day, restored to the harmony of Eden. Meanwhile, sexual renunciation also worked to revolutionize the present world by freeing wealth from the needs of future generations and thereby promoting charity to contemporaries. The impulse to separate men from women was balanced by a desire to unite rich and poor by stressing their common bodily characteristics. Part 3 analyzes the works of the three great Latin fathers, Ambrose, Jer-

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ome, and Augustine, who ultimately reconciled the revolutionary concept of sexual renunciation with an enduring Christian society in the world. Augustine, at last, achieved a sort of peace with the body by renewing and restating the ideal of self-control. Sexual intercourse confined by the will to the purpose of procreation could then be admitted to a humble but dignified place on a continuum with virginity and widowhood, socialized within the Christian hierarchy. In Augustine's thought, the body was turned back to the city from the desert. In effect, through the filter of one singular ideal, Brown has traced a history of the Christian view of an individual's relation to society from its first challenge to the antique social order to its ultimate theological reconstruction.

This study is intellectual history at its best. No one can match Brown's sense of intimacy with the creators of early Christian theology. With well-chosen citations, and deceptively easy scholarship, he has painstakingly reconstructed what can be known of their lives and traced the development of their works. But this close attention to the texts and their particular authors does have the effect of displacing women from the equality of treatment they seem to share in the title. Only one undisputed female author, Perpetua, is available for analysis. Brown does not entertain the possibility that women could have written any of the anonymous texts. In these circumstances, his chosen method of strict textual analysis precludes speculation about women's experiences. The inevitable result is a discussion of the male body and male attitudes toward the body. Such a use of sources suggests, for example, that virginity was not a conscious way of life until Origen wrote about it. Indeed, Brown interprets third-century literature, particularly the Apocryphal Gospels, as instruments whereby men could use women "to think with" (p. 153). In his schema, there was no pattern for the construction of woman, only prescriptions for her proper behavior within her allotted sphere.

Periodic geographical surveys illuminate differences among the cities of the Christian empire and among its deserts (Egypt, Syria, and the caves of Cappadocia), ending with Rome, the quintessential city. The book is fitted out with a map and a very useful chronological chart of the principal writers cited. Columbia University Press is to be congratulated for placing the footnotes at the foot of each page and for providing a complete and proper bibliography. It should be unnecessary to call attention to these amenities in a scholarly book, but leading university presses have recently issued important books with expanded footnotes or bibliographical essays as unacceptable substitutes.

JO ANN MCNAMARA
Hunter College

IRAD MALKIN. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece.* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, number 3.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1987. Pp. xii, 297. $45.00.

From the eighth to the fourth centuries B.C. (and occasionally later), the Greeks established colonies by the dozens, principally in Asia Minor, Sicily, and south Italy but also in such far-flung areas as southern France, North Africa, Egypt, and the shores of the Black Sea. At the heart of this enterprise was the *oikist* (founder). Homer's Nausithoos, although the city he founded was mythical, did what was customary: he built a city wall, houses, and temples of the gods, and he divided up the arable land (*Odyssey* 6.7–10). It was not all that simple, of course, and just in the religious area questions arise: which gods were to receive temples? Where were the temples to be placed? How were the cults to be financed? Under what authority could a human *oikist* make such decisions concerning the gods?

Irad Malkin treats such questions from the perspective of the *oikist.* In addition to designating or approving a site for the colony, the Delphic oracle appointed the *oikist* and vested him with the necessary religious authority (chap. 1). The *oikist* might consult seers, as military commanders did, but religious authority remained with him (chap. 2). He transferred sacred fire from the public hearth of the mother city (metropolis) to that of the colony (chap. 3). He marked out sacred areas in the new site, primarily on the basis of convenience and city-planning principles (chap. 4). On his death, the *oikist* was buried in the city center, was publicly worshipped with annual sacrifices and athletic games, and, as the colony's first home-grown deity, became a unifying and nationalistic symbol for the new state (chaps. 5–8).

Because so little is known of historical *oikists* and what is known suggests considerable exceptions to the pattern, Malkin's *oikist* model remains in the realm of theory, not applicable to any one colony. There are, in addition, serious difficulties with the quality of the evidence. The *oikists*, their personal histories, and the foundation oracles from Delphi are a mishmash of myth, legend, and history. Epigraphical material is scant and usually raises more problems than it solves. The evidence from only partially excavated colonial sites is difficult to assess. Only two, for example, of the thirteen sites Malkin surveys show obvious orientation (apart from peripheral clustering) of sacred buildings to a city plan. In default of better evidence, the author often turns to "*oikist*-like" cults, that is, hero cults of individuals who "founded" something (but not colonies) or were, like *oikists*, buried inside cities.

Malkin picks his way through this heterogeneous evidence methodically, sometimes laboriously, and he meticulously details modern interpretations. The *oikist* model that he creates is a useful analytic tool, and the many local variations are only to be expected in Greek political and religious life. Colonists hundreds of miles from their homeland necessarily broke some religious traditions, scrupulously maintained others, and established some new ones for their new state. Malkin contributes much to understanding the processes, in-

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stitutions, and means by which the Greeks accomplished all of this.

JON D. MIKALSON
University of Virginia

IAN MORRIS. *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State*. New Studies in Archaeology. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 262. $39.50.

This well-written, crisp analytical study of Greek graves from the Dark Ages to the classical period has as a goal a fresh understanding of social organization in the early *polis*. Ian Morris likes exploring the inherent contradictions of the Greek city-state, where a free citizenry was based on slavery. He believes the conflict among the aristocracy, the *agathoi*, and the "peasantry," the *kakoi*, can be read in the burial record and offers reasonable explanations that may help to reshape an old discussion.

Part 1 explores the relations among the living and the dead, how the living derived legitimacy from the dead, refusals of burial, and what grave gifts, multiple burials, and age span may have implied for class and wealth. Much of this material has been explored by other scholars, but Morris makes excellent use of anthropological theory along with Greek testimony and displays new potential for archaeological interpretation.

Part 2 explores changes and rates of change from about 1100 B.C. to about 500 B.C.. The data are good, especially for Athens and Attica; the graphs, interesting. Here are facts for discussing issues of population size, rank within the group, and "informal disposal" for the archaeologically invisible, "excluded" dead; there is a long, rather inconclusive discussion of whether apparent population shrinkages are caused by drought or by failures in archaeological retrieval systems.

Part 3 concerns the *polis* again, period by period, district by district. Morris suggests that the *kakoi*, who were dependent on the *agathoi* (relics of the old Bronze Age aristocracy?), and sometimes bound on their land, successfully claimed a greater role in new *polis* rights, goods, and entitlements and became "citizens" after 750 B.C. "Citizen cemeteries" became more common on the Greek mainland; the islands expanded in population but not in "democratic forms." In colonies, rank is hard to see in burial. Only founders and heroes were buried in public living spaces such as markets; the dead were all democratically excluded outside the (new) city walls. Sanctuaries, especially Panhellenic ones, may still have offered the *agathoi* chances for competition and rich display; at the same time they may have given the whole *polis* an opportunity for better self-identification. Morris rejects the idea of "hoplite reform." The *polis*-ideal was successfully controlled by the *agathoi* (one-quarter to one-half of the population?) in some reactionary states such as Athens; that control created an admirable climate for tyranny in years to come.

Morris's adventure in converting archaeological data into plausible history is solidly based, bold, and smart; it gives an excellent idea of new directions in archaeology, history, classical studies, and the increasingly popular funerary field.

EMILY VERMEULE
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KURT RAAFLAUB. *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit: Zur historischen Semantik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte eines politischen Grundbegriffes der Griechen*. (Vestigia, number 37.) Munich: C. H. Beck, with the cooperation of the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. 1985. Pp. xxvi, 347. DM 140.

Kurt Raaflaub has essayed a considerable enterprise, nothing less than an examination of the concept of *eleutheria* (freedom) in Greece to 400 B.C. His introduction on sources and methodology rightly emphasizes the need to establish a study in political semantics within a sequence of sociopolitical contexts. Accordingly, the five sections constituting the core of his work are conceived diachronically. The first concludes that freedom was not yet conceptualized in the archaic period. External freedom lay embedded within *sōteria* (survival). Although tyrannical rule was already visualized as an enslavement, internal freedom was not yet juxtaposed to it. The appearance of outer and inner freedom (in the second section) is revealed as a response to Persian aggression, qualitatively different from the threat posed previously by Greek warfare. Part 4 discusses the differentiation of freedom after 480, when the Athenian empire shaped semantic evolution. Invasive interference converted Athenian allies into subjects "enslaved" to a "tyrant"-city, and *autonomia* was coined to denote the internal independence under threat. In part 5, Raaflaub considers the propagandistic coloration of freedom in the late fifth century, including attempts to justify Athenian hegemony through earlier services to freedom and Spartan sloganeering. Part 6, on internal freedom, stresses the emerging equation of democracy and freedom, which forced the oligarchical opponents of democracy to seek legitimacy in other conceptual frameworks. A synthesizing conclusion includes a comparison with Roman *libertas*.

Certain aspects of the work can be praised unconditionally. The sources have been systematized: the semantic field involving freedom in any particular period can be easily envisaged. For example, one easily grasps how the anti-Persian struggle was dramatized as a liberating war to be commemorated in cults of Zeus Eleutherios. The pertinent research is usefully (and massively) compiled with a striking mastery of the scholarship on collateral topics. Raaflaub builds well on his earlier piece on the attestations of *eleutheros* in *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt* 4 (1981). Several analytical

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themes also deserve praise. That "slave" was the common term in two polarities (slave:master; slave:free) conditions the interpenetration of hegemony and freedom. It is proper to insist that opposition to tyranny was a key factor uniting the concepts of external and internal freedom. Also noteworthy is an appreciation of Athenian freedom in lifestyle, but here the thematic connection with justifications of Athenian hegemony could have been strengthened.

Raaflaub's specific identifications of contexts for the emergence of aspects of freedom should, however, be questioned. For example, Raaflaub implies that freedom was not conceptualized earlier than 500. Eumelos fragment 1 implies that before 650 the Messenians already visualized their escape from Spartan control as a liberation. Herodotus, who possessed excellent sources on Samos, has the tyrant Maiandrios relinquish power and establish a cult of Zeus Eleutherios. That entails the idea of internal freedom circa 522 and suggests a correlation of liberation from tyranny and the maintenance of independence, unless Zeus Eleutherios is here uniquely without his later implication of external freedom. To buttress his argument *ex silentio*, the author proposes that no archaic contexts existed for the subjugation of cities. Among other counterindications, Argive imperialism (*notā bene* Asine) is passed over, and the character of the hegemony of the Corinthian tyrants over Corinthian colonies is misread.

After 478, a presumptive uniqueness of Athenian hegemony is cited as the chief basis for the evolution of freedom terminology. The discussion, however, undervalues indications (visible in Thucydides and [Simonides] fragment 122D) that Sparta was perceived to infringe allied freedom. In contrast, the original independence of Athenian tributaries is overstated, Athenian encroachments are exaggerated or antedated, and anachronistic sources retrojecting ideological conflict within Athens to the 440s receive credence. In light of the ideologization of freedom before the Peloponnesian War, the later treatment of propaganda should have been fused with the discussion of hegemony and freedom here. Raaflaub adopts a late date (ca. 450) for the coining of *autonomia* and distinguishes it ("free for something") from *eleutheria* ("free from something"). Despite sensible observations on his way to this solution, he deprives himself of the opportunity to apply the passages where autonomy is a "loaded" surrogate for freedom to understanding *eleutheria* before the Peloponnesian War.

This work will find its main audience among ancient historians who will mine it for material on political semantics and pass over the tendentiousness of some of the argumentation on the inception of specific terminology.

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FRANK L. HOLT. *Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia.* (Mnemosyne, Biblioteca Classica Batava, number 104.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1988. Pp. x, 114. $25.00.

The history of Central Asia is important to Hellenistic history whether one is interested specifically in Eastern affairs or not, because it impinges on the whole matter of the "Hellenization" brought about by Alexander's campaigns. The matter is controversial (and likely to remain so) in part because the evidence is so meager. But archaeological work in recent decades has improved the situation since the first serious study of the region, W. W. Tarn's *Greeks in Bactria and India*, was published in 1938. Frank L. Holt prepared a valuable introduction to the third edition of Tarn's work in 1984 and at that time promised a fuller treatment of the subject. This book is the result.

This is a valuable contribution to scholarship; nevertheless, certain imperfections and flaws must be noted. Chief among these is the absence of suitable maps. There are two very rough line-drawn maps in the text, which are woefully inadequate. More than twenty pages of the text are devoted to a detailed discussion of "land and people," but most places mentioned do not appear on the maps. The reader needs to refer to Tarn's earlier work, which does contain detailed maps, to find such obvious features as the Pamir mountain range, Lake Baikal, and even "the famous Paropamisadae" (p. 20) mountains, which do not appear on either of the maps in this text. In the absence of good maps, the entire discussion of topography is virtually useless.

Holt's discussion of the historical and political traditions of Bactria before Alexander is, however, extremely valuable. There were peoples and cities in Central Asia before Alexander got there, and, if we are to understand what the effect of Alexander's passing was, we must first know what the situation was on his arrival. It is worth the effort to attempt to reconstruct the history of the region from whatever scattered bits of evidence can be acquired. Holt's emphasis on the urbanization of Bactria before Alexander may be somewhat overdone and may not convince all scholars, but he has at least made the point that we are not dealing with mere nondescript seminomadic barbarians.

Part 1 (the introduction) and part 2 ("Bactria before Alexander") are followed by the finest part of the book, part 3, "A Frontier under Fire." Holt describes vividly what happened when Alexander passed through the region. Alexander's activity here makes more sense than it ever did before, because Holt has set the stage so very well. In this chapter, and in the entire book, he writes vividly and engagingly; the book is a joy to read. His thesis is that the peoples of the region accepted readily enough a new nominal overlord to replace the Persian king but that outright revolt followed Alexander's attempt to found the city of Alexandria Eschate to seal the border region between Sogdians and Scythians, a region that had always been open in the past. It

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was Alexander's policy of settlement in Central Asia that caused problems, and the problems were not only from the natives but also from the Greek and Macedonian settlers themselves. Many of them were unwilling settlers and would rather have returned to Greece and Macedonia. There seems a remarkable similarity between what Alexander attempted to do in Central Asia and what was done successfully by his father, Philip, at the beginning of his reign in Macedonia, although Holt does not mention the similarity. There was a deliberate attempt to weaken tribal loyalties and to increase the centralized power of the king. This attempt involved the movement of people from one area to another to decrease local loyalties. Occasionally it also included marrying the daughter of a particularly powerful local chieftain, which Alexander did in his marriage to Roxane, daughter of the Sogdian Oxyartes.

Finally, in part 4 ("The Aftermath"), Holt summarizes the events in Central Asia after the death of Alexander. The region returned to normal after the very unsettled conditions during Alexander's campaigns. But "normal" now included a certain Greek presence. It was a cultural, rather than a political, presence, emanating from the survivors of the Greek settlers who either could not or did not abandon the Greek settlements. These were the Greeks and Macedonians who were capable of adapting to changed circumstances, capable of making compromises between their past and their future. Holt promises another work on the subject of Seleucid rule in Central Asia and the Greek cultural legacy. It will be most welcome.

The publisher's comments on the back of the book say that "this study should appeal to anyone . . . from the expert to the undergraduate." Only the very sophisticated undergraduate will be able to use the work. It assumes a certain familiarity with the subject, and the author does not trouble to translate passages in Latin or French. Indeed, the book seems most useful as a valuable commentary on Bactrian studies to be read by anyone who has a copy of Tarn's earlier work at hand. It is thoroughly documented: the 103 pages of text contain no fewer than 397 footnotes, and the bibliography numbers 207 entries. It will therefore serve well as a guide to Bactrian studies, and because it is so very well written, it will also be an enjoyable as well as an enlightening commentary.

JANICE J. GABBERT
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STANISŁAW MROZEK. *Les Distributions d'argent et de nourriture dans les villes italiennes du Haut-Empire romain.* (Collection Latomus, number 198.) Brussels: Latomus Revue d'Etudes Latines. 1987. Pp. 114. 500 F.

In this book Stanisław Mrozek focuses on the evidence—mainly epigraphic—for distributions of food and money in the Roman empire. Most such distributions were recurring events set up in conjunction with dedications of statues (some commemorative), and they were supported by foundations that paid from interest the expenses of annual feasts. We know such foundations existed all over the empire from the first through third centuries. The epigraphic evidence studied here comes mainly from an area of central Italy extending from Latium to Picenum and Umbria.

The inscriptions employed varying vocabulary. *Sportula,* which at Rome usually referred to distributions of food, outside the capital could include distributions of money; *epulum* and *divisio* were also used. Amounts were highly variable, from four hundred sestertii to a single one, with frequency peaks at four, eight, twelve, and twenty sestertii (one, two, three, and five denarii respectively). *Cena* must have been a real banquet, because it was reserved mainly for the decurions and augustales; *epulum* (or mere *crustulum et mulsum*—a kind of cracker and a wine-honey mixture) was for the general populace, sometimes including both citizens and *incolae.* Mrozek calculates the cost of *crustulum et mulsum* at about one denarius a head (pp. 40–41), which compares favorably with mean payments of money. It is clear that both the amount and the nature of distributions and their allocation by class were largely governed by local custom.

A crux was reached in the time of Aurelius, when it is certain that foundations were permitted to receive legacies and thus shore up their finances. Still, one may question whether the foundations were truly perpetual: provision for distribution of the principal if the testator's intent was violated would seem to suggest at least occasional lapses. But the vitality of the foundations bespeaks at least their contemporary reputation for effectiveness in recalling the memory of the testator.

Not surprisingly, the donors reflected the prevailing socioeconomic hierarchy: decurions first, then augustales. Mrozek's sample may be skewed because honorary statues were often reserved for municipal magistrates. Often the women he identifies as donors (roughly 10 percent of the cases) were wives, daughters, or mothers of honorands. The senatorial order is represented, with two exceptions, only during the first and early second centuries (pp. 72–73); this is one manifestation of the diminishing number of Italian senators vis-à-vis those from the provinces.

Distributions might have become an intolerable burden, contributing to the decline of municipal aristocracy, but those who gave were also the beneficiaries of others' munificence—or even, in a sense, of their own, for certain inscriptions record the establishment of small private foundations intended to benefit only the donors. That is the most dramatic illustration of Mrozek's broader conclusions that mechanisms of social welfare responded to political, not economic, distinctions and that the principal beneficiaries were not the *plebs* but the oligarchy. There was no systematic concept of "the poor," only one of "townsmen."

This book is full of useful data and insights, and it

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represents a solid synthesis of the evidence available. One hopes for further regional studies of this sort, for proper appreciation of regional variation is prerequisite to understanding municipal life in the Roman empire.

WILLIAM E. METCALF
American Numismatic Society

MEDIEVAL

MARY ERLER and MARYANNE KOWALESKI, editors. *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1988. Pp. 277. Cloth $30.00, paper $15.00.

Looking at medieval women and power through uncommonly varied lenses, the scholars whose essays are assembled in this ground-breaking collection take us at once beyond the traditional equation of power with a public authority supported by law and force. Although several authors are concerned to define more precisely some major limits imposed on women in those large areas dominated by such authority, all of them seek to identify the kinds of power that medieval women actually pursued and found in numerous contexts, public and private, open and hidden. In their exceptionally thoughtful introduction, the editors also explicate the themes that draw together the diverse lines of inquiry and evidence explored in the essays. Many of the essays were first presented at a conference organized by the editors and held at Fordham University in March 1985; several essays that were originally published or presented elsewhere take on fresh meaning in the context of this new setting and the issues it poses.

Regarding one of those issues, the often-stressed dichotomy between public and private in allocations of power between the sexes, the authors of the first two essays examine the limits and some possibilities of women's power. Both emphasize the useful distinction between authority as socially sanctioned or legitimated power and public power as informal influence. Discussing public power and authority in the medieval English countryside, Judith Bennett argues that women shared in many aspects of public life in English village communities, with widows and daughters, especially, enjoying considerable power, but that women were denied altogether "authority defined as recognized and legitimized power" (p. 19). A similar exclusion, along with considerable opportunity, characterized the civic status of women in the late medieval northern European cities investigated by Martha Howell. Often highly visible and active participants in the urban public world, women enjoyed that status, Howell maintains, as members of families and, because of their strict family ties, were excluded from a direct exercise of public authority reserved for men alone.

Further illustrating the family basis of women's power, a major theme of several contributors, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak shows how the use of seals sheds light on several aspects of noble and non-noble women's social power between 1150 and 1350, notably their position within their kindred. Much more broadly based, the views of JoAnn McNamara and Suzanne Wemple on the powers exercised by early medieval women remain, after more than fifteen years, in most respects persuasive regarding the small aristocratic minority who shared in family control of the landed property that was the key to political and economic power in that period. The ways in which the intersection of public and private power, with its focus in the royal and noble household, favored women's access to spiritual as well as secular power is a major theme of Jane Tibbetts Schulenberg's analysis of the changing roles and numbers of female saints between 500 and 1200.

Exploring an interesting relationship between the powers of love and money, Stanley Chojnacki shows in his study of 361 wills drawn by late medieval Venetian patricians with living spouses how conjugal, especially husbandly, affection was strengthened by patrician women's growing economic power as manifested in the larger dowries that they brought to marriage. The empowering of upper-class women in many parts of Europe by a quite different kind of investment is explored and illustrated by Susan Gloag Bell in her substantial essay. To women, she shows, ownership of books through inheritance, purchase, and patronage offered many ways of exploiting significant "powers of the word" (p. 149) in medieval society through their influence on new forms of piety and culture, especially on the development of vernacular languages, the mother tongues. How the power of words, along with wealth, friendships, and social position, helped one highly placed and accomplished early sixteenth-century noblewoman, Lady Honor Lisle, to create practically important networks of influence is explained in Barbara Hanawalt's close analysis of the famous Lisle letters.

Long accustomed to maneuvering in tight places, women have surely been aided by the subversive powers of actual and fictive role playing illuminated by Joan Ferrante. She begins with the roles women play in medieval literature and ends with the clever strategies employed by three women writers, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, Hildegard of Bingen, and Christine de Pisan. Silence as subversion, or winning by losing, as a theme of Geoffrey Chaucer's version of the Griselda story is studied by Elaine Tuttle Hansen. Her essay includes wise advice on the reading of texts that raise, from the male point of view, questions concerning masculine ways of thinking about women and their powers. Finally, Michelle Freeman interprets Marie de France's "Le Fresne" as a woman's story about a woman's abandonment of her child, an act redeemed by the "power of sisterhood" (p. 250) and by "love given freely" (p. 261).

The "powers of sisterhood" remind us of an important subject largely neglected here, touched on, in fact, only by Jane Schulenberg: the powers sought and attained by religious women and their diverse communities. Yet, despite regrettable omissions, this innova-

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tive collection succeeds remarkably in its major purpose. By asking when women have been powerful, and how, it helps to provide a new understanding of their lives and work.

MARY MARTIN MCLAUGHLIN
Millbrook, New York

JACQUES ROSSIAUD. *Medieval Prostitution*. Translated by LYDIA G. COCHRANE. (Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times.) New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. ix, 213. $24.95.

Jacques Rossiaud sketched out the arguments that form the core of this book in a paper given at Georges Duby's seminar in Aix-en-Provence in 1974. His paper appeared in the *Annales* for 1976, and an English translation was included in a selection of articles from that journal in 1978. A few months after his first paper, Rossiaud presented a second one, based largely on the same archival research, at Duby's seminar in the Collège de France. *Cahiers d'histoire* for 1976 carried that study, which dealt with Burgundian youth associations, gang rape, and recruitment of prostitutes. Rossiaud developed further variations on those themes, accompanied by some further evidence, in a subsequent paper at Philippe Ariès's seminar at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in 1979–80. That paper was published in the school's series, *Communications*, in 1982, and an English translation appeared under Blackwell's imprint in 1985.

The present book recasts and refines the arguments made in those three articles and supplements them with additional evidence. Despite the title of his book, Rossiaud makes no attempt to deal with prostitution throughout Europe or throughout the Middle Ages. His book, like his articles, deals with prostitution, youth gangs, and public policy toward sexual morality in southeastern France. Although he refers occasionally to studies of urban societies in northern Italy and even northern France, Rossiaud concentrates primarily on the Rhône valley. Germany, Central Europe, the Low Countries, and Spain receive only passing mention, and Scandinavia, Britain, and Eastern Europe get less than that.

In addition to its geographical limits, the book falls within rather strict temporal limits. Whereas his earlier papers drew almost exclusively on archival evidence from the fifteenth century, in his book Rossiaud seeks to relate that material to developments in religious and moral thought during the two previous centuries. The moral context of late medieval prostitution is obviously important, and Rossiaud is right to try to place his evidence from the Burgundian police blotters within the wider context of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline. But Rossiaud's treatments of the theological and moral dimension of prostitution and of the period between 1200 and 1400 remain the weakest parts of his book. He draws principally on the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and Jean de Gerson, although he makes passing reference to Guillaume Durand de Saint-Pourçain and Thomas of Chobham. Those are interesting choices but hardly an adequate sample of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century moral teaching. Rossiaud does make effective use, however, of evidence from a few published sermons, particularly those of Michel Menot and Olivier Maillard, two little-known preachers whose remarks and observations on the sexual mores of the Midi are fascinating. Menot and Maillard sternly reproached their compatriots for their casual sexual habits and called not only for repression of prostitution and concubinage but also for physical vengeance against those who sullied the moral purity of Christian society. Their sermons, or at least the portions of them that Rossiaud quotes, make disturbing reading.

Rossiaud's book, like Leah Lydia Otis's 1985 study of prostitution in Languedoc, draws on the rich archival resources of the south of France to supply a detailed view of popular sexual attitudes and practices in the region. The contrasts and tensions between popular sexual morality and the doctrinal teachings of the ecclesiastical elite—theologians, canonists, and preachers—remain to be investigated more adequately.

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

MARY B. CAMPBELL. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 285.

This book is the history of a literary genre, and the travel accounts that Mary B. Campbell includes were selected because of their place in that genre. In addition, because Campbell's focus is on "otherness," she has chosen works dealing with that "other" that was most known and yet most unknown, that is, Asia (including, for her purposes, America). Her study of travel literature, beginning with Egeria's Christian pilgrimage and concluding with Walter Ralegh's "secular pilgrimage in search of a secular 'Other World'" (p. 5), offers an exciting exploration not only of the development of a genre but also of the evolution of the meaning and experience of travel itself. For the medieval traveler, the subject matter that Campbell describes was central. Whether the place was Egeria's Jerusalem or Marco Polo's East, it was the world outside home that mattered. The traveler was the "anonymous 'I'" (p. 189), whose function was to be the conduit through which others "saw" beyond the boundaries of their own vision. The significant shift for Campbell is the point when the author's experience of seeing, his or her private and subjective response to the "other," takes on the central role. Then travel literature becomes a genre, demonstrating "a concern with personal, individual experience once almost entirely absent in Western literature" (p. 100). Marco Polo and William of Rubric differed from their predecessors in conveying

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journeys whose purpose was secular and tied to real time, as opposed to the timeless biblical Jerusalem of Egeria. In *Mandeville's Travels*, John Mandeville used the form of travel literature to seek imaginative truth. Mandeville's realistic fiction allowed for the creative interaction between author and "other" and provided a place for the critical dimension of private experience. With Christopher Columbus, an author's personal response finally became the focus of a travel account; Columbus was the romantic hero of his own tale, the central character whose conscious experience of the "other" provided the tale's plot. Campbell points out that Columbus's desire to control experience is revealed in his passion for naming and his relegation of the Indian inhabitants of the New World to ornamental decorations that would not, through their reality, intrude in unwelcome ways on the earthly paradise that he had created. Finally, with Walter Ralegh's record of his journey to Guiana, travel literature became a penetration of the interior, not just of a continent or country but of the traveler. In a world where all is unfamiliar, the only true knowledge possessed by the traveler is that of personal experience. Ralegh gave reality to the New World through his experience of it, and, in so doing, he made that world and its people far more alive than the world through which Columbus paraded as hero and conqueror. "He . . . give[s] us characters instead of objects, individual persons instead of monstrous races" (p. 239). Like the medieval travelers, Ralegh was seeking the legendary and desired, but the confrontation between "self" and "other" in Ralegh's *Discoverie* produces a world at once true and full of wonder. Campbell's exploration of the genre of travel literature also has the quality of wonderful truth. Her study gives to our understanding of early travel literature a density and complexity that enrich our approach to the material and underline the seriousness with which it deserves to be treated.

AMY GLASSNER GORDON
Denison University

J. R. S. PHILLIPS. *The Medieval Expansion of Europe.* (OPUS.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 303. Cloth $55.00, paper $13.95.

According to J. R. S. Phillips, historians too frequently have neglected the connections between medieval European knowledge of the wider world and the better-studied early modern expansion of Europe. To illuminate those connections, Phillips surveys the actual contacts that medieval Europeans created and maintained and assesses the integration of expanding geographical knowledge into scholarly writings and popular conceptions. He asserts that medieval expansion was an essential prelude to fifteenth-century expansion and implies that there was really only one expansion of Europe.

In an introductory chapter on antiquity and the early Middle Ages, he summarizes the views of Greek and Hellenistic geographers and indicates the extent to which the classical geographical and cosmological legacy persisted in early medieval writings. He also shows that Byzantine envoys and missionaries were still able to reach China as late as the seventh century.

From the eighth century through the tenth, Europe was isolated and threatened. By the late eleventh century, nonetheless, Western Europe was free from invasions, church reform movements had limited internal warfare, and the agricultural revolution had increased prosperity. Europe was poised to begin the medieval expansion of Europe in the form of the Crusades. The Muslims were the nearby enemies, and even before the Crusades, Iberian Christians were taking territory from Muslims in Spain, Normans were conquering Muslim Sicily, and Italian cities were raiding North African ports. The Western hostility to Islam helps to explain many of the practical efforts Europeans made to scout out the rest of the world. In hopes of finding potential allies, popes and rulers sent envoys, usually clerics, to propose alliances with various Mongol khans and ilkhans. The missionaries opened paths later followed by merchants, who brought back detailed knowledge of the spices and other luxuries of Asia. Thus, for Asia, European anti-Islamic actions coincided with an intense interest in the spice trade, whose details were presented to the West in 1340 in Pegolotti's manual of commerce.

In Africa the connection was between hostility to the Muslims and the search for gold. From the twelfth century, Genoese and Catalans traded in North African ports for products from sub-Saharan Africa, especially gold. By the late thirteenth century, Genoese, Castilians, Catalans, and Portuguese were investigating the Atlantic from the Moroccan coast southward, eventually discovering the Canaries, the Azores, and the Madeiras. During the fifteenth century they went down the African coast in search of gold, and by the end of the century they were consciously seeking a southern tip of Africa and a route to India.

The relations of Europe with America in the Middle Ages had nothing to do with the Muslims, and, in fact, Europe had almost nothing to do with America. Phillips carefully rehearses the Scandinavian activities in the North Atlantic to Iceland, Greenland, and beyond. He shows ample care and commendable skepticism in dealing with the more extreme claims made for European contact and exploration in North America before 1492.

The author of any large-scale synthesis is open to minor points of disagreement. Phillips seems more at home with intellectual than economic history. For example, trade for him is more interesting as an activity that provided knowledge for the writers of the period than as a worthy subject in its own right. That interest, perhaps, is what led him to emphasize Asia as the goal and preoccupation of medieval Europeans. For the early fifteenth-century Iberian expansion, Africa and gold were vastly more important than Asia and spices. Nonetheless, Phillips has produced a sound survey that

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amply demonstrates that European expansion had deep and complex medieval roots that sustained what grew later.

WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR.
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS. *Nomads and Crusaders, A.D. 1000–1368*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 213. $25.00.

Archibald R. Lewis, the medievalist well known for his works on European shipping and trade as well as on southern French and Catalan society, is also a veteran contributor to the study of world history; he has compared feudal practices in France, Iraq, and Japan. In this book Lewis addresses a grand, if often-discussed, issue of world history, namely, the reasons for Europe's rise to dominance in early modern times. His approach is to compare medieval Western Europe with the contemporary civilizations of the Eastern hemisphere and thereby to detect the causes for their divergent fortunes in the subsequent period.

In Eurasia-Africa of the year 1000, Lewis recognizes five separate civilizations: the East Asian, the Indic, the Islamic, the Byzantine-Russian, and the Western European. He sketches the state of each of them, strongly emphasizing the geographical, demographic, economic, technological, military, and naval factors, because he believes (p. viii) that these factors were decisive for the issue under scrutiny. Lewis argues that, although Western Europe was, by 1000, the least developed of the five civilizations, it already possessed great potential, especially in natural resources and technological inventiveness.

In the second part of his book, Lewis describes the changes that took place in the five civilizations between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. His thesis is that two forces—nomads, external to the civilizations in question, and crusaders, emerging from the westernmost of them—were the prime movers of these changes. In the eleventh century, nomads conquered substantial parts of the Muslim world and dealt blows to Byzantines and Russians, while Western Europeans exploited the ensuing weakness of Muslims and Byzantines to advance southward in the Mediterranean. In the twelfth century, balance between the civilizations was temporarily restored, but, in the following century, Western Europeans destroyed the Byzantine empire and expanded in the western Mediterranean and the Baltic, while the Mongols conquered China, subdued Russia and much of the Muslim East, and had some impact on Indic civilization. In the wake of these conquests, there arose "a Mongol–Western European codominion over civilized Eurasia" (p. 166). In the fourteenth century, the Mongol empire disintegrated, internal crises weakened Western Europe, and therefore the East Asian, Indic, and Russian civilizations were able to reassert themselves and the Islamic one to expand in various directions. After a lull of about one hundred years, Western Europe resumed its expansion, ultimately gaining mastery of both hemispheres.

Lewis's bird's-eye sketches of these civilizations at five different points in time are instructive and contain several cogent conclusions, for example, that Western European expansion was most successful when coinciding with nomadic attacks. But the interpretive scheme is not spelled out clearly enough. "Civilization," the central concept, remains undefined; the importance of political power to a civilization's vitality is not discussed, although it appears that Lewis considers it paramount; the reasons for his belief that cultural factors were less important than geography, economy, and technology are not given. Neither does Lewis assess the relative importance of Europe's internal vigor, foreshadowed already by 1000, and of the presumed weakening of the other civilizations by nomads and crusaders, to the ultimate outcome, that is, European ascendancy in modern times. He does not refer to Philip D. Curtin's path-breaking *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (1984) or to pertinent studies by historical sociologists. His presentation is occasionally marred by dubious statements: for example, Robert Guiscard and Count Roger of Sicily are referred to as "the Guiscards" (p. 97); and Frankish Palestine is said to have "remained a preserve of Moslem merchants" (p. 121). Despite these shortcomings, this book constitutes a healthy antidote to the parochialism that characterizes so much of the run-of-the-mill output on medieval history, and Lewis sets forth a thesis worthy of further elaboration.

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN. *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 492. $39.95.

Christopher Tyerman has written a wonderful book. In part he chronicles English material contributions to the Crusades, but he also explores the persistence in England of devotion to the ideals of crusading even after the great age of the Crusades had come to an end. Tyerman is less interested in what happened during the expeditions to the Holy Land or during those in Europe (although there is a great deal of information on those events in the book) than in the multiple ramifications of the expeditions on English government and politics and, especially in the latter parts of the study, in the language of crusading as a way of mobilizing people for great national or religious efforts unconnected with the terrestrial Jerusalem. Consequently (and justifiably), his is a long book. It touches on personalities, general aims in English foreign policy, the military-religious orders, political propaganda, the oppression of the Jews, taxation, and baronial politics. The book is engagingly and elegantly written and never disappoints. Although aiming at synthesis and, I think, *haute vulgarisation*, the author manages to con-

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front thorny issues in scholarship and to contribute new perspectives on them, precisely because he is looking at the *longue durée*.

Tyerman proceeds chronologically, first describing the idea of a crusade, a task that leads him into a brief treatment of the very modest English contribution to the First and Second Crusades. He follows this with a discussion of Henry II. Tyerman is perhaps not as hard on Henry as some other scholars have been, but he still regards him as a somewhat cynical and certainly manipulative character (his word is "unscrupulous" [p. 53]) when it comes to the king's commmitment to the Crusades whether before or after Thomas Becket's martyrdom. The book really takes off with the entrance of Richard the Lionhearted and the Third Crusade. The English commitment of resources was so great in the period from 1190 to 1194 (including, of course, the king's ransom) that the outflow of bullion helped temporarily slow down the great inflation of 1180–1220. And, more important, however problematic the achievement of the Third Crusade, that expedition, through the heroic image of King Richard, cemented English enthusiasm for the Crusades in the century to come, especially in the Near East but also, if to a far lesser extent, on the Continent as well.

A brief review cannot do justice to this book. For purely selfish reasons, let me stress the pages on English contributions to the early Crusade (1248–54) of Louis IX of France and the evaluation of Henry III's waffling role in the weakening of that contribution. In my view these pages constitute one of the best discussions of this episode and one of the most coherent explorations of Henry III's personality in the literature. Equally sparkling is Tyerman's discussion of the motivations of English crusaders in the thirteenth century. It would be foolish to suggest that there is a great deal new here, but the author presents received opinions with cogency and sensitivity, and he arbitrates among disputed opinions with a balance and persuasiveness that are rare in the scholarship. He gives fuller value to religious idealism and the desire for adventure as motivations than many Continental scholars do. And I believe that he is right to do so. But he is never injudicious on these matters. Tyerman is also particularly good at chronicling the erosion of the ideal of the Crusade from the later fourteenth century. It was a long and complicated process in England that he aptly characterizes in his closing pages as a return to Jerusalem "as it was in centuries before 1095, a metaphor of heaven" (p. 369).

WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN
Princeton University

EMILY ZACK TABUTEAU. *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. x, 445. $49.95.

It has long been recognized that our understanding of the Anglo-Norman world and of the legal and administrative innovations of twelfth-century England would be enhanced if we knew more about eleventh-century Norman law. Our knowledge of the law in eleventh-century Normandy has consisted largely of educated guesses based on the evidence of later, sometimes much later, sources. So it is with great expectations that one approaches Emily Zack Tabuteau's study of eleventh-century Norman property law. One is not disappointed. Tabuteau's book is the first serious study of eleventh-century Norman land law. It is a great achievement.

The book can be divided into two parts. The first part, consisting of two chapters, examines the variety of ways in which transferable interests in land were defined in Norman society. The second part, consisting of six chapters, examines the devices and rituals Normans used to make, or try to make, their land transfers effective. Because entitlements to property defined social and economic relationships, to study the types of interests in property and the social apparatus of transferring property is to study the formation of social and economic relationships. The two parts of the book are divided by an important chapter in which Tabuteau traces the development of tenurial relationships in eleventh-century Normandy and the corresponding shift in cultural and legal categories from alod and tenure to inheritance and acquisition.

Tabuteau bases her study on the close reading of all surviving eleventh-century Norman charters. For the benefit of her readers, she frequently describes in detail or quotes generously from unpublished charters. Tabuteau resists the temptation to prune her evidence for the sake of a neat, but unlivable, schema of property relationships. Rather, she keeps an attentive eye on the variety of human relationships that were mediated in a variety of ways by property transfers. That attentiveness is one reason for the value and richness of her work. The other reason is her intelligent and skeptical sensitivity to the charters as evidence. Charters are notoriously difficult documents to work with, chiefly because the reader of charters cannot be sure of interpretive assumptions. For example, is a detail mentioned because it was unusual or because the scribe was loquacious? Tabuteau's craftsmanship provides a lesson on how to read charters and how, to borrow Seamus Heaney's phrase, to glean the unsaid off the palpable.

Tabuteau's conclusions will encourage a revision of views about the framework of English feudalism. The image of a neatly hierarchical system of tenurial relationships does not appear in the evidence from eleventh-century Normandy. Tabuteau wisely refuses to conflate, and thereby confuse, lordship with tenurial relationships. Unless one keeps the two separate, one cannot understand either eleventh-century Norman law and society or the development of English law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The politics and social power of lordship and leadership were not

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expressed during the eleventh century, and were never fully expressed, in the law and economics of tenurial relationships. Tabuteau demonstrates that services owed for tenures were not as clearly defined in the eleventh century as they became in the twelfth century. The relative legal capacities of lord and man were not what they became by the thirteenth century. For example, in making gifts to churches, an eleventh-century lord needed his tenant's consent, but a tenant did not need his lord's. Henry de Bracton, a little more than a century later, thought quite otherwise. The greater rigidity of tenurial relationships and the greater power of lords may well have been results of the twin developments of the economy and of central government in the twelfth century. Scholars rethinking the legal and institutional changes of the twelfth century can now build on the solid foundation of Tabuteau's thorough, thoughtful, and well-crafted reconstruction of eleventh-century Norman property law.

JOSEPH BIANCALANA
College of Law
University of Cincinnati

GRENVILLE ASTILL and ANNIE GRANT, editors. *The Countryside of Medieval England.* New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. xi, 282. $60.00.

In this book historians, environmentalists, and archaeologists discuss the various ways that rural resources—plants, animals, fields—are exploited and managed. Each contributor, however, is well aware of the limitations of the particular kind of evidence at his or her disposal and seeks, where possible, to buttress findings from one discipline with evidence from another. Thus, Annie Grant, in an excellent article on animal resources, shows how the reports of animal remains found in castles, villages, and towns suggest widespread changes in animal husbandry in the late Middle Ages, for example, a decline in pig rearing and an increase in the slaughter of young, or at least juvenile, cattle. Those findings, however, are then clearly linked to broader economic trends such as the appearance of the butcher-grazier and the return of previously cultivated land to pasture, which made pig keeping less profitable and the raising of sheep and especially cattle for meat more attractive.

The contributors are also acutely aware of regional differences within the country. The experience of a peasant living in a champion village was quite different from that of one living in a dispersed settlement. In the village the peasant's house and garden formed part of a compact unit, and his land was scattered in strips over open fields. In areas of dispersed settlement, either upland or woodland, the house often stood alone, and the lands might not be fragmented. It is important to remember that the medieval village so ubiquitous in textbooks was merely one particular form of settlement that developed only in some areas, whereas the more dispersed types of settlement—the farm and the hamlet—were more typical of the whole country. Changes also occurred over time. Village settlements are now seen as extremely fluid; they rarely remained in the same place, shifting in response to different circumstances.

Taken as a whole, this volume provides an excellent synthesis of the most recent research in history and archaeology. Indeed, many of the citations refer to works in press. All the articles are clearly and concisely written, and unfamiliar terms are carefully explained. Both undergraduate and graduate students will undoubtedly find this book an ideal introduction to the subject. Its usefulness to experienced scholars will depend on their prior preparation. Archaeologists unfamiliar with recent historical debates will find much of interest in the articles by Richard Smith on human resources, John Langdon on agricultural equipment, and Christopher Dyer on the general use of resources. Conversely, historians already well acquainted with the published work of those authors may benefit more from the articles by James Grieg on plant resources, Paul Stamper on woods and parks, Grant on animal resources, and Grenville Astill on fields and rural settlement. In his article Astill discusses the results of recent excavations that show that there was often a clear, deep boundary between a peasant toft and the street. Furthermore, access to the toft was restricted, and each toft was separated from its neighbors by ditches and banks with hedges, by palisades, or by ditches topped by stone walls. He concludes that "the impression is that walking down the main village street it would have been difficult to see into the individual tofts for most of the banks, walls and hedges would have been at head height" (p. 53). In that way the peasant family, while remaining part of the community, was able to separate itself from it.

The book contains excellent illustrations and diagrams and a twenty-seven-page bibliography. It is clearly an important reference tool for anyone seriously interested in the medieval English countryside.

MAVIS MATE
University of Oregon

KATE MERTES. *The English Noble Household, 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule.* (Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times.) New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. 235. $24.95.

This is primarily a work of synthesis, although it includes a good deal of detail based on primary sources, many of them unpublished. It is a useful and reliable book, and it can be recommended for students as well as for those engaged in research.

In the centuries of its heyday, the noble household was a large and complex affair, embracing as many as several hundred people of various ranks and statuses and having some good measure of the administrative complexity of its model, the king's household (whence many branches of royal government had grown by

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fission and evolution). As defined and studied by Kate Mertes, noble households include the establishments of ecclesiastical nobles, bishops, and abbots. She also provides glimpses of the households of the *haute bourgeoisie* when sources enable her to add them to the picture. Mertes depicts the noble household as having had three main functions, or as having existed for three separate (if simultaneous and complementary) purposes. First, it incorporated the staff who administered the lands and finances of the nobleman and his family as well as staff who bought supplies, cooked, served, cleaned, and made the preparations for traveling (though households became more stationary as they grew, over time, in their size and complexity). Second, the household was the nerve center of an aristocrat's own courtly and political network, his mission control headquarters. Whether he was wining and dining local gentry, assigning liveries and annuities to an affinity of retainers or thugs, or plotting a coup d'état, his schemes were hatched and developed within a household setting where he was served and attended by men, perhaps neither the first nor the last of their families in such positions, who offered him council and advice. And last, the household was the focal point of those rhythms of education and socialization within which well-born children learned their manners, as it was of collective religious practices and ritual, book learning, alms giving, the fine and domestic arts, and conspicuous consumption.

Those are easy roles to delineate and assign. They were not so easy to carry out. Mertes leads us through such tricky areas as the accounting systems used to tally manorial revenues, the methods whereby the endless domestic tasks were delegated and the vast stores of supplies distributed and accounted for, and the ways in which households recruited, offered an avenue of mobility, and sometimes took care of their own over and above the lord's needs and interests. The general approach here is descriptive rather than anecdotal or analytical. References to recent publications and discussions will keep a student informed about the current study of such questions as personal relations, nurture, and the social control of servants' sexuality. This modest but thoughtful book holds its own and contributes to the larger scholarly discussion.

A few minor criticisms. There is, alas, little on women; the fault lies with the sources rather than with the author. There are more typographical errors than are acceptable in such straightforward prose. The arrangement of the bibliography by chapters diminishes its usefulness; one alphabetical list would be sufficient. On the other hand, appendix A (a list of all known household accounts) and appendix C (a graph on household size) are of special interest. A final bouquet: footnotes are footnotes, not endnotes, and the seventeen black-and-white plates are relevant and well chosen.

JOEL T. ROSENTHAL
State University of New York, Stony Brook

ANNE HUDSON. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 556. $82.00.

Anne Hudson proposes a new view of the Lollard movement as a whole; its origins, organization, ideology, and history. That she considers the terms Wycliffite and Lollard synonymous is not new, although it is the exception among scholars. To support her position she ignores what might be called the underside of Wycliffitism, that is, historical Lollardy with its eccentricities, its inconsistencies, and even what one scholar dismisses as its "heretical hash" (p. 382, n. 124).

Hudson leaves the uninformed reader with a view of Lollardy quite different from the traditional one. In her view the best minds of Oxford sired Lollardy, and educated, dedicated apostles saw it along its troubled way through the fifteenth century. I am one of those Hudson fears will "object . . . that I have disregarded the idiosyncratic or even demented views of individual heretics" (pp. 383–84).

The problem of sources proves a vexing one. Lollard writings are anonymous for the most part, undated, and beyond localization. They lack information that would help identify the occupation, education, and standing in the community of the authors. The limitations of episcopal registers might be offset by episcopal courtbooks, but only two of those survive. The absence of positive evidence leaves Hudson suggesting that the ecclesiastical authorities prosecuted few members of the upper classes because they were reluctant to "tangle with those members of society who would best know how to defend themselves" (p. 132). That may have been true before Oldcastle's revolt in 1414 but not after.

Hudson questions traditional views and offers new ones of her own. She believes John Wyclif had a larger share in the Peasant Revolt than is usually assumed. She suggests John Ball may have found encouragement for his radical views in Wyclif's sermons, and she insists Wyclif concerned himself with the activities of the Poor Priests. Both Geoffrey Chaucer and William Langland may have heard Wyclif preach. That Lollard criticism inspired Chaucer's Parson is a gratuitous assumption. Scores of reformers, ever since the eleventh century, had been pleading for just that kind of parson.

Bible translations, homilies, and broadsheets supplemented preaching in spreading Lollard beliefs and practices. The Bible, the Gospels above all, constituted the centerpiece of Lollardy. Hudson credits the Lollards with affording education major impetus through their conventicles—schools, she calls them—although conventicles were no more than single rooms in private homes where the discussion turned about the Bible, not the three Rs. Predestination and the eucharist as a simple memorial counted as the most basic Lollard beliefs, although one suspected of heresy could expect to be questioned about images and pilgrimages. Because the New Testament was the source of all law,

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there was no room for papacy and hierarchy or for the wealth and secular authority of the church, and priests were to hold themselves to preaching and be content with alms and the fruit of their own labor.

Hudson encounters growing difficulty as she carries the history of Lollardy beyond the middle of the fifteenth century. Lollard numbers apparently dwindled; their writings surely did. Hudson urges scholars to devote greater attention to Lollardy. She argues that the additional writings that are certain to surface will reveal that Wyclif and Lollardy were perhaps as responsible for English Protestantism as the mainland Reformers were.

The volume offers an extensive bibliography and an index. Were its paragraphs shorter and lengthy Latin and vernacular documents left to the footnotes, it would attract more readers.

JOSEPH DAHMUS
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P. A. JOHNSON. *Duke Richard of York, 1411–1460.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 270. $55.00.

It is impossible to write what is normally regarded as a biography about a fifteenth-century character. Intimate personal sources, such as letters and memoirs, do not exist. The historian is generally thrown back on the dubious expedient of deducing motives from actions and their results, obviously a highly fallible process. This book must be judged within such limitations.

P. A. Johnson is most successful in unraveling the details of York's estates and their administration and income, though even here the sources are far from being as complete as one could wish. The Yorkist landed inheritance was extremely complicated, and Johnson copes with its difficulties with admirable clarity. Basing his conclusions on the work of recent writers and his own independent research, he also gives a good account of York's tangled finances—both his personal finances and those involving his political and administrative arrangements with the Lancastrian government. Johnson's conclusions are interesting: that York was fortunate and exceptional in that his estates were unencumbered with the burden of dowagers, that earlier judgments that he was an incompetent landlord were unduly critical, and that in financial matters he was by no means harshly or unfairly treated by the government considering its own immense difficulties.

Johnson is at his most interesting in his discussion of York's retinue, that essential entourage of any great nobleman. The duke's position was most unusual. At the time he came of age, he did not inherit from his forebears much of a hereditary bureaucracy or council, and, when he was appointed lieutenant in Normandy, he more or less took over the retinue of the dead John, duke of Bedford, with profound effects on his future conduct and policies. Those men were tough, experienced soldiers and administrators who came to exercise a decisive influence on the much younger York, so much so that after 1445 York's criticisms of the Lancastrians were, to a great extent, because of that entrenched, highly self-interested "Norman" group and its intense anxiety to maintain profitable offices and estates in France. The duke had that group's loyalty, but during 1459–60 his senior estates servants in England cooperated for the most part with the Lancastrians, so that Edward IV, when he came to power, gave them very few rewards.

So far so good, but, possibly because of insufficient revision from its original form as a Ph.D. thesis, the book has unfortunate defects. It would, for example, be very difficult for a reader not already knowledgeable about the period to grasp the significance of some of the episodes mentioned. No one reading Johnson's account would realize the full significance of the battles of Blore Heath and Ludford. Also, to my mind, many of Johnson's opinions about and interpretations of particular events are overly speculative, that is, pressed beyond the evidence of the sources. York is given the benefit of a good many doubts, but, in spite of Johnson's efforts, he remains as enigmatic a character as ever.

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GISELLE DE NIE. *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours.* (Studies in Classical Antiquity, number 7.) Amsterdam: Rodopi; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1987. Pp. 347. Paper $85.00.

The portrait of Gregory, bishop of Tours from 573 to 594, that has emerged in modern scholarship is a contradictory and vexing one to say the least. His *Ten Books of Histories* are valued by all as an unparalleled source, written by a hard-headed, practical, ecclesiastical administrator, for the history of the Franks. But modern readers have had to work mightily to overcome what has been perceived as the fundamental incoherence of Gregory's narrative style, his muddled manner of presenting things, and, especially in the miracle stories, his credulity and naiveté. The effort has not been especially successful. In recent years Gregory's confused and jumbled narratives have been seen as a mirror image of a confused and jumbled world. Gregory's writings and, by extension, his mind in this view are products of an incoherent environment.

Giselle de Nie has reread Gregory's works with fresh eyes and has "grown" into his thought. In the process she provides us with the key to understanding Gregory, his writings, and his intellectual processes. Where others have seen incoherence, de Nie has found coherence. At the heart of her highly nuanced argument and of the "new" Gregory of Tours that her book discloses lies a sophisticated understanding of the fundamental difference between modern cognition and the thought

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processes of Gregory and his contemporaries. Modern thinking accentuates the verbal, the continuous, and the rational. De Nie convincingly demonstrates that Gregory perceived events as discontinuous and thought in terms of images and symbolic reality. This manner of thinking derived ultimately from a scripturally based view of the world and had antecedents in late antique Roman, Jewish, and Hellenistic thought. It reflects less a conveniently assumed disorder in Merovingian society than it does a deep-seated belief in parallel realities, the reality of everyday life and the more powerful, invisible stream of reality that determines all natural and human events. Unlike parallel lines, however, these two realities can and do intersect in Gregory's world. The "discontinuities" that result when divine power in some way interrupts the course of events are precisely what most interested Gregory. Rather than serving as a passive recorder of his world, Gregory instead interpreted that world by looking for the signs and symbols of the omnipresent, invisible power everywhere active in the world.

De Nie unfolds the inner logic of Gregory's thought world by investigating four themes that recur throughout his works. The coherence of discontinuity, the belief in a world whose natural processes are always being interrupted, underlies much of the *Histories*. A second theme focuses on Gregory's frequent descriptions of the wonders of nature, which, for him, served as models of the sudden transformations that were possible in his world. Gregory's descriptions of natural phenomena reveal that he was a keen observer of nature, but his "unnatural" explanations for them testify to his symbolic imagining of what he saw. Gregory's penchant for images of light and fire harken back to ancient metaphors. They also provide de Nie with the opportunity to show Gregory thinking in visual terms about what he perceived to be spiritual realities. De Nie's final view from the "many-towered window" fixes on the role of dreams and visions in Gregory's work and world. This chapter borrows appropriate insights from psychiatry and psychotherapy and from modern studies of cognition to help explain Gregory's perceptions but never to explain them away. Interestingly, it is in her discussion of the role of dreams and dream states that de Nie sees the clearest evidence for the social import of Gregory's work, for often it was through dreams and visions that Gregory and his contemporaries expressed societal needs and ideals.

A brief summary cannot do justice to a subtle and exquisitely crafted book that contains surprises on almost every page. Some readers doubtless will be struck by the role of love and affection in Gregory's world. Others will note the many sensitive readings of passages in Gregory's works, which, rendered beautifully in English by de Nie, reveal the bishop as an "unconscious poet" (p. 23). All will remark the author's ability to delineate the "reality value" of what anthropologists describe as primitive modes of thought without condescendingly concluding that Gregory and his contemporaries were naive, simplistic, or childlike.

This book opens original perspectives on late antique and early medieval thought. By showing us how to understand the thought of a Gregory of Tours, de Nie has provided us with a model that ought to be applied to other early medieval cultural figures and texts. One of the interesting questions implicit in de Nie's work extends beyond Gregory of Tours into the history of European thought in general: When and under what circumstances did the manner of thinking characterized by Gregory and the people around him give way to different cognitive modes?

JOHN J. CONTRENI
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ROGER KOHN. *Les Juifs de la France du Nord dans la second moitié du XIV^e siècle*. (Collection de la Revue des Études Juives, number 5.) Louvain, Belgium: Peeters. 1988. xli, 358. 180 F.

Most studies of French Jews in the Middle Ages concentrate on the period that ends with their banishment from the royal domain in 1306. Jews were called back by the monarchy in 1315 and in 1359 (to be expelled definitely in 1394), but, in comparison with their history in the thirteenth century, that of the fourteenth century looks pale and bereft of interest. Although documentation concerning the last thirty-five years of their stay in France is abundant and of much interest, it has lacked up to now a systematic treatment. Happily, Roger Kohn has decided to pick up the challenge. Because very little had been done in the field, the young scholar, in an effort that took years to accomplish, visited the numerous archival deposits of the north of France. Fifty-one of the most important documents that he discovered and deciphered are published in an appendix to the book (pp. 289–327). He also attempts a survey of the status of the Jews in what was then called the *langue d'oïl*.

The result is this excellent book, which is presented in three parts. The first (pp. 6–54) deals with the institutional setting and has the numerous royal *ordonnances* that survived as the basis of its evidence. The second part (pp. 57–155) is concerned with the Jews as moneylenders and offers, in particular, a quantitative analysis of their activities. Kohn follows here a scheme developed by the late American historian Richard W. Emery in his *Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century* (1959), but Kohn bases his analysis on an even larger amount of data—over three thousand items. The third part (pp. 159–285) is devoted both to an investigation of the relationship of the Jews to the surrounding society ("social isolation" is the title that Kohn gives to this part) and to the inner life of the Jewish communities and patterns of organization of their self-government. It is in the last pages of this chapter that the well-known controversy over the right to appoint rabbis in France is discussed (pp. 234–40). As for the

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intellectual life of the Jews in the pre-expulsion period, Kohn was able to benefit from his participation in Colette Sirat's seminar on Hebrew paleography, and he provides us with a minute discussion of the ten codices known to have been copied then in France (pp. 217–28).

The most successful part of Kohn's study is the second one concerning the moneylending of the Jews of Dijon. For many major issues, the documentation does not provide more than glimpses, but here the comprehensive information permits us to specify the relationship between the rhythm of the agricultural calendar and the activity of the Jews and even—a quite unexplored subject—the pattern of their activities in the days of the week. Kohn was also fortunate to discover a ten-page register that had a description of all pawns found at the home of a Jewish pawnbroker, Joseph of Saint Mihiel (pp. 137–39), enabling us to understand this issue, otherwise so inaccessible from our regular documentation.

Dijon also had at that time a colony of Lombards, that is, Italian moneylenders (pp. 28–29, 68); it would have been interesting to know what part of the market was dominated by them and to what extent they collaborated with the Jews of the city. But this crucial issue will have to be discussed in a future study. Now that Kohn's book is in our hands one hopes that a parallel study will be conducted in the archives of the south of France. We might then better understand Jewish institutions such as that responsible for taxation (pp. 142–55) or the office of the *conservateur* of their privileges (pp. 21–22), an office that we can see in this book but that we still do not fully comprehend. Kohn's magnificent study encourages young scholars to engage in such an endeavor.

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C. J. WICKHAM. *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Appennines in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxiii, 427. $79.00.

C. J. Wickham investigates the medieval world before the appearance of *castelli* and *signorie*. He compares two zones of the Tuscan Apennines, the Garfagnana north of Lucca and the Casentino north of Arezzo, and thereby modifies Fernand Braudel's notion of a "mountain civilization" in the Mediterranean basin. According to Wickham, a pastoral economy supplemented by chestnuts, culturally removed from civic norms and the profit orientation of the plains, did not exist timelessly in the mountains of Tuscany; rather, such a world began to develop only by the end of the thirteenth century. He finds little evidence of transhumance before the later Middle Ages and concludes that the mountains were merely a poorer version of social realities found in the plains.

In both areas, cities dominated the hinterlands, and the local aristocracies failed to gain significant power holds. Unlike in the north of Italy or France, *signorie* remained weak. By the end of the twelfth century, landownership varied little from what it had been in the Carolingian period. Unlike in the plains, small- and medium-scale cultivation persisted. In both mountain areas, social structure was flattened, making it more difficult there than near the cities to distinguish local elites from other inhabitants. In the Casentino, Wickham argues, the establishment of castles (*incastellamento*) did not form new settlements or even stimulate demographic growth. Instead, the appearance of castles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries arose largely from the symbolic needs of the petty aristocracy to distinguish itself from other middling landowners.

Despite the laconic character of the documents (for the most part, formulaic land transactions), Wickham's study is filled with new hypotheses and conclusions. He finds that monasteries (at least in the Casentino) did not compete for gifts within any given village; rather, particular strata within certain villages gave entirely to one monastery. Those patterns of giving, moreover, followed cycles that are perplexing and do not correspond clearly to waves of religious revival or decadence. Instead, Wickham argues that they reflect conflict within the villages among groups jockeying for "spiritual patronage" (p. 214). The evidence for Wickham's map of factional conflict, however, is scanty, and it is difficult to follow him from witness lists and land transactions to the conclusion that this evidence serves as "a litmus test for the social stratifications and mutual antagonisms of an entire society" (p. 265). More convincing are conclusions derived from comparisons drawn within each of the mountain regions. Neither the Garfagnana nor the Casentino presents a monolithic social reality. Significant differences correspond more with political than with topographical boundaries. In the Garfagnana mountains north of the political and ecclesiastical boundaries of Lucca (the Lunese) and in those parts of the Casentino that fell within the bishopric of Fiesole, cities played a weak role in shaping social and political relations. As a consequence, local aristocracies and *signorie* flourished.

Those stimulating conclusions, however, do not emerge from the book's overarching framework comparing the Garfagnana and the Casentino. That comparison is plagued by documentary problems. The documents for the Garfagnana run from the eighth century until the year 1000. They do not resume until the thirteenth century (after the crucial period of Wickham's comparison). The Aretine documents, on the other hand, only begin after the year 1000. The comparison, furthermore, is problematic because the Lucchese documents emanate from the city (the bishop), whereas those for the Casentino come from registers kept by the local monasteries found in the mountains themselves—Camaldoli, Prataglia, Sturmi. The sources of the documents are especially troublesome because one of the major themes of Wickham's comparison, as the title states, concerns the relationship between the city and the mountains. In his preface Wickham admits those problems frankly but shrugs his

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shoulders (p. 12): "with evidence like this what else can we do?"

Because none of the central conclusions of this fascinating book actually emerge from the comparison of the two mountain regions, the answer to Wickham's question seems obvious: compare other things. First, instead of making the twelfth through fourteenth centuries merely "the coda" (p. 8) of his book, Wickham might have reinforced his temporal conclusions with a more rigorous comparison of the earlier documents from either region with transactions from the later period, which are abundant for both areas. Second, some of his most exciting suggestions come from comparing the mountains with the plains, so why not a systematic study of transactions from the mountains and plains of either region? Wickham's analysis of opaque and formulaic sources and his vast survey of secondary works make this book a valuable contribution to Italian medieval studies. But, because of its "crabwise" (p. 12) design and its needlessly contorted organization, the reader will not find Wickham's book easy going.

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CHARLES B. MCCLENDON. *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages.* (Yale Publications in the History of Art, number 36.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 197; 138 plates. $35.00.

In this monograph on the Benedictine abbey of Farfa, one of the more important monasteries of central Italy during the Middle Ages, Charles B. McClendon describes and interprets the physical remains of the medieval church. After describing various campaigns in the building's construction, he assesses the changing position of the Farfa abbey church in the development of Western medieval architecture.

McClendon bases his account on a fresh interpretation of documents already known (their Latin texts are reprinted on pp. 125–42) and especially on excavations sponsored jointly by the British School at Rome and Yale University between 1978 and 1983, a project for which McClendon served as codirector. Pending the final publication of reports of those excavations (which are in preparation), this book provides a tentative assessment of the results and of the overall position of the abbey church in medieval architecture.

In the first three chapters, McClendon provides a critical summary of the historical and archaeological information on which the study is based. In the next three chapters, he orders the material chronologically in a comparative study of buildings representative of each period from the eighth to the eleventh century. The concerns of the monograph are far more architectural than archaeological or liturgical, and overall the approach is comparative and analytic.

The preserved remains of the medieval church are attributed to the Carolingian and the early Romanesque periods. Although a monastic community was established at Farfa at the end of the seventh century, the earliest extant remains of the medieval church suggest an apsidal box-church of modest dimensions and of the common type of the late eighth century. Later Abbot Sichardus (ca. 830–42) of Farfa sponsored a significant remodeling of the church by adding an *oratorium* to the west end of the church. The *oratorium* comprised a continuous transept, semicircular apse, and annular crypt that sheltered relics brought from Rome by Pope Gregory IV (827–44). Sichardus also remodeled the western atrium that was used for monastic burials *ad sanctos*, a custom recorded elsewhere. McClendon quite correctly connects those changes generally to the Carolingian revival of Constantinian Rome on both sides of the Alps and specifically to the church of Old Saint Peter's at Rome.

The author convincingly ascribes the next principal campaign of building activity to the first half of the eleventh century, when the east end of the abbey church was redesigned in the form of a square presbytery flanked by twin bell towers surmounting groin-vaulted side chambers. In contrast to earlier opinion, McClendon believes that the preserved bell tower at the site belongs to that campaign. Those refurbishings are said to have been shaped by architectural currents in Burgundy, the Rhineland (especially at Trier), and the upper Lorraine as well as by liturgical reform issuing from Trier and, to a lesser extent, from Cluny. The postulated Burgundian connection is supported mainly by the Cluniac reform at Farfa before 1039 under Abbot Hugo. The abbot was then in charge of more than five hundred monks and enjoyed ties with, and probably the patronage of, the Holy Roman Emperor, which strengthens the author's case for German influence. McClendon wisely refrains from arguing that the Romanesque planning of the abbey church was directly influenced by the liturgy. The design of the church is surely far more a derivative of diverse formal sources than a manifestation of pioneering early Romanesque planning. Finally, additional alterations of much lesser consequence occurred before a new abbey church was erected at right angles to the medieval church, destroying its middle section, at the end of the fifteenth century.

The clearly drawn plans and reconstruction studies and the high-quality illustrations make it easy to follow McClendon's arguments. He supports his findings with a wealth of architectural comparisons and bibliographic material that demonstrate he is highly conversant with early medieval architecture.

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MODERN EUROPE

IOAN P. COULIANO. *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance.* Translated by MARGARET COOK. Foreword by MIRCEA

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ELIADE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. xxi, 264. Cloth $34.95, paper $13.95.

Ioan Couliano's book on phantasms and their magical use by such Renaissance philosophers as Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno promises to be an exciting and productive study. Beginning with a history of the phantasmic pneuma in classical times, Couliano proceeds to the Renaissance where he contrasts the timid use of phantasy-magic by Ficino with the "dangerous liaisons" (p. 58) of Bruno. Couliano focuses on Bruno's *De magia* and *De vinculis in genere* to argue that Bruno was the first "great manipulator" of the early modern period (pp. 85, 89). His argument about Bruno is quite convincing in many ways, although I believe that Couliano stretches things when he equates Bruno with modern-day manipulators of minds in the psychiatric profession, those who practice the modern magic of "general psychosociology," such as Jacques Lacan (p. 103).

Bruno and his magic are not the total focus of this book; rather, they are one of two. The other focus is the censorship of the imagination (phantasy, magic) by the Reformation. The original title of this book was *Eros et magie à la Renaissance, 1484*. This date, missing in the American title, is of the utmost importance to Couliano and points to some of the dangers of the book. It is the putative date, according to Rosicrucian manifestoes, of the death of Christian Rosenkreuz; the date of Luther's birth, according to Philipp Melanchthon who, though knowing better, wanted to follow the predictions of Johannes Lichtenberger about the birth of a "little prophet"; the astrological dating of the commencement of syphilis; and the date of the papal bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, which "signaled" (p. 190) the witch hunt of the seventeenth century. All of these events and pseudo-events are part of the mélange that, according to Couliano, marks the beginning of the censorship of the Renaissance imagination. Couliano caps them off with a chapter on Christopher Marlowe and his supposed influence on Calderón de la Barca interlaced with a discussion of Spanish suppression of the human body and female breasts. Voluptuousness, he says, became a sign of witches, not, as in the Renaissance, of good women.

These arguments appear tendentious. This becomes all the more the case when, for example, a German thesis concerning the possibility of the non-English-speaking Calderón seeing and understanding a Marlowe play in the Netherlands is transformed into an "undoubted" fact (p. 217); when erotic magic is labeled a form of autism; and when the Renaissance imagination is equated with the pleasure principle, and free will (the religious fervor of the Reformation) becomes the reality principle (p. 221). The author concludes, in the last two pages, with a fevered call for a "new Renaissance" to re-create the suppressed imagination that has been lost since the series of events heralded in 1484. Supposedly the new "old" Renaissance phantasmagoric "science" would replace the sterile science that endangers human life and happiness. What started out as an interesting book becomes a sometimes silly *oeuvre engagé*.

Some final points: Bruno left London in the fall of 1585, not 1583 (p. 59); Father Mersenne should be placed in the seventeenth century, not the sixteenth (p. 61); Bruno was in the Dominican convent (San Domenico) in Naples, not Nola (p. 200); Couliano cites Sheila Ffolliott (p. 239, n. 82). Ms. ffolliott prefers not to use a capital letter in her last name.

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JOHN F. D'AMICO†. *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 310. $38.00.

Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) was a paragon among Renaissance editors. He applied humanist ideals and practices to writing the most excellent historical scholarship of the era. This volume argues cogently for the dependence of his success on the alliance of textual criticism with history. After outlining the development of textual criticism in the Renaissance, John F. D'Amico introduces Beatus as a novice scholar in the context of German humanism. His textual-critical method emerges in his annotations to Pliny; in seriously confronting the nature of manuscript evidence, they identify, with scrupulous industry, sources of textual corruption and develop a method for emendation. Beatus substituted conjecture with reliance on manuscript, the sense of the author with his words. Corrupt passages were published intact, their defects explicated, and editorial conjectures supplied separately. Priority was accorded the ancient rather than the modern reading, even when corrupt. A paleographical technique was ventured. Although his procedure was faulty, Beatus believed it a pedagogical method and a new one.

With maturation his textual criticism ushered him into historical criticism. Textual criticism was already historical: in understanding the temporal process of manuscript corruption and in positing a fundamental text for reconstruction. Knowledge of ancient and medieval civilizations was necessary for emendation. D'Amico provides a partial investigation of Beatus's ecclesiastical and secular histories by extracting his thought from his technique and proposes a study devoted solely to Beatus as a historian. Beatus's editions of Tertullian included capsular histories of controversial themes, essayed to discover precedent or justification for accepting or rejecting medieval church teaching. Beatus displayed a sensitivity to the development of doctrine and custom in their cultural context that diverged from the rigorous polemicism of other reformers. As a secular historian, he marshaled textual criticism to establish the history of Germany on a documentary basis. Early German humanism was dom-

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inated by moral and patriotic ideals centered on the exemplary use of history and on a foreign and universal model of Roman imperialism. The unavailability and unreliability of primary sources were compounded by forgeries. Beatus secured an accurate account by his textual-critical method and so surpassed moral-stylistic canons of historiography and Reformation ideology. *Res Germanicae* imitated his editorial scholarship in its consultation with varied sources, receptivity to new ideas, care in proffering opinions, and provision of information necessary for judgment. Its treatment was exhaustive, complex in narrative but solid in method.

Yet Beatus secured successors only among French historians of the latter half of the sixteenth century. D'Amico's comparison of Beatus's work with Erasmus's use of history as moral-stylistic, from which Beatus departed intellectually (pp. 144–48), is a caricature, however. History was classically rhetoric, not grammar; arguably, humanist historical consciousness is more plausibly and reliably developed in rhetoric than in philology. Erasmus in his treatises, if not in his texts, achieved an important historical statement. Consider his profound and daring understanding of the historicity of the church, inherent in his deliberative rhetoric and epistemological skepticism and patent in his argumentation from the principle of propriety and the topic of times (see my *Rhetoric and Reform: Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther* [1983], esp., pp. 39–41, 107–110, 158). The norm of textual criticism for evaluating Beatus's superiority to all other humanists seems too restrictive, possibly mistaken.

This is a most worthwhile, studious analysis of an eminent, but neglected, editor and historian. It convincingly demonstrates the gradual, sporadic, but determined and rational, development of a critical historical method. It reveals a mental process toward authenticity and integrity as interesting in its failures as in its successes. D'Amico's book must be firmly recommended as a standard contribution to the history of the discipline.

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PAUL BARBER. *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 236. $25.00.

The author of this meticulously researched book attempts to explain widespread European folkloric concepts about malevolent revenants by analyzing what Europeans experienced of the natural process of decomposition of corpses. Entering the laboratory of modern forensic medicine, he offers expert description of pathological realities of decay during the postmortem transformation of dead bodies. There are, as he claims, facts behind folkloric interpretations of death-related folk beliefs, in practices, customs, rituals, legends, and tales of magic.

The book takes a welcome departure from the sensation-mongering, Dracula-oriented popular literature on the shelves of occult bookstores. Literary authors created the blood-sucking gentleman vampire, and the Victorian formulation by Bram Stoker keeps its steady attraction to this day through twentieth-century cinematographic updates and feeds the persistence of a modern urban folk legend through headline-worthy tabloid variants. Paul Barber's approach to vampirism is unique and readable, and his treatment of the data is scholarly and analytical.

Dealing with the dangerous undead of folklore, however, Barber expands his search for traces of vampirism to include more general data on belief and practices surrounding death and burial in Europe. At the same time, he necessarily limits his analysis to classical vampire folklore where it thrived and was widely reported from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries: peasant settlements of Slavs, Greeks, Gypsies, Romanians, and Germans in southern and Eastern Europe. But presenting evidence that fear of revenants and customary measures to "lay the dead" are widespread all over Europe and beyond does not strengthen the case of the pervasiveness of vampirist interpretations of decomposition. Barber establishes a relationship between fact (observed reality) and folklore (fiction) in which folklore takes a beating, appearing as erroneous interpretation of observation by virtue of ignorance. Folklore is "put through a series of cognitive filters, so that a narrated event, however 'real,' may end up in later retellings with little or no resemblance to what we think of as reality" (p. 195). Observed reality, according to Barber, transforms into the fantasy figure of the vampire during the course of the folklorization process. He claims that a European peasant, "finding a corpse, was likely to conclude that it was 'doing' something rather than that things were happening to it" (p. 165). But why? Is not this scholarly interpretation somewhat biased? The reality that folklore usually reflects is not pedestrian but inclusive of a more general validity and meaning.

And where did European peasants "find" corpses and how did they jump to such erroneous conclusions? Granted, the hastily dug, shallow graves of plague, battle, and murder victims were easily uncovered and the victims devoured by carnivorous animals. The corpses may also have resembled the descriptions of vampires because of natural causes, for example, blood on their mouths, movement, bloating, stench, and sound. But European peasants (or anyone else in Christian Europe) usually did not see putrefying corpses. Much more often the body on the bier is the last image preserved of a departed family member. Photographs on monuments, in memorials, and in homes keep the body image alive as long as those who knew the dead survive and cultivate the monument in the cemetery, the transitional resting place. This critical period of relationship between the living and the dead is identical with the one in which decomposition is completed. Christian theology and folklore project a happy reunion in heaven, a promise of immortality.

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Furthermore, both canonic and folk religion is ambiguous about the ephemeralness of the body and the eternity of the soul. Folklore includes as many revenants who appear in their original earthly shapes as it does those who return as shades, sounds, inanimate objects, and animals, and the notions of heaven also envision the dead in the prime of life. Contrary to Barber's interpretation, which features revenants as nightmares and threats to the living, many restless haunts are benign and welcome. They are earthbound by a variety of obligations and concerns—nurturing orphans, for example, and helping, warning, and advising loved ones.

If there is a connection between decomposition and folkloric interpretation of the disposition of the dead, it must be more complex and indirect than Barber would like us to believe. Humans as builders of culture are mortals, aware of the fragility of life and the uncertainty of the hereafter. Therefore, it is no wonder that the concern of dying precipitates more cultural expressions—folkloric or other—than any other event in life. This concern is complex and emerges in ambiguous forms, including the malevolent vampire and revenant discussed in absorbing detail by Barber. We, however, not only fear the return of the person who was once like us and who became a supernatural entity but also hope that the dead can return, because it means that *non omnis moriar*: we will also return to life and live forever after our death.

LINDA DEGH
Indiana University, Bloomington

M. L. BUSH. *The European Nobility*. Volume 2, *Rich Noble, Poor Noble*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. vi, 234. $55.00.

M. L. Bush has written a very welcome synthesis of the European nobility from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This is the second volume of a projected trilogy. The first volume, published in 1983, treated the juridical privileges of the nobility; the third will treat noble power. This volume examines the social types qualified as nobles to enjoy privileges (p. vii). Although the title captures one of the main themes, it does an injustice to the scope and comprehensiveness of Bush's achievement, not only in time (six centuries) and space (England to Russia, Sweden to Sicily) but also in the selection of historical issues that he develops comparatively. Writing with remarkable lucidity, precision, and economy and drawing on a very large secondary literature, Bush marshals his national nobilities topically so that comparisons are clear each step of the way.

Bush begins with the relative size of the nobilities. They ranged from 0.5 percent of the population of Russia in 1744 to 10.2 percent of the population of Castille in 1591, with 1.5 percent representing an intermediate European rate characteristic of France, Prussia, Austria, Savoy, and Scotland through most of the Old Regime. Bush then turns to the structure of his nobilities based on wealth and status as well as on formal rank and examines the internal cohesion and tensions in each national nobility. His two largest sections probe the "mutability of membership" (chap. 4), that is, accessibility and replacement as well as denoblement, abdication, biological failure, and "conduct and wealth" (chap. 5), where he contrasts behavior, especially economic behavior, of rich, middling, and poor nobles. Bush's final section treats urban and rural habitats with special emphasis on the increasing pulling power of the state capitals, which brought old and new nobles into proximity without leading to *embourgeoisement* of the nobles of pedigree and wealth. Preindustrial cities, Bush reminds us, did not threaten traditional and proper noble conduct (p. 169).

The comparative openness of the nobility to newcomers was determined, for the most part, either by the availability of landed estates (high in Poland and Hungary, variable in England and Hapsburg Spain) or by the number of ennobling offices sold or granted by the monarchical state (high in France and Russia, relatively low in Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Bourbon Spain, and Venice). Avenues to nobility were not constant, of course. The great surge of commoners into the nobility occurred almost everywhere in the sixteenth century, an injection of new blood that was essential to the survival of the nobles. Countervailing forces threatening numerical diminution were always present, including emigration, denoblement (verification of titles by the state was not ineffective), and, especially, biological failure. Bush calculates the rate of family extinction for the entire period at about 50 percent each century (p. 97). "A constant dilemma for noble families was whether to insure dynastic continuity through high procreativity or to preserve family wealth by having few offspring" (p. 99).

A majority of nobles were poor. Cadet branches of old families—deprived of any large share of the family inheritance, lacking opportunity to invest in old or new forms of capital wealth, or cut off from royal largesse and the urban networks of power, influence, and good marriages—swelled the ranks of poor nobles, those legions of rustics, landless soldiers, and threadbare urban rentiers. The numbers of poor nobles were prodigious in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Sicily, Spain, and France, almost everywhere except England. Clinging to their privileges, the poor nobles could not maintain the noble code of behavior that mandated rentier landownership, dual residence in townhouse and château, conspicuous consumption, and avoidance of trade.

In retrospect one is struck by the longevity of Europe's nobilities and their common values and behavior. Only in the last hundred years, concludes Bush, did they begin to abandon their traditional life styles and codes of conduct (p. 152). *Homo economicus* finally

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triumphed over *homo hierarchicus* and assured noble decline from within.

ROBERT FORSTER
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BONNIE G. SMITH. *Changing Lives: Women in European History since 1700*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1989. Pp. vii, 560.

It is an appropriate time for synthetic treatments of women's history to be appearing, and a number have been published in the last two years. The field of American women's history is somewhat further along than the field of European women's history in terms of synthetic work, but the European field is rich in specialized articles and books, documentary collections, and compilations of original essays and published articles. Of the few comprehensive studies of European women, Bonnie G. Smith's is clearly the best.

Firmly grounded in the political and intellectual history of Europe since 1700, this analysis of women's experience is extraordinary both for its breadth and for its coherence. While dealing with the trends of women's lives over time, Smith does not lose sight of the individual women who made a difference or who left testimonies of their experiences. Sprinkled throughout the text are brief portraits of individual women, such as the artist Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun or the Russian socialist Alexandra Kollontai, which are highly effective. When Smith mentions individual women as illustrations of a general trend, however, this can interrupt the narrative, which occurs on page 200 in a single paragraph that names Louise Aston, George Sand, Mathilde Anneke, George Eliot, Cristina Belgioioso, Daniel Stern, Anna Mozzoni, and Hortense Allart (with their dates of birth and death). But Smith generally succeeds in maintaining a balance between the portraits of notable women and the patterns of unnamed women's lives.

Rather than treating women's history as a world apart, Smith has chosen to integrate women into European history. She is particularly effective in making clear the significance of women's contributions to intellectual and literary trends. But this book is not solely a history of the elite. Several well-chosen graphs, tables, and maps help to make clear broader patterns in the changing lives of working women, and sections are laid out to assist a student in understanding the general themes of political and social history of which women's experience was a part.

The text is well organized for use in European history courses as well as in courses specifically on the history of women. The layout includes a variety of wonderful illustrations, many of which could serve on their own as the basis for discussion about the changing images of women. Throughout the text there are excerpts from primary sources, most of them written by women. Although some of the excerpts are not entirely successful and their choice seems odd, others are striking, such as the testimony of the English working-class woman who at thirty-two was already the mother of seven children and who stretched the family budget to cover essential expenses in spite of the fact that her husband claimed 20 percent of his meager wages for pocket money (p. 295). A Viennese woman's account of food queues during World War II is compelling evidence of the problems war imposes on women. Other excerpts need fuller commentary by Smith to provide a context in which they might be read; for example, the account of a married woman in Berlin in 1930 whose double workday is very evident as she describes cleaning and cooking at home and working in a weaving factory six and a half days each week (pp. 424–25). The account is suffused by contentment with her "double burden," yet this woman was also proud of her own and her husband's involvement in attempting to change their society through the husband's union and the German Social Democratic party.

Any reviewer could undoubtedly find minor problems with the book. I would request a more detailed index: this one does not include an entry for divorce, for example, although marriage reform is treated in several places in the text. There is also no reference to works by or about Maria Montessori, the first Italian women to earn a medical degree, in the chapter that describes her work and includes a photograph of her. But, on balance, one has to appreciate the extensive treatment of Southern and Eastern European women's history, which has been less accessible to American students than the history of women in England and France. Smith's bibliography and footnotes are a treasure in themselves in that they provide students with the means to pursue further research in women's history. This book is a fine work of synthesis and will be a valuable tool for spreading the word that women's history has come of age.

THERESA MCBRIDE
Holy Cross College

MARVIN B. BECKER. *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300–1600*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 214. $27.50.

Marvin B. Becker has long been known for his stimulating and speculative studies of political and cultural life in Florence from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. His new book is considerably more ambitious, though rather less so than the title suggests. It is a comparative study of Tuscany and England from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. In it, Becker focuses on cultural differences between the two regions and on what he calls a "shift in cultural forms and values" or, just a little more precisely, the "tilt towards civility." His method, insofar as he has one, is to focus on changes in vocabulary in the manner of the study of key words by Raymond Williams. Becker's book contains some interesting, if disjointed, discussion of concepts such as anachronism, conversation, policy,

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courtesy, *digrossare*, *onestade*, patience, and so on, unfortunately without adequate references in the notes. Becker also quotes frequently from literary texts, such as works by Castiglione, Dante, Jonson, Petrarch, and Shakespeare. It is not easy, however, for readers to discover what is happening, where the author is going, or why certain passages are being quoted or certain pieces of information given. The author flits from city to city, from century to century, from topic to topic. His book is allusive, incoherent, and poorly written to the point of unintelligibility. It is packed with clumsy neologisms and mixed metaphors, one sentence tumbling after another in apparent disorder.

The pity of it is that there seem to be some interesting arguments struggling to get out. For example, Becker's contrast between "tyrannical" societies based on kinship and "civil" societies based on patronage would have made an interesting observation in the margin of Norbert Elias's work on civilization, which is never cited, if only Becker had produced arguments as well as assertions. I cannot understand how the copy editors of a university press could possibly have accepted this chaotic draft for publication and not sent it back for rewriting.

PETER BURKE
Emmanuel College, Cambridge

JAMES A. PARENTE, JR. *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands, 1500–1680*. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, number 39.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1987. Pp. x, 240. $48.00.

Although his book is a literary study of Dutch and German theater (both Latin and vernacular) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, James A. Parente, Jr., is sensitive to cultural history and provides a fresh perspective on the way in which humanistic thought and the contending ideas of the Reformation and Counter Reformation found expression on the stage. Most historians are vaguely aware that, both in the schools and in the secular theater of the period, an active dramatic literature flourished, expressing pedagogical, ethical, and religious goals. Most historians dimly know that the schools of the Society of Jesus provided an important venue for dramatic presentations. But as Parente candidly admits, that dramatic literature is little known among either literary or historical scholars—much less known than the Passion plays and miracle plays of the late Middle Ages. Some of the authors discussed here are by no means obscure. Hugo Grotius is famous but not for his plays. Joost van den Vondel was a major Dutch author of the seventeenth century, known especially for his dramatic writings, but he has been more revered than read. Andreas Gryphius stands out as the brightest figure in German baroque literature, but he and his whole age tend to be overlooked by modern readers. And those are the stellar figures in Parente's book. Otherwise, aside from a few of the humanists and theologians, the authors discussed are very obscure indeed. This is one book that does not make the reader envy the author the experience of working through the sources.

Parente has nevertheless distilled much of value from the theatrical texts and from the classical, humanist, and theological works that influenced them. This book provides fresh insight into such major themes as the assimilation of classical drama into Western culture, the tension (both recognized and unconscious) between Christian and classical elements in the thought of the period, and the differing ways in which Catholic and Protestant intellectuals dealt with the problems of dramatic composition. Although he discusses a great many authors, Parente gives clarity and direction to his book by focusing attention on the two major authors of religious dramas in the period, Vondel and Gryphius. One overriding thesis, insistently stated and restated, is that the dramatic works of the mid-seventeenth century are direct heirs (though considerably altered) of the religious plays written and produced during the sixteenth century. Parente finds that the strong influence of Aristotelian dramatic theory represented a significant internalization and transformation of classical principles rather than an external and mechanical replication of classical rules. He also argues that the differing theological commitments of Protestants and Catholics significantly affected the way in which they conceived and portrayed religious themes on the stage. And he finds that, despite the confessional difference, religious plays (not all religious plays, of course) passed with surprising frequency across the confessional barriers so that religious dramas by Protestant authors might be staged in Jesuit schools and works by Catholic authors might appear in strongly Protestant communities.

One contention that Parente presents in this erudite and useful book, however, raises serious doubts. Parente believes that the Protestant doctrine of the depravity of human nature and humanity's total dependence on grace for righteousness is inconsistent with the effort of Protestant schoolmasters to use the theater as a device for inculcating sound morality. Neither Lutheran nor Calvinist leaders thought that education, including moral indoctrination through school drama, was inconsistent with belief in humanity's depravity and helplessness before God. Any reader of Martin Luther's *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, for example, should not only know that but should understand why it was so.

CHARLES G. NAUERT, JR.
University of Missouri, Columbia

MIRIAM J. LEVY. *Governance and Grievance: Habsburg Policy and Italian Tyrol in the Eighteenth Century*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 231. $17.50.

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The results of an enormous amount of research in the archives of Vienna, Innsbruck, Rovereto, and Trent, as well as in published primary sources and secondary works in German, Italian, and English, are summarized in this relatively brief monograph. The emphasis is on the grievances presented by the inhabitants of the Italian Tyrol at the diet that Leopold II convoked in Innsbruck in 1790 and the way in which Leopold dealt with them. Miriam J. Levy has deftly interwoven her discussion of these grievances with those of the German inhabitants of the Tyrol as well as with those of other nationalities at diets convoked by Leopold in other areas of his far-flung empire.

The main complaints of the Italian Tyroleans involved the rescission of changes that Joseph II had made in the administration of justice, the allocation of an equitable number of seats in the diet, the guarantee of the prerogative to bring Italian wines freely into the German areas of the Tyrol, the recognition of the right of the Italians to use their own language in their schools and in the courts, and the abolition of the law enabling daughters to inherit property of which they would lose control if they married foreign husbands.

Employing so-called scientific methods to obtain useful information (scientific in the 1790s but certainly not in the 1980s), Leopold II laid the groundwork for the 1790 meeting of the Tyrol diet, whose functions, like those of the diets in the other lands in the monarchy, were to be limited to advising the emperor and to assenting to policies he decided on after listening to the diet's grievances. As was the case in other parts of his polyglot empire, the emperor proved to be adept in pitting the conflicting demands of different national groups against each other and in pursuing the oft-mentioned Habsburg tactic of divide and rule. In the Tyrol he sided in nearly every instance with the Italians against the Germans, his main opponents.

Leopold "preferred to work with and through the Estates even if they did not readily comply with his wishes." Admirable as this policy may seem, his emphasis on the estates "strengthened the particularistic tendencies of his peoples" (p. 140). Leopold's son Francis II was, as the author points out, "a superb constitutional monarch, much closer to his father than to his grandfather and uncle in dealing with the Estates and lands" (p. 140). He abandoned "centuries-old economic controls in favor of a market-oriented agriculture and economy" (p. 141).

The very fact that present-day reviewers will probably not seriously challenge such assessments of Emperor Francis's policies and practices shows how greatly the opinions of scholars have changed during the past half-century in regard to early nineteenth-century monarchs and political leaders. When I failed to criticize some of Emperor Francis's social and economic practices in the Italian provinces of the monarchy in a paper that I read at a historical association meeting fifty years ago, the critic of the paper was shocked. She insisted that Francis had to be a wicked, evil man because he outlived four wives. In an age after we had just won "a war to make the world safe for democracy," it was fashionable to castigate Emperor Francis and Metternich as ossified, reactionary opponents of the democratic aspirations of mankind. I am in full agreement with Levy when she writes: "The view of Francis as a ruler unwilling to innovate clearly must be reexamined" (p. 141). Levy has demonstrated a willingness to depart from old clichés, hoary with age, in evaluating the accomplishments of Leopold II. Let us hope that she will continue her fruitful investigations well into the reign of his son.

R. JOHN RATH
Rice University

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ. *The Twilight of French Eastern Alliances, 1926–1936: French-Czechoslovak-Polish Relations from Locarno to the Remilitarization of the Rhineland.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 537. $55.00.

Although France was one of the victors in World War I, France's overall international position deteriorated significantly after 1914. It lost its most formidable continental ally, Russia, which was now a threat in both domestic and foreign affairs; it was unable to secure firm commitments from its wartime allies, Britain and the United States, to guarantee French security and enforce the terms of the peace treaties obtained at the cost of so much blood and treasure; France itself was exhausted by the catastrophic four-year drain on its human and economic resources. In its efforts to build up an alternative security system, France sought and obtained alliances with the two new states of East Central Europe, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The origin and early history of those alliances was the subject of Piotr S. Wandycz's pathbreaking book, *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1919–1925: French-Czechoslovak-Polish Relations from the Paris Peace Conference to Locarno* (1962). The present volume is the sad sequel to that work and carries the story to Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland, which ended all possibility for France to render effective aid to its eastern allies and therewith destroyed the security system built around them.

Wandycz has once again drawn on his impressive linguistic skills for research in major European archives, including what is left of those of Poland and Czechoslovakia; he has worked through the immense document collections and other sources now available in printed form; and he has consulted all significant monographs dealing with this period. Altogether this is a monumental work of scholarship, fair-minded and judicious, its interpretations remarkably restrained considering the temptation the author must have felt to express fury and indignation over the selfishness and short-sightedness of so many of the leaders of the countries involved.

The only serious criticism that can be made about this book is a product of its strength. Its overwhelming detail and meticulous examination of the subtleties of

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every situation will be daunting to the general reader and may prove confusing to specialists. Wandycz, well aware of this difficulty, explains that his attention to detail was inspired by the French proverb "truth lies in the nuances." An excess of nuance, however, frequently obscures whatever truth the author is seeking to bring to light and often makes it difficult to perceive the crucial issues. Even in the useful surveys that conclude every major section of this book, these issues do not seem to me to be identified with sufficient clarity.

Many of the central themes of this book were set forth in Wandycz's earlier work, which exposed critical weaknesses within the French alliance system. Czechoslovakia and Poland differed with regard to postwar international organization, their differences exacerbated by a vicious territorial dispute over Teschen (Cieszyn, Těšín), and the French often failed to understand those differences and failed signally to resolve them. French policy meanwhile was hobbled by a desire not to alienate Britain and to secure a renewal of commitments from that country, by hopes of reconstituting the Russian alliance, and by Aristide Briand's vision of reconciliation with Germany.

Overall, Wandycz's book is a damning indictment of the political, military, and economic policies of the three allies, and one of its strongest features is its analysis of the policies and personalities of the leaders. If anything, he errs on the side of being excessively charitable, and one misses a certain acid that might have given sharper definition to his characterizations. As for the policies themselves, Wandycz suggests that the Locarno agreements, which guaranteed the postwar boundaries of Western Europe but failed to provide similar guarantees for those of the East, were the first holes in the dikes of the postwar settlements. Those were enlarged with the allied evacuation of the Rhineland and other efforts to conciliate Germany, until the principal dike collapsed altogether with Hitler's Rhineland remilitarization. Wandycz is justifiably critical of French and British policies in dealing with Germany, but he might have dealt more sharply with Poland's own treaty with Hitler, which was surely one of the most serious blows to the Eastern alliance system.

Of particular interest are Wandycz's conclusions about France's failure to mount a vigorous and coordinated economic offensive in Eastern Europe in the period under discussion, especially if one recalls France's use of its economic clout in dealing with Russia before 1914. "The fact that economics played a largely negative role in the French system appears fairly clear," he says. "Be it loans, trade, or investment, one can see that East Central Europe did not occupy a prominent place in French economic policies" (p. 453).

There was a similar weakness in dealing with military problems. Coordinated planning, not to mention a joint command in wartime, never went beyond theoretical memoranda. The French army never gave its allies precise information about its mobilization plans, and the foreign ministry did not allow the general staff to ask allied governments what their needs might be in the event of war. The greatest weakness of French military planning, which the author might have pointed out more forcefully, was its emphasis on the defensive, the notorious Maginot Line mentality. This problem was best summed up in a quotation drawn from a French staff officer, who bewailed "the exclusively defensive French army, which rules out any action outside of [France's] borders, while the policy it supports obligates it to intervene almost everywhere in Europe to assist countries threatened with aggression" (p. 452).

Wandycz's final verdict on France's Eastern alliances is disappointingly bland. They had great potentialities, he says, but "they lacked cohesion, solid economic bases, and a consistent and inspired French leadership. The system was often incoherent because French diplomatic, economic, and military policies did not fully complement each other." He is not convinced by the argument that France's great error was its failure to crack the whip over its Eastern allies. "To be firm, dynamic, and resolute abroad, France had to be a different state from the declining, 'decadent' Third Republic," and he ends his book with the comment of Raymond Aron about the great danger represented by a fear of risk. "Perhaps, in the final analysis," he concludes, "this was the main cause for the decline and fall of French eastern alliances" (p. 478).

NORMAN RICH
Brown University

ANDREW J. CROZIER. *Appeasement and Germany's Last Bid for Colonies.* New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. x, 349. $49.95.

Between the world wars, one of the many German grievances against the Treaty of Versailles was the loss of Germany's former imperial colonies. Adolf Hitler often, but not always, disclaimed any interest in overseas colonies; others, particularly Hjalmar Schacht and Joachim von Ribbentrop, took the colonial question more to heart. And some British leaders hoped that concessions on colonies might make the Germans more tractable. To earlier studies of the German colonial restoration movement and related diplomacy, Andrew J. Crozier now adds substantial new material on the British side of the issue, using private papers and files from the Cabinet, Colonial Office, and Treasury as well as from the Foreign Office.

Crozier shows understanding for the effort to appease the German challenge; sympathetic toward Neville Chamberlain, he is decidedly less so toward Anthony Eden. Crozier notes that, on the question of colonies, as on other issues, molders of opinion questioned the morality of the Versailles Treaty. Even Sir Robert Vansittart believed that, respecting colonies, the Germans had a point. Crozier stresses that British policy makers saw colonial concessions as a means to secure a "general settlement," especially in Eastern

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Europe. Indeed, "British willingness to meet Germany's colonial demands was intended precisely to curb forcible German expansion in that region" (p. 273). The need to gain time for rearmament, the shaky condition of British finances, and the deep dread of another conflict all argued strongly for appeasement.

The test of colonial appeasement came on March 3, 1938, when, on Chamberlain's initiative, Sir Nevile Henderson met with Hitler. Henderson proposed an international colonial regime in central Africa with German participation and asked what Germany would contribute toward general order and security in Europe. Crozier calls this meeting "essentially the first and last attempt by the British government to deal with Germany on a broad basis prior to the outbreak of war in 1939" (p. 1). Hitler showed anger rather than interest; he disliked international regimes; and, on the eve of the *Anschluss*, the last thing he would accept was any restraint on his freedom of action in Europe. For Britain, this meeting was "a complete disaster" (p. 239).

Even on Crozier's own evidence, Chamberlain illustrated the "new broom" syndrome in diplomacy. The Birmingham businessman had resolved to break with old policies and scruples and to offer Hitler a (relatively inexpensive) reward for a promise of good behavior in Europe. One could argue that Chamberlain wisely chose to use honey, not vinegar, to catch flies. Yet the scheme took no account of Hitler's mentality and longstanding aims, which were diametrically opposed to a general European settlement. And to make the proposal secretly, unilaterally, and with other nations' territories was to risk exposure to political blackmail. Overall, although British weakness and the need to gain time probably justified appeasement, the appeasers failed to warn the Germans that there had to be limits.

Still, Crozier has given us a valuable account of the ideas and politics behind colonial appeasement. Students of the origins of World War II will profit from this revealing study.

EDWARD W. BENNETT
Carlisle, Massachusetts

MARK WYMAN. *DP: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*. Philadelphia: Balch Institute or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1989. Pp. 257. $35.00.

In 1944, in the weeks before D-Day, Allied military planners prepared for what they assumed would be many thousands of civilians who would come under their control in newly liberated territories. To help officers on the spot, they distinguished between "refugees"—civilians in their own countries, who, it was assumed, would eventually come under local jurisdiction—and "displaced persons" (commonly known as DPs)—people outside their own countries and for whom the main task would be repatriation. As it turned out, the soldiers found themselves engulfed in an immense tide of humanity, vastly more people than the planners had expected, which was estimated at seven million in Western Europe alone and which posed administrative, logistical, and political problems of stupifying complexity and difficulty. Add to these problems the soldiers' inexperience, their disinclination to become involved with troublesome civilians whose problems they could not understand, and the priorities of combat—against both the Germans and the Japanese—and one has some perspective on the formidable "DP problem" at its outset. Then came new upheavals and staggering new difficulties—the expulsion of large numbers of unwanted and detested minorities, particularly ethnic Germans or *Volksdeutsche*, the clash of the Soviets and the Western powers, anti-Semitic outbreaks in Eastern Europe, and the refusal of many East Europeans to return to countries that were now under Communist domination. Eventually, civilians uprooted by the war received help from international agencies, principally the United Nations Relief and Rehabiliation Administration (UNRRA) and its successor, the UN-sponsored International Refugee Organization (IRO), which emerged from heated debates at the United Nations between the Soviet Union, its satellites, and the Western countries.

As the DPs themselves realized, their problems were inextricably tangled in politics. And that is the problem with Mark Wyman's short book on the subject, despite its admirable qualities. His study is based on some eighty interviews with former DPs and selective reading in English-language contemporary documents and secondary works. Wyman has assembled a vivid, colorful, and sympathetic tableau of the DPs' "experience"—their trials and tribulations, their difficult life in hastily assembled camps, their intense cultural and national preoccupations. Missing, however, is any detailed discussion of the clash of national interests and the formation and execution of international policy. Without this element, the DPs appear to us as they must have appeared to the soldiers in 1945, that is, torn loose from their context (except in the innumerable "stories" of uprooting relayed to interviewers) and hence easy to assign as somebody else's problem.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS
University of Toronto

PETER EDWARDS. *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 205. $39.50.

The transformation of the horse trade in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England was a part, reflective of the whole, of a developing capitalist economy. Peter Edwards begins by tracing the particular sources of demand that spurred the importation and breeding of horses over two centuries. First, Henry VIII sought to improve the mediocre stock of English horses by importing Continental breeds suitable for battle and for hauling the supplies needed in war. That initial de-

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mand for greater quantity and quality in horses was augmented by the capacity of farmers of enclosed lands to afford and use horses instead of oxen profitably for plowing, by the growing use of horses to transport goods overland on improved highways, and by the stage coach industry that spread beyond London to form a national network in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The rising demand for horses could not be met by local breeders who produced poor quality animals for general use. Edwards argues that new demands encouraged entrepreneurs to open specialized breeding farms, to develop new breeds suited to each particular need, and to raise horses in numbers sufficient to meet demand on the national, not just the county, level. In the early sixteenth century, monasteries were the major purveyors of quality horses and of information on ways to improve breeding stock and to train horses better for specialized tasks. After the dissolution, nobles with an interest in horses for show and sport became the principal improvers of horse breeding and later were joined by entrepreneurs who saw profit in meeting the demand for cheaper horses used in farming and transport.

Horse breeders and users were linked by an increasingly sophisticated network of horse fairs and markets organized by a growing corps of professional horse dealers. Edwards uses two main sources to trace this development. Toll books first mandated by Parliament in 1555 were used to record the transportation of horses in an effort to reduce thefts and to prevent sales of horses abroad. The toll books, along with the records of court proceedings against horse thieves, allow Edwards to show the growing speed over the two centuries with which horses could be sold at fairs or in private exchanges. The ease with which thieves could dispose of horses is testimony to the increasing scale and anonymity of markets and fairs in the seventeenth century. Edwards traces the increasing number of buyers from distant locations at the major horse fairs in Shrewsbury and Rothwell.

One of the outstanding features of this book is Edwards's ability to show how the growth of legitimate markets had the effect of making it easier for thieves to dispose of horses at fairs or through private exchanges in other counties before word of the theft could spread beyond the legitimate owner's home parish or county. Conversely, efforts by large-scale dealers to improve their image, and thereby raise the prices they could command for high quality horses, also served to increase detection of stolen horses.

Edwards describes how dealers often traveled along fixed circuits, arranging to appear at a particular fair or market on the same day each year or season. As a result, dealers came to know one another through such regular meetings. The growing strength of dealers' ties is reflected in the increased frequency with which dealers served as one another's vouchers at sales. Edwards's research suggests that his sources could be used to reconstruct the networks among dealers. A network analysis would have allowed the author to present a richer picture of the relationship among dealers and to determine if dealers' choices of trade routes and the identities of their suppliers and customers reflected trade flows in other commodities.

If the author had compared networks in the horse trade to those in other markets, he would have been able to formulate a more precise model of the relationship between the growing demand for horses in various industries and the way in which horse breeders and traders became aware of such demands and responded with new breeds and greater supplies of horses. Indeed, if there is a shortcoming in this ably researched and clearly written and argued monograph, it is in the author's reluctance to use his data on the horse trade to explain how horse producers and users developed the social mechanisms to learn of one another's interests and capacities for creating and absorbing new supplies of horses. But, by identifying the sources and constructing a convincing historical narrative of the horse trade, Edwards has provided a vital base for a broader study of the social origins of capitalist markets in England.

RICHARD LACHMANN
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WILLIAM G. BITTLE. *James Nayler, 1618–1660: The Quaker Indicted by Parliament*. York, England: William Sessions. 1986. Pp. viii, 240.

On October 24, 1656, James Nayler, at that time perhaps the most prominent English Quaker, rode into Bristol in a driving rainstorm, accompanied by a motley and pathetic band of seven followers in a reenactment of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Although such messianic pretensions were not uncommon during the Interregnum and Protectorate, Nayler's escapade resulted in punishment far outstripping that of his rival messiahs. William G. Bittle, in this rather slight biography, focuses particular attention on Nayler's trial by Parliament in an effort to determine the underlying reasons for his harsh treatment and the significance of the trial for England's rulers.

Bittle precedes analysis of the trial with a sketch of Nayler's early life. In many respects it resembles what we know of other early Quaker ministers. Nayler was born in the north of England, served in the Parliamentary army for almost a decade, married a woman about whom virtually nothing is known, had three children, moved from Independency to Quakerism, and underwent severe emotional trauma before deserting his family to travel in the ministry. After June 1655 he became the leading proselytizer for the sect in London, having already established himself as its primary pamphleteer.

In London he came under the sway of Martha Simmonds and her group of disaffected, staunchly millenarian Quakers and was also influenced by the

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Baptist Jeremiah Ives, who challenged him to prove his calling from God. Severing his close relationship with George Fox, the sect's primary organizer, Nayler then made his fateful entry into Bristol, having already suffered another emotional crisis.

Nayler's subsequent "trial" by Parliament, although prolonged by fruitless debates, was farcical, eschewing Common Law principles or parliamentary precedent. Nayler's protests that he acted not as Christ but only as a "sign" to the world went unheeded. Found guilty of "horrid blasphemy," he was pilloried, branded, whipped, and imprisoned in virtual solitary confinement. His tongue was also bored through.

Released in the autumn of 1659, Nayler resumed his ministry with surprising success, but tragedy again overtook him, as he was robbed and beaten to death in October 1660 while traveling home to Yorkshire.

As a biography, Bittle's book misses its mark. We learn little about the essence of the man and the milieu in which he developed. This is less the fault of Bittle than of the material, for personal and family correspondence is virtually nonexistent. It is also impossible, without a line-by-line comparative exegesis of Nayler's writings vis-à-vis those of other early Friends, to know what distinct contribution he made to the theoretical foundation of Quakerism. Bittle tends toward overstatement of Nayler's contribution without convincing evidence in support of that claim.

The strength of the book lies in Bittle's detailed analysis, by means of over thirty tables, of the behavior of those members of Parliament who took part in Nayler's protracted trial. Bittle establishes that various private agendas were at work—opposition to a new constitution that would grant a crown to Oliver Cromwell, desire to continue governance by major generals, irritation at the extensive religious toleration permitted by the Instrument of Government, support for Parliament's right to counter the serious threat to order and stability posed by the Quakers, and anxiety to clarify the relationship between Parliament and Cromwell in matters of state. Ironically, as Bittle observes, the Nayler incident prompted the Quakers, who were perceived as irrational and dangerous rabble-rousers, to tone down their "enthusiastic" manifestations and to develop a centralized organization intended to preempt another Nayler.

In the final analysis, Bittle has performed a useful service for historians interested in the Protectorate and in Quaker history by assessing the motives of Nayler's prosecutors. A full-scale, in-depth biography of Nayler and his times, however, has yet to be written.

CRAIG W. HORLE
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

LUCINDA MCCRAY BEIER. *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England.* New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. x, 314. $69.95.

This book is an excellent example of the new directions that medical history is taking. It is not a study of physicians, or of the development of medical ideas, but of the suffering and sicknesses of people in the seventeenth century, how they treated themselves, and how they dealt with the various kinds of medical practitioners. To gain this information, Lucinda McCray Beier turns to sources not previously explored for those purposes: casebooks kept by seventeenth-century medical practitioners, diaries and correspondence of lay people about their disorders and treatments, London bills of mortality and selected parish records for evidence of the causes of death, popular literature as well as medical literature in the vernacular for descriptions of illness and treatment. She emphasizes that, although the seventeenth century is sometimes regarded as a watershed in English medicine because of the discoveries of William Harvey and the clinical advances of Thomas Sydenham, there was not really much change during the century for the individual sufferer, and the marketplace was staffed by the same population of vendors at the beginning as at the end.

Beier found that most people continued to take care of themselves with traditional remedies, although the variety of these had been greatly augmented by new ingredients imported from the Americas and elsewhere. Even though most individuals recognized the expertise of medical practitioners, they remained skeptical and were certainly not in awe of them. Women generally acted as both nurses and healers within the home, and the better educated often read widely on the topic of healing, while others passed down over the generations a number of remedies. Women were also more likely than men to need some outside help, either from midwives or from other practitioners. Mortality rates both in pregnancy and in delivery were high, while childhood was a particularly dangerous period. Beier usually does not attempt to equate seventeenth-century illnesses with modern ones (except for diseases such as the plague, tuberculosis, and measles, for example), because medical practice then often emphasized different symptoms than we do now. Moreover, patient expectations were different because patients expected treatment not to make them feel better immediately but to show results, such as a bowel movement, vomiting, or similar visible products and responses.

Beier's work is a pathbreaking one, and my criticism is more with the questions that she did not ask than with the analysis she provides, which serves to emphasize the value of her work. For example, she almost totally ignores sexual questions, has little in her book about individuals with physical handicaps, and, by ignoring London (except for mortality figures), avoids dealing with major urban health problems. Coverage of those topics, she would probably respond, is not what she set out to do. She does provide a mine of data, not previously as available, for the social historian, and

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she does so in a cautious and scholarly way. The book is well footnoted, and there is a good bibliography.

VERN L. BULLOUGH
Buffalo State College

MARGARET GEORGE. *Women in the First Capitalist Society: Experiences in Seventeenth-Century England.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. 260. $29.95.

Margaret George describes the life of women in seventeenth-century England and examines the role they played in Marx's first "bourgeois" revolution. To do that, George has used some of the women's diaries and autobiographies, writings by their husbands and lovers, printed trial records, and pamphlets. The result—biographical vignettes of individuals and groups—is a readable and entertaining portrait of selected women of the middling sort and the gentry. It provides an introduction to the wealth of material that exists and a tantalizing glimpse of some of the questions regarding women in seventeenth-century England that remain to be answered.

George's book falls into the category of studies of "women worthies," with a Marxist slant. Her interest is in the women involved in creating the new capitalist order, and that interest shapes her work in peculiar ways. She mistakenly assumes that those women were Parliamentarians during the 1640s and 1650s, so she ignores Royalist women, yet the Royalists Anne Lady Halkett and the Duchess of Newcastle (both omitted) were not so different in background, attitudes, or experiences from the Parliamentarian Lady Brilliana Harley and Lucy Hutchinson (both included). Indeed, Newcastle actually questioned the gender order that Hutchinson upheld so staunchly.

A more serious problem is the lack of an overall conceptual framework. Although George hopes to illuminate "the main line of development of the adaptation of the female to the needs of a society of property owners" (p. 252), the connection between the often-engaging stories and the development of such a society is occasionally suggested, but the analysis is never sustained. George demonstrates, if such a demonstration were still needed, that there were active and intelligent women in seventeenth-century England as well as helpless ones, but she does not fully explain where they fit into the larger society. That leads to confusion: for instance, the critical social distinctions between Hutchinson, Harley, and Alice Thornton on the one hand and Samuel Pepys's Mrs. Bagwell on the other are never made. The narrow approach to her subject leads George to miss the implications of some of her evidence. The butcher's wife in South Molton, Devon, who threw rams' horns at Royalist soldiers (p. 47) used that symbol of cuckoldry to reflect on the morality of the Royalists, not just to demonstrate her support for Parliament. The political use of such sexual symbolism is surely important. And George's discussion of Pepys's relations with women never fully confronts the power his position gave him over several of them.

The book is also occasionally inaccurate or misleading in ways that undermine its credibility more than its argument: there was no Cromwellian Parliament in 1652 (p. 82); the Rye House Plot was in 1683, not 1688 (p. 132); a reference to Lady Eleanor Davies ignores her career as a prophet before 1640 (p. 93); and another reference suggests that Exclusion preceded the revelation of the Popish Plot (p. 113).

The biographical approach shapes the virtues and vices of George's book. The book is interesting, with stories and references that suggest the rich material available. Yet George never confronts the question of the representativeness of her subjects, so, in spite of her clear perspective, the reader is left impressed more by the range and abilities of women in seventeenth-century England than by the ways their individual experiences fit into the history of women or affect our understanding of seventeenth-century England.

SUSAN DWYER AMUSSEN
Connecticut College

RUTH PERRY. *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist.* (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 549. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

Ruth Perry has written a thorough and interesting biography of Mary Astell, an English feminist of the late seventeenth century. The biography treats seriously Astell's intellectual contributions to feminist, Anglican, and royalist ideology during the two decades surrounding 1700. It should remain the definitive treatment in the foreseeable future.

Perry has blended well historical and literary analyses of Astell's works and their context in contemporary controversies and writings. Astell remained constant to the Stuart cause throughout her life, was a true daughter of the Church of England, and wrote the most systematic critique of the position of English women until Mary Wollstonecraft's work in the late eighteenth century. Earlier scholars termed Astell a "conservative" feminist because she combined Tory and Anglican loyalties with a strong critique of women's unjust treatment in marriage and education. Perry mostly agrees with this judgment and points out the limits of Astell's feminism, which was based on male governance of the Christian family and a hierarchical view of society that prevented her, in her own words, from "'stir[ing] up Sedition of any sort, none can abhor it more'" (p. 165).

Yet even so thorough a study as this one often overlooks the complexity of Astell's feminism and of its reception. The problem stems, in part, from the pairing of conservatism and feminism. Astell's reputation as a conservative derives more from her religious and royalist positions than from her feminist writings. Although Perry treats her as an eighteenth-century figure, she wrote her last feminist work in 1700, her major

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religious writings in 1704, and her final work in 1709. The events of 1649 and 1688, not issues paramount in the Augustan age, were the crucible of Astell's political and social vision. Fear of social disorder directed her arguments about religion and the state, but it did not direct her concerns about women. She identified with women and encouraged them to change their lives, respect their abilities, and avoid an easy admiration of men. She did not seek a revolution in sexual relationships, but she did attack in strong language men's use of wives as "upper servants," the waste of women's intellectual and moral talents, and men's self-interested, dishonest manipulation of courtship and marriage. These were not immediately seen as conservative views. Yet by not viewing feminism as a distinct intellectual position, related to but separate from her general writings, one can miss the range of Astell's vision and influence.

Certainly her views on women were not uniformly admired by the High Church and Tory parties, nor were they dismissed by Nonconformists or Parliamentarians. As Perry points out, Daniel Defoe took Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* seriously while at the same time writing against her on the issue of religious conformity. Richard Steele ridiculed her maliciously in the *Tatler*, while using her work without credit in *The Ladies Library*, and the Tory Francis Atterbury took offense of her "unfeminine" suggestions on a sermon, where she "had not the most decent manner of insinuating what she means" (p. 219). We need to extract more carefully her feminist position from her religious and political views to assess how contemporaries reacted in unexpected ways to her feminist works.

This study on the whole is most impressive, filled with detail, liberal use of letters, and seldom-printed poetry, all of which places Astell's thought and writings into a richly woven tapestry of intellectual dispute and political debate. There are only a few quibbles I would make with Perry's use of evidence. She sometimes bases particular descriptions on general evidence; for example, the decoration for the funeral of Astell's father is drawn from a secondary work on English housewifery. And by giving brief attention to earlier feminists, especially the duchess of Newcastle, Perry sees Astell's position as more unprecedented than is warranted. Astell was seldom the first person to make a case, but, when she did, she often did so in more thorough and consistent language. By focusing more on her eighteenth-century contemporaries and less on her seventeenth-century predecessors, one sometimes misses the political and intellectual impetus for her thought. Even so, this is a first-rate biography giving proper respect to a woman intellectual who wrote knowledgeably and often profoundly on religious, political, and feminist topics at the turn of the eighteenth century.

HILDA L. SMITH
University of Cincinnati

EVELINE CRUICKSHANKS and JEREMY BLACK, editors. *The Jacobite Challenge*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1988. Pp. viii, 199. $55.00.

No Jacobite Restoration ever took place. But in the past decade, Jacobitism has been emphatically restored to the serious historian's agenda. That seeming paradox is in fact no paradox at all. A delight in lost causes is part and parcel of the continuing (and by now rather mindless) revulsion against so-called Whig history. Just as E. P. Thompson reviled the Walpolian supremacy and rescued embattled plebeians from the condescension of posterity, so now historians of a rather different political and religious persuasion seek to retrieve Stuart sympathizers from the realms of obscurity, nostalgia, and failure.

Much of the work of rediscovery has been valuable, as this new collection edited by Jeremy Black and the high priestess of the Jacobite cult, Eveline Cruickshanks, bears witness. Paul Langford supplies a fascinating account of what happened to Convocation after the Whigs suppressed it in 1717. There is a most distinguished essay by Paul Monod that demonstrates just how endogamous Jacobite sympathizers among the gentry were. And Daniel Szechi has furnished a sensitive and suggestive analysis of the speeches made by condemned Jacobite rebels on the scaffold. If any more proof were required of the wide tolerance the Hanoverians displayed toward their critics, here it is. Finally, there is an endearingly provocative essay by J. C. D. Clark in which he misquotes his critics and compares Jacobitism to socialism.

A rich mix, then, but one that poses more questions than are acknowledged. Most obviously, as more and more evidence is produced of the richness and diversity of Jacobite culture, we are bound to wonder why Jacobite politics failed so repeatedly and so dismally. A lack of consistent foreign support is, as Black shows, part of the answer. So, as Bruce Lenman describes, is the dissonance of the Jacobites themselves. And, as Nick Rogers argues, Jacobite slogans and rituals were often used as a way to irritate the authorities rather than as a serious attempt to subvert them. Nonetheless, the fact remains that successive Jacobite invasion attempts—in 1715, 1744, and 1745–46—failed because of minimal domestic support. Neither the Tory parliamentary party, nor the Celtic fringe, nor, indeed, the mass of ordinary men and women were prepared to act decisively on the Pretender's behalf. That is an uncomfortable fact that some of the historians represented here are extremely reluctant to acknowledge or explain.

Yet some of their wiser colleagues do suggest an answer. It is now clear that Jacobite Britons tended to be very similar to their Hanoverian counterparts: they were equally interested in commerce; they had similar attitudes toward the law, marriage, and family life; and most were Protestant and valued English liberties. Their only real distinguishing feature—their choice of

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king—was, I suspect, insufficient to make the majority rebel, even though it might have made them disgruntled and disenchanted. The Jacobites failed, then, not because they were traditionalists in a proto-modern age but rather because they were too much part of their age to disrupt it. In the end, there was no real Jacobite challenge; only, as in the case of Samuel Johnson, successful assimilation.

LINDA COLLEY
Yale University

NICHOLAS TRACY. *Navies, Deterrence, and American Independence: Britain and Seapower in the 1760s and 1770s.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1988. Pp. 207. $18.95.

This important study describes the role that sea power played in British peacetime diplomacy between 1763 and 1778. Although there is no shortage of books on the workings of the first British empire, this particular aspect has not been treated in such detail before.

Twentieth-century readers will discern an almost eerie familiarity in the British government's clumsy efforts to maintain a fleet, at minimal expense, that would keep the Bourbon powers in their place. In several instances the same skeletal naval might that Britain used to keep the peace almost irritated its rivals into fracturing that peace. Nicholas Tracy details Britain's small, but nasty, brushes with the French, Spanish, Swedes, and Turks in such diverse venues as the Baltic, the Mediterranean, India, and Africa. A particularly interesting episode is the Falkland Islands crisis of 1770, which blew over largely because both sides concluded that the chunk of geologic matter in question was not worth a war. Would that their modern counterparts had shown as much sense.

In general, the British diplomats come across as decent, conscientious, and skillful men who dedicated their careers to maintaining a doomed peace—and managed to do it for fifteen years. Their one major mistake was their failure to predict the coming of a rebellion in North America. That new element, which finally stretched the resources of the Royal Navy beyond the breaking point and made the peace with the Bourbons fall apart, gives Tracy's story an ironic ending.

The book's modest size belies Tracy's laborious research. He has been working on this topic for at least two decades, and his knowledge of the British documents seems to be encyclopedic. (His preface disarmingly acknowledges that he has left the foreign sources to other scholars.) He trudges with almost obsessive thoroughness through the letters of cabinet ministers, ambassadors, admirals, and remarkably efficient intelligence agents. The distillation of this material into a reasonably coherent narrative is a noteworthy achievement.

As a work of literature, the book is not as successful. Tracy's prose is competent but singularly unimaginative. Too often he forsakes the aesthetics of the language, overloading his sentences with verbiage and information. The reader sometimes gets the impression that the book is about documents rather than about the people who wrote them. Tracy is less comfortable with naval idioms than he is with the diplomatic jargon of the 1980s; it is difficult to imagine that eighteenth-century statesmen routinely used such expressions as "minimal deterrence," "strategic imperative," and "gradual escalation." The book's intended readership of experts is unlikely to care much, but it seems a shame that such erudition in such an important subject could not have been rendered more palatable. Samuel Eliot Morison once observed that "the road to academic security is that of writing dull, solid, valuable monographs." This one is about as dull, solid, and valuable as they come.

JOHN A. TILLEY
East Carolina University

DERYCK W. LOVEGROVE. *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 254. $42.50.

In the social typology of English religion, Dissenters escape relatively unscathed. Only on occasion do we hear charges of enthusiasm or ignorance, such as when, for example, Anglican clergymen cataloged deficiencies of their competitors in the years of evangelical ferment at the turn of the eighteenth century. Then Dissenters appeared in stark contrast to Establishment contemporaries, resembling more the Methodist "pig-driver" preacher than the Oxford-educated clergyman.

That liminal evangelical who bridged the gap between Establishment clergy and popular preacher is the focus of Deryck W. Lovegrove's meticulous study. Lovegrove sets out to explore the expansionary phase of religious history that transformed the diminished, nearly dormant state of mid-eighteenth-century Protestant dissent into the "full flower of Victorian Nonconformity" (p. 14). The vehicle for that expansion was itinerant evangelism, which Dissenters borrowed, at least in part, from their Methodist contemporaries. Old Dissenters (Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians) somehow exchanged their introspective, exclusive tendencies for a more energetic interest in the wider world. Lovegrove suggests that the related theological shift owed at least some of its inspiration to Methodism. Yet the sea change in attitudes toward evangelism sprang from no single source: the ejection of the Puritan clergy in 1662, the growth of dissenting academies, and the establishment of overseas missions played their part, as did the "theological proximity" (p. 23) of Methodism. Underlying those immediate causes, Lovegrove points to the political and social upheaval of the era.

Lovegrove shows that the popular conception of the itinerant preacher as lay illiterate was in fact untrue

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and that the actual dominance of laity within this new form of Nonconformity was not everywhere the case. The "complex situation" of the ministry depended on "a range of ministerial personnel" stretching from the conventional full-time minister to the tradesman who traveled on Sunday (p. 42). Despite the title of his book, however, Lovegrove includes little discussion of the people actually involved in English Nonconformity. His extensive local research, although admirably assiduous, repeatedly leaves us without conclusions. Lovegrove finds exceptions to every rule. As a result, the study appears more focused on institutions than seems necessary, while people and ideas get relatively short shrift.

The reader is tempted, if Lovegrove is not, to ponder the wider implications of his material. Elie Halévy's trenchant analysis of English religion immediately comes to mind (and Halévy, too, noted the role of itinerancy in the expansion of Nonconformity) because Lovegrove's Dissenters display an evangelical spirit that appears far from critical of the Establishment. One is struck, rather, by their worldliness and conventionality and reminded of the significance of the shift in nomenclature from "Dissent" to "Nonconformity" during the eighteenth century. John Clark, a clothier and local preacher of the late eighteenth century, complained, "I was frequently obliged to go from my counting house directly into the pulpit, and could get no time for previous meditation" (p. 59). A cobbler of Northamptonshire continued his trade after ordination, yet his legacy nonetheless boasted a biography (written by a son?) emblazoned with the title of "D.D." (p. 57). A powerful impulse toward respectability and institutionalization is evident throughout this book, and one senses that that impulse, not the commitment to itinerancy, was at the heart of the new Nonconformity.

The new Nonconformity was not at all a popular oppositional movement. Lovegrove points out that Dissenters were less interested in the "intrinsic merit" of field preaching (as Methodists were) than in its "manifest utility" and less concerned with the irreligious migrants to towns and cities than with the inhabitants of remote rural areas belonging to the Church of England (p. 28). No one but the worst polemicists saw subversion in Nonconformist activity during the troubled first decade of the nineteenth century. Nonconformists participated in the wider effort to suppress popular culture, which they could not avoid encountering in the villages they evangelized, and their attitude toward popular radicalism appears similarly hostile. One suspects that the explanation for the growth of Nonconformity from 1780 to 1830 lay in the moral appeal to those wishing to identify with bourgeois values while remaining distinct from the conventionality of the Establishment.

Despite the relentless empiricism and analytical reticence of his book, one is impressed by Lovegrove's comprehensive grasp of previous scholarship in ecclesiastical history, displayed in a dense first chapter, and by his condensation of developments and trends in a final chapter. Social historians may not have the patience to mine the pages and footnotes of Lovegrove's study, but church historians will find it a valuable contribution to the history of Nonconformity at the institutional and local levels.

DEBORAH M. VALENZE
Barnard College

IAIN MCCALMAN. *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 338. $49.50.

Edward Thompson in his classic *Making of the English Working Class* mapped out the high road of popular radicalism: a generally respectable, secular, rationalist, male tradition whose telos was the self-conscious working-class culture that produced Chartism, socialism, and the factory movement. Methodism figured largely as the "chiliasm of despair," a rebound from political failure; the prophetess Joanna Southcott was the symbol of a misguided millenarianism; and major popular outbursts such as the Queen Caroline affair scarcely figured at all. Iain McCalman writes of another world.

He rescues from historical oblivion the small metropolitan coterie of ultra-radicals that grew up around the land reformer Thomas Spence, and he traces its trajectory from its Jacobin connections in the 1790s through its incorporation of various "blackguard" radicals, millenarians, and infidels during the Napoleonic wars; its connection with tavern debating clubs, blasphemous chapels, and underground journalists during the late 1810s and early 1820s; and, finally, its demise and absorption during the 1820s and 1830s in the culture of working-class self-improvement or obscene populism and pornography. This is a deeply researched, revisionist argument for the existence and importance of a heretofore slighted strain of British plebeian radicalism.

But for at least two reasons this book is far more important historiographically than that. McCalman breaks down the barriers that contemporaries such as Francis Place and historians who followed him have erected between the rough and respectable, the secular and the religious, the political and the pornographic, the "important" mainstream of parliamentary reform and institution building on the one hand and the sloughs of "trivial" diversionary scandal on the other. "Humor, escapism, sex, profit, conviviality, entertainment and saturnalia," he insists, "should be admitted to the popular radical tradition, along with the sober, strenuous and heroic aspects which are more customarily described" (p. 234). Various radicals themselves were involved with pornography and pimping. But there was also an immense popular interest in a long list of seamy affairs: the sexual picadillos of George IV; the question of Queen Caroline's guilt or innocence; the revelations of royal wrongdoing by Mary Anne Clarke, the duke of York's mistress; the scandal of the

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Sellis affair in which the duke of Cumberland's valet, Joseph Sellis, committed suicide—or perhaps was murdered—because he was caught being sodomized by his master, because he was jealous that the duke had taken another lover, or because he was angry that the duke had fathered a child by his wife; the "arse bishop" scandal in which the Anglican bishop of Cloher, a prominent member of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, was caught in flagrante with a guardsman. McCalman takes all of this seriously and so forces historians to confront that which they would rather ignore, because it is morally distasteful or does not fit into their preconceived notions of what is politically important. Although he has no general interpretation for why politics is so often figured in the language and images of sexual "deviance," McCalman poses an immensely important question that has recently begun to attract scholars of the French and subsequent revolutions. Sex and scandal simply can no longer be relegated with a self-righteous sniff to the academic wastebasket.

McCalman has also written a revealing collection of microhistories in which the world of radical, popular political culture is refracted. His protagonists are every bit the match for Carlo Ginsburg's Minocchio or Natalie Davis's Martin Guerre. Robert Wedderburn, for example, one of the main protagonists of this book, was born the mulatto son of a West Indian male midwife and plantation owner and his house slave Rosanna. His father sold his mother when she was five months pregnant. She was repeatedly resold until she was eventually separated from her son who was then raised by his maternal grandmother—"Talkee Amy"—a slave, wise woman, and small-time smuggler's agent. Wedderburn was press-ganged into the navy and ended up in London, the hub of empire, where he was converted to Methodism and then to various millenarian persuasions, joined up with the Spenceans, passionately espoused antislavery, and during the 1810s preached fiery, blasphemous sermons at the infidel chapel on Hopkins Street to audiences of marginal artisans who had been squeezed out of the economic mainstream by the reorganization of various trades. Never more than semiliterate, he served as an agent for pornographic publishers in the 1820s. He ran a brothel on his own account. (Another of the Spenceans—the lawyer, dissenting minister, free thinker, and pornographic publisher George Cannon—hired working-class women to pose as laundresses and toss copies of obscene books over the walls of girls' boarding schools as a way of drumming up business.) By resurrecting characters like these, and like "little Waddy," that is, Samuel Waddington, shoemaker, printer, buffoon, serious radical, and trades organizer, McCalman confounds traditional categories of analysis. From now on lives of this sort will have to be considered as part of the making of the English working class.

This beautifully researched and crafted book deserves a wider audience than those who will appreciate its nuanced revisions of early nineteenth-century British radicalism. It is a model for the cultural history of politics and popular movements.

THOMAS W. LAQUEUR
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BOYD HILTON. *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 407. $69.00.

Boyd Hilton has written a rich, stimulating, often-fascinating, if rather old-fashioned, intellectual history. Although he is interested in analyzing the relationship between Evangelical theology and social and economic thought in nineteenth-century Britain, Hilton pays little attention to the social history of religion that has dominated the field in recent years. On the contrary, he concentrates, without apology, on the religious beliefs of elite middle- and upper-class pillars of the Established Church in England and the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland.

The devotional economists and moralists whom he examines were primarily provincial elites with Oxbridge connections whose rentier incomes were not usually tainted by the industrial and commercial capitalism that they sought to understand in religious terms. Indeed, Hilton's evidence is drawn selectively from an extraordinarily wide range of printed books, diaries, memoirs, essays, treatises, and sermons, as well as the unpublished correspondence of numerous clerical and lay luminaries. In addition, he is especially generous in acknowledging his obligation to other scholars whose work he blends deftly into his own. As Hilton is the first to admit, his book is a highly impressionistic study in a field of inquiry that has hardly been topically or methodologically neglected.

Nevertheless, Hilton is far more original than he perhaps gives himself credit for and is certainly successful in reasserting the centrality of Evangelicalism in British thought and culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is his contention, first raised tentatively in his important earlier book *Corn, Cash, and Commerce* (1979), that Evangelical ideology contributed more than classical economics or utilitarianism to the adoption of laissez-faire, free-trade individualism. The government ministers who directed the economic and social policies of the age were, Hilton argues, motivated as much by the preaching of Evangelical theology and eschatology as they were by faith in political economy.

According to Hilton, at the core of Evangelicalism lay the doctrine of the Atonement. It fed on the uncertainty, pessimism, and sense of impending catastrophe prevalent from the time of the French revolution until the 1850s and 1860s when those attitudes began to give way to a more confident, postmillennial optimism that found its theological justification in incarnationalism. Hilton goes to considerable lengths to describe the many permutations of Evangelicalism even while ad-

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mitting that it is still difficult to define precisely. He is particularly effective in delineating the tensions and conflicts between moderate and extreme Evangelicals. Their social theories oscillated between optimism and pessimism, uncertain whether happiness or misery best testified to God's efficient governance. But, despite their differences, the theological world view they proffered in the Age of Atonement tended to link the commercial upheavals that occurred periodically in the early years of the Industrial Revolution with such traditional calamities as war, revolution, famine, and pestilence.

In his intriguing efforts to demonstrate how economic theories in the first half of the nineteenth century were defined by prevailing Evangelical eschatological assumptions that helped mold bourgeois morals and business ethics, Hilton insists that the amateur practitioners who wrote from a moralistic, Christian standpoint tell us much more about the mind of the age than do classical economists such as Ricardo, Mill, and Senior. This is because Evangelical ideas were so pervasive and deeply ingrained in the culture.

It is this pervasiveness that Hilton describes so effectively even when, in his passion for demonstrating the intricacies of changing Evangelical theology, he tends to drift away from its connections with social and economic thought. Nevertheless, he has written an engaging, provocative, first-rate book whose many novel facets cannot be appreciated in a short review but should certainly be explored by students of Victorian culture.

RICHARD A. SOLOWAY
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AMALIE M. KASS and EDWARD H. KASS. *Perfecting the World: The Life and Times of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, 1798–1866*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1988. Pp. xxx, 642. $34.95.

This volume is a carefully researched and thoroughly documented biography of a puzzling, fascinating, and often exasperating figure. If ever there was a physician who loved humanity but found people difficult, it was Thomas Hodgkin. A devout Quaker, he would not leave his church to marry the cousin he loved. His naive acceptance of every hard luck story made him an easy touch for impostors, and his misplaced confidence in a shady business partner cost him much of his inheritance.

As a patron of lost causes, Hodgkin had few peers. His lifelong devotion to the cause of native peoples all over the world, whom he referred to with characteristic infelicity as "the feeble races" (p. 386), annoyed nearly everyone he encountered: conservatives, because he opposed military intervention in colonial affairs; Evangelicals, because he was unenthusiastic about missionaries; and abolitionists, because he was a gradualist who promoted black colonization in Africa.

Hodgkin was an exceptionally gifted anatomist who liked to study the dead because he did not have to ask them for a fee. He is best known for his description of the disease of the lymph nodes now known as Hodgkin's disease, but he made several other contributions to medicine, including significant work on heart disease. His published lectures, originally delivered at Guy's Hospital, constituted "the first systematic treatment of pathologic anatomy in Great Britain" (p. 240).

Despite the value of his work, which was often acknowledged by colleagues, Hodgkin was an academic failure. He angered the powerful treasurer of Guy's Hospital, Benjamin Harrison, by arranging for testimony before a Parliamentary committee that criticized the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company toward Canadian Indians. Harrison was a governor of the company. Hodgkin further annoyed his associates by supporting the University of London, although the university's medical program competed with Guy's. When an assistant physicianship came up, Harrison made it impossible for Hodgkin to accept it. His ensuing departure deprived Hodgkin not only of the professional recognition he deserved but also of facilities essential for his research. The reports of his work were even torn from the minutes of the Guy's Hospital's Physical Society. In a depressed moment, Hodgkin himself believed that there "was something defective or repulsive in myself" that discouraged friends (p. 432).

"He looked upon himself as being conciliatory and mild," write his biographers; "he was, in fact, often contentious and unyielding" (p. 331). Perhaps his perseverance redeemed him from the disasters caused by his devotion. In the last years of his life, Hodgkin seems to have become a contented and generally respected physician; he founded the Ethnological Society, served with distinction in many other organizations, and married at the age of fifty-two. He took up yet another cause, accompanying Sir Moses Montefiore on five journeys to the Near East in an effort to improve the lot of the Jews.

Because of the wide range of Hodgkin's activities, this book should be useful to scholars interested in many aspects of nineteenth-century history. The book itself is attractively produced, and the notes are generous and informative. The index, however, is less complete than it might be. On several points, the work differs from the brief biography by Michael Rose, *Curator of the Dead* (1981), but the general approach is similar.

Although the authors illuminate many aspects of nineteenth-century Britain, their book is more the story of a "life" than of a "life and times." The authors, although sympathetic to Hodgkin, rarely speculate. If their restraint leaves Hodgkin something of an enigma, it also avoids anachronism. There are occasional enlivening interventions, such as their summary of the efforts of the Aborigines Protection Society to rescue hundreds of millions of native inhabitants all over the world on a budget of less than four hundred pounds a

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year: "Humanitarianism and Anglo-Saxon confidence knew no bounds" (p. 376).

At times, more discussion would have been welcome, particularly on the nature and significance of Hodgkin's medical work. For example, the authors describe Hodgkin as medically conservative and opposed to bleeding, but they do not elaborate. We do not learn much about Hodgkin's own medical practice nor about his views on medical statistics. The book ends abruptly and would have benefited from an additional chapter assessing Hodgkin's contributions. This excellent biography should form the starting place for further investigation.

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PHILIP ZIEGLER. *The Sixth Great Power: A History of One of the Greatest of All Banking Families, the House of Barings, 1762–1929*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. ix, 430. $29.95.

For those people who believe that the power and wealth of the English Rothschilds dwarfed their rivals to the rank of mere amateurs, Philip Zeigler's account of the Barings and their bank will persuade them otherwise. His title derives from de Richelieu's comment in 1818 that "there are six great powers in Europe: England, France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Baring Brothers." The wealth of the Baring "nation" became an awesome power in the banking world. Barings once owned French Louisiana—before the Purchase—and their political clout far exceeded that of the Rothschilds, until the 1890s, when the Barings began to lose their preeminence. This book restores the Barings and their bank to their rightful place in English history as the one of the greatest forces in the nineteenth century.

Zeigler has not taken the easier course of elevating family anecdotes to the intricacies of banking practice. For the general reader, he has made intelligible the vocabulary and processes of merchant banking (known in the United States as investment banking). For the social historian, he has told a history of a family that in every generation from the 1760s until well into the twentieth century produced talented sons who ensured the firm's success. From their origins as merchants, the Barings entered the banking world as brokers in acceptances, and, although profits from discounts always formed an important part of their business, their rise to high finance came as international moneylenders during and after the Napoleonic wars. For the next seventy years, the Barings dominated financial markets from Australia to Russia, across Europe, and over to the two Americas, where the Rothschilds never rivaled the position of the Barings. The depression of the 1890s, unwise investments in South America, and competition from merchant banks in the United States forced the bank's decline—but not fall—from its old pinnacle. Zeigler's zest for the history of the family as well as his knowledge of social history make the book easy reading, especially when he recounts the Barings' eccentricities and business successes. Their failures, bad judgment, and sharp dealings remain occasionally obscure, which is usually the case when a bank commissions its own history.

Economic historians who prefer a more precise reckoning of the bank's traffic will be consoled somewhat with the valuable appendixes 3 and 4 that summarize the balance sheets of the company from 1762 to 1930. A more general historical audience should be attracted to the possibilities that the huge Baring archives offer. The bank employed twelve hundred correspondents around the globe in the mid-Victorian period, and their reports are a valuable, underused historical source of the politics and finances of the countries they described. Zeigler's interesting book will find a large audience.

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KENNETH D. BROWN. *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales, 1800–1930*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 244. $55.00.

The stars of the Victorian pulpit were famous men in their time, with congregations in the thousands and incomes that allowed lifestyles of considerable comfort. They have never lacked biographers, and the availability of those biographies has led historians to generalize about the state of the Victorian ministry on the basis of a few celebrated examples. Behind those giants of the pulpit, however, "lay an army of unknown men who carried the main burden of the ministry and administration" (p. 4) of the dissenting denominations. It is that once-influential and now largely unknown army of ministers that Kenneth D. Brown seeks to rediscover in this volume.

Brown investigates the geographical origins, education and training, religious experiences, family lives, career patterns, and public lives of ministers of the five denominations—Baptist, Congregationalist, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, and United Methodist—whose members constituted about 95 percent of the Nonconformists in most areas of England and Wales. His methodology is a combination of simple sampling and statistical analysis based on the experience of those men who entered the ministry every tenth year between 1831 and 1911. His main sample is based on the 2,554 individuals who died in seven chronological periods between 1851 and 1975. His main sources for those individuals are obituaries, supplemented by printed and manuscript information.

Brown's sample reveals that, by the end of the nineteenth century, one in five ministerial recruits came from a ministerial home. That fact, together with a

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"white-collaring" tendency in the denominations, isolated the ministers from the experiences of many in their congregations. Although the denominations provided more training facilities for their recruits, the faculties of those colleges were themselves disproportionately staffed by the "sons of the manse" (p. 38), who did little to widen the views of their "somewhat blinkered" students (p. 115).

By 1870 the ministry had ceased to be the only avenue of social advancement for the ambitious Nonconformist youth. Those who did choose the ministry were hard-pressed to support their families. The result was a profession in a constant state of movement both within and outside of the denominations. Poor ministerial stipends were a factor in the decline in size of ministers' families. Although a majority of ministers married, their families were half the size of the families of the population as a whole. "Unless one is to posit some unexpected decline in ministerial fertility," Brown observes, the only logical conclusion is that ministers' families were practicing birth control from about the 1850s (p. 181). Given the tendency of the denominations to recruit from ministerial homes, the declining size of those families made the recruitment situation even bleaker. By the 1930s the Nonconformist ministry was no longer a young man's calling but a profession in which the majority were over fifty.

Brown has written a book that will reward both the statistician and the generalist. He has filled many of the gaps in our understanding of the social texture of the lives of Nonconformist ministers during a century of great change. He has done that with clarity and grace, and he leaves his reader with a strong sense of the contributions made by those men of obscure destinies and homely joys.

PATRICIA STALLINGS KRUPPA
University of Texas, Austin

RICHARD BRENT. *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform, 1830–1841*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. 340. $65.00.

The Whig governments of the 1830s in Britain, says Richard Brent, had a distinctive religious outlook that he calls "liberal anglicanism." This attitude showed most clearly on church questions, understood in the broadest sense, the disposal of the surplus income of the Irish church, the entry of non-Anglicans to Oxford and Cambridge, and the state funding of elementary education. Divisions on these questions became "the determinants of whiggery and toryism in this period" (p. 8). Behind this political agenda was a re-creation of the old Whig alliance around a vision of a united Christian but nonsectarian nation. Lord John Russell, Viscount Althorpe, and Lord Melbourne used this vision to bind together an alliance that included moderate Dissenters, Evangelicals, and radicals.

This book is a work of traditional "Oxford school" history at its best, deliberately crafted, with a sensitivity for the nuances of individual political position and the nature of alliances and networks. Brent is skilled in exploiting personal papers and the literature, but he is convinced that the real action took place in Westminster and Whitehall with occasional visits to country houses and the odd Oxford or Cambridge college. There is an excellent account of the transformation of the Foxite and Canningite alliances into the Whig party of the 1830s based on the "liberal anglicans," and "alliance" is still the best word to describe the nature of these "political parties." The limits of this study were set by Brent's decision to pay little attention to that vast, fractured, geographically spread, political middle class that scrapped over all kinds of local offices and institutions in the 1820s and 1830s and did so on the basis of party labels closely related to religious viewpoints. Much of what the participants said had similarities in ideology and philosophy to the ideas of the liberal Anglicans discussed here (see Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England* [1976]). These people only get into the story when their actions disrupt the working of the central networks. The evidence from the earlier decades would have made Brent's case more convincing and less introspective. Indeed, if he had considered his own evidence along with the wealth of detail we have on constituency politics, he would have had an account of the re-creation of the Whig party as important as the formation of the Gladstonian liberal alliance described by John Vincent (*The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857–1868* [1966]).

The exposition of the religious views of leading Whigs is one of the most valuable parts of this study. Russell wanted "a tolerant and elevating religion" (p. 59). Whigs sought tolerance as part of the individual's humility before God. Liberal Anglican theory made a clear distinction between religion, which was common to all Christian belief, and theology or dogma, which was a matter for sectarian dispute; hence, these liberal Anglicans were able to put together a package for English education in 1838 that pleased both the secular Central Society for Education and the voluntaryist Dissenter Edward Baines.

This Whig alliance began to come apart in the late 1830s as it let in a new generation of Evangelicals, less tolerant, especially toward Roman Catholics, and more assertive on the literal truth of the Bible. Brent's claim that the breakdown came over antislavery issues is not proven except in the strict parliamentary sense. I would like to study a few key poll books to find out what really happened.

He does show that the Whigs in the 1830s left Britain with a political agenda that included the creation of a nonsectarian religious nation; for that we may all be truly grateful.

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BRIAN HEENEY. *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850–1930*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 144. $42.00.

Brian Heeney died in 1983 before completing the work on this book. It was published with the help of three colleagues as a contribution to an important but neglected topic and as a memorial to the author. Knowing that at the outset makes one grateful to have at least this much and puts into better perspective the judgment that we do not have all that we might have had.

If one were to take the title seriously, one would likely be disappointed with the content, for the results of the women's movement in the Church of England have not been very significant. That a beginning has been made is the strongest claim advanced by Heeney, and he deals in the first half of the book with "the context of subordination" (part 1), which is not simply background but the condition that produced "church feminism" (part 2) in the first place. Heeney helpfully, but not in great detail, discusses the Victorian Anglican perspective on women and then considers the activities of volunteer workers (including clergy wives, district visitors, Sunday School teachers, and participants in such organizations as the Mothers' Union and Girls' Clubs) and of paid and professed workers (Bible women, members of the Church Army, missionaries, sisters, and deaconesses). Although important contributions were made by many individuals, Heeney's point is that the context of subordination was not challenged in their work. It took another level of consciousness to press toward equality, the focus of the second half of the volume.

In the section on church feminism, Henney first pursues the question of its sources, citing the emergence of interest in training for female religious leadership as the most significant factor. That training, however, did not resolve the issues relating to women's image and roles, and thus other factors coming from women's increased activities in the public sphere and in the church became important sources of church feminism as well. Heeney is only able to give brief glimpses of the problem's complexity, concluding that two positive responses emerged among church women: a response that challenged authority, typified by Maude Royden, and a response that tried to persuade authority of the importance of women's activity, typified by Louise Creighton.

The final two chapters take up issues of the early twentieth century: women's ability to participate in the governance of the church and their inclusion in the church's ministry (divided into concerns relating to preaching and to ordination to the priesthood). Reluctance even to extend the franchise to women was not overcome until the nation granted the vote to women. The issue of women in the ministry was lively between 1914 and 1928, the major period of church feminism, but basically it went nowhere because of widespread and powerful opposition. Indeed, Heeney suggests in the introduction that the movement stalled after 1930, not to be revived until the 1970s.

Apart from noting the unfinished quality of the book, one could call attention to two items for reflection. First, the story is often told from the perspective of the opponents of the women's movement. Although the opposition should not be ignored, greater attention to the work and thought of proponents of church feminism would have given this book the depth implied in the title. Second, there is not much here on the call for help in the church from the mid-nineteenth century on, to which women were often urged to respond. That call came from a number of sources, and, although a definitely mixed signal often came with it, it appears to be more of a source for the emergence of church feminism than Heeney seems willing to credit.

DALE A. JOHNSON
Vanderbilt University

MARY POOVEY. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 282. Cloth $39.95, paper $14.95.

In this work of analytical complexity and, often, brilliance, Mary Poovey demonstrates how naturalized notions of sexual difference between men and women underwrote and legitimized the development of England's social, economic, political, and legal systems during the mid-nineteenth century. The ideology of separate spheres, which drew on assumptions about the naturalness of monogamous marriage, the sexual division of labor, and a particular economic system in which women spent what men earned, provided the foundation on which the social organization of bourgeois English society rested. Constituting an ideology, or a set of beliefs that infused and informed—indeed constructed—social practices, social institutions, and social relations, ideas about sexual difference served both as mechanisms through which Victorian bourgeois ideology became accessible to individuals and as the location of struggles over the meaning of the ideas that ideology comprised. Representations of gender, in other words, both constructed ideologies and contested them, so what appeared to be coherent and authoritative systems of meaning were in fact internally contradictory and unstable. Opportunities to create alternative ideas about gender, alternative ideologies, and alternative systems of power arose out of the unevenness with which representations of gender were developed and deployed.

Poovey targets various controversies that emerged in the 1840s and 1850s to show how gender performed its ideological work. The debate over the use of chloroform in childbirth, the discussion surrounding the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, *David Copperfield*, *Jane Eyre*, and the mythology enveloping the person and the activities of Florence Nightingale provide "texts" by means of which Poovey analyzes the legitimizing role

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played by binary constructions of the sexes in the professionalization of medicine and writing, the gendered basis of property, the formation of the identity of the English middle-class male in a capitalist society, and the development of a national identity and the imperial system that rested upon it. The image of "woman" and the domestic ideal she embodied, Poovey argues, "helped depoliticize class relations at midcentury, partly by translating class difference into psychological or moral difference, partly by setting limits to competition, and partly by helping subsume individuals of different classes into a representative Englishman, with whom everyone could identify, even if one's interests were thereby obliterated and not served" (p. 9). Because of the internal instability of the binary constructions of sexual difference, however, the domestic ideal of female nature could engender a whole host of readings that could be used to challenge the ideological bases of Victorian society and to set in motion the movement for women's equality and freedom.

Poovey is a literary critic; her use of deconstruction will, no doubt, dissuade some of the more traditionally oriented historians among us from giving her work the serious attention it merits. Poovey does not believe that the text is all, that there is nothing outside the text. Rather, she insists that texts are generated within a material context and play a complicated role in the representation and creation of social reality. The deconstruction of texts enables us to see how ideology is reproduced and to uncover the relations of power that ideology so effectively obscures. Although Poovey's book is overargued and difficult to follow in places, it is nevertheless an exciting, important, and rewarding work.

SUSAN KINGSLEY KENT
University of Florida

SANDRA J. PEACOCK. *Jane Ellen Harrison: The Mask and the Self*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 283. $27.50.

During the last decade, historians have turned their attention to female scholars in the male-dominated university world of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The focus has led to a multifaceted investigation of the female experience in that special and well-defined fraternity, including study of the important theme of the influence of gender on scholarship.

Jane Ellen Harrison, classicist at Newnham College, Cambridge University, during the years 1898–1922, was an imaginative and accomplished scholar and an effective teacher who built a corps of devotees. She applied anthropological study to the interpretation of ancient Greek religion and culture. Martha Vicinus, in her significant study *Independent Women* (1985), examined both Harrison and Constance Maynard of Westfield College, University of London. Vicinus noted the vital character of Harrison's search to combine her intellectual work with her emotional needs and argued that "behind her jubilant wordplay and childlike enthusiasm lay an insecurity only partially resolved by friendship and intellectual success" (p. 156).

Sandra J. Peacock has written a full biographical study of Harrison. It is a penetrating and provocative study based on an analysis of classical Greek scholarship of the era, the academic community in that field, the British female intelligentsia, and the value structure of the middle class. Peacock probes Harrison's personal and professional life and sees the personal as the wellspring of the professional. A great pity was Harrison's destruction of perhaps the most significant part of her correspondence.

In clear terms Peacock sets forth Harrison's life within a Freudian construct. The author examines Harrison's childhood in Yorkshire, her unfulfilled and, indeed, barren relationship with her father and stepmother, and her student days, first at Cheltenham College guided by Dorothea Beale and then at Newnham College during its exhilarating foundation years. Harrison spent sixteen years (1880–1897) in *fin-de-siècle* London. In that setting Peacock traces the maturation of Harrison's classical scholarship and her investigations in the fields of art and mythology. Harrison's employment as an itinerant lecturer often meant travel beyond London to provincial centers and contact with interesting intellectual circles. She lacked, however, professional or personal roots, which created tensions and stress.

Harrison returned to Newnham with faculty status at the end of the century and gained sustenance and direction in her mature years. Peacock shows Harrison as she appeared to the world, as a sort of effervescent doyenne of the Ritualists. She had especially close ties to two of them. Gilbert Murray became a stable friend and trusted professional colleague. With Francis Cornford she was deeply engaged emotionally as well as intellectually. Harrison's scholarly anthropological study of archaic Greece and her attempt to show the existence of matriarchy there drew on the contemporary work of Friedrich Nietzsche, J. J. Bachofen, Emile Durkheim, and Henri Bergson. But Peacock clearly sets the roots of Harrison's interest in matriarchy in the issues of Harrison's own emotions and sexuality, which she denied in her own life. Harrison's criticisms of Olympians in Greece were also attacks on the qualities of Victorian bourgeois family life. Peacock sees in Harrison a pent-up anger, which surfaced throughout her life, about her own society and its values. Peacock concludes that Harrison's significant personal relationships, despite a surface bonhomie, were profoundly unsatisfactory and were the cause of her ambivalent and confused emotional and sexual responses to devoted males and females.

This is an interesting biography of a person readers would have enjoyed knowing and would have found both intellectually and socially stimulating. Happily, British female scholars and academicians are receiving the attention they deserve, and, thereby, British

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intellectual and cultural history is gaining new dimensions.

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Wheelock College

BRIAN ROBERTS. *Cecil Rhodes: Flawed Colossus*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1987. Pp. xiv, 319. $22.50.

ROBERT I. ROTBERG. *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*. Assisted by MILES F. SHORE. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 800. $35.00.

As one of the dominant figures of late nineteenth-century capitalism and imperialism, Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) has been the subject of more than twenty biographies. Some of the early biographies were by close associates and often bordered on hagiography. Those writing at the time when the British empire was at its zenith generally viewed Rhodes as one of the principal architects of the British colonial sphere in Africa. For most of the twentieth century as well, the dominant approach to South African history has been one that has regarded white politics as paramount. Rhodes's biographers thus have tended to place considerable emphasis on his role in Afrikaner-English relations.

In the 1980s, much that seemed central and enduring to earlier generations of biographers increasingly has appeared peripheral and ephemeral. The map of Africa has ceased to contain large areas painted with the British red. Zambia and Zimbabwe have replaced the two countries (Northern and Southern Rhodesia) named in Rhodes's honor. The catalepsy of the South African regime has become apparent, and perspicacious observers of the South African scene now view the dynamics of black politics as the critical determinant of that country's future. Yet, while Rhodes the imperialist is a less significant figure for modern scholarship, Rhodes the mining entrepreneur and capitalist has become more important. Much of the recent historical literature on South Africa, for instance, has focused on the legacy of the discovery of diamonds and gold and the role of capitalism in shaping modern South Africa.

Given the new perspective that the present provides for the history of southern Africa since the 1860s, the life of Rhodes very much remains a valid and vital topic for further study. The two books under review take up the challenge, in sharply contrasting manners, of staking out new positions within the already substantial body of biographical literature on Rhodes. The volume by Brian Roberts, in keeping with most of the earlier studies, focuses on Rhodes as an imperialist. "In all his financial dealings," Roberts writes (and he would also add in all of his political dealings), "his prime aim was to fuel his imperial schemes" (p. 96). Roberts's conclusion is very much in keeping with his emphasis on Rhodes as an empire builder, suggesting as he does that "what Rhodes . . . had built was no more than an elaborate house of cards; a house that has been blown away by the winds of history" (p. 299). Excluded from this statement is any assessment of such major capitalist enterprises of Rhodes as De Beers or Consolidated Gold Fields.

That Roberts should remain so much within the conventional framework of biographical scholarship on Rhodes seems a direct outcome of the research base for the book. He is the author of other studies closely related to the present volume, most notably *Cecil Rhodes and the Princess* (1969), *The Diamond Magnates* (1972), and *Kimberley: Turbulent City* (1976), which he drew on in preparing this biography. Otherwise, the majority of his sources, as indicated by his citations, are from the earlier biographies. Aside from those works, the bibliography contains relatively few other significant historical studies, and many of those studies are biographies of key figures associated with Rhodes. It is thus hardly surprising that the resulting study adds little in the way of new insights into Rhodes's life or his significance in the history of southern Africa.

The study by Robert I. Rotberg, on the other hand, constitutes a major contribution and reevaluation of Rhodes's place in history. The author has consulted a vast array of archival and published primary sources and secondary works. He has also, with the collaboration of a psychiatrist, Miles F. Shore, used the insights of psychological theory and clinical reasoning where appropriate to understand better Rhodes's complex personality. Rotberg's research and methodology thus enable him to conclude that, far from having a single-minded imperial purpose, "Rhodes' life and aims never followed a simple direction" (p. 229).

Rotberg's Rhodes emerges as an imperialist who employed much of his power and wealth to further his "big idea" of a British empire dominant in the world. He was also a capitalist who, independently of imperial dreams, worked doggedly to consolidate the multitude of digger claims on the diamond fields into a single consolidated company in order to realize the full economy and profits of scale inherent in such an enterprise. In addition, Rhodes was a Cape politician who worked for the welfare of the colony, and his own welfare as one of its richest proprietors, to expand its economic and political horizons vis-à-vis the other polities of the region.

Rotberg makes a particularly important contribution through his analysis of Rhodes's political legacy for South Africa in his role as a prime minister of the Cape. Taking an opposite tack from Roberts, who excuses Rhodes from any culpability for apartheid, Rotberg argues that Rhodes "introduced a basic realignment of black-white relations" through sponsoring and orchestrating changes in white attitudes toward the "natural and inherent rights of Africans," which in turn caused a drastic "reordering of the prevailing psychological climate" (p. 361). The Franchise and Ballot Act (1892), which limited the growth of the black electorate, was the starting point. More important was the Glen Grey Act (1894), which Rhodes introduced as "'a Native Bill for Africa'" (p. 469). Other historians have viewed this

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piece of legislation as a clear forerunner of apartheid, a view with which Rotberg agrees. His contribution is to clarify how central Rhodes was to the legislation and how Rhodes's rhetoric and rationalizations prefigured future white political discourse in South Africa.

Rhodes's pursuit of power led him to be the founder of large-scale capitalist enterprise in South Africa, of a substantial portion of Britain's African empire, of a unified South Africa, and of the segregation system that evolved into apartheid. Clearly, others also played crucial roles in individual developments, but Rhodes was central in each and every one of them. Rotberg's book is essential reading for all those who seek a thorough understanding of modern South African history.

R. HUNT DAVIS, JR.
University of Florida

G. R. SEARLE. *Corruption in British Politics, 1895–1930.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 448. $39.95.

Once again finding a fresh angle from which to examine the puzzling and contradictory politics of early twentieth-century Britain, G. R. Searle peals away the lurid headlines that infested the political struggles of this period to reveal the more important, though not entirely unfamiliar, sources of the Edwardian debacle. Although scandals have probably been taken more seriously as a factor in the shaping of modern French history, the British variety can now be seen to have played a comparable, if not quite as melodramatic, role.

As Searle rightly points out, "scandal was a favourite device of political reaction" in France (p. 423). Scandals were more lethal to governments there because French politics of the time was a war to the death, whereas reaction in Britain generally stopped short of a coup d'état. In an earlier work, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (1971), Searle was one of the scholars who helped to redefine the Edwardian period as one of special crisis in which often extreme ideologies and panaceas were sought and political conflict was raised to a new pitch. After a decade of political dominance and relentless public abuse from the opposition, the Tories suffered one of the worst electoral defeats in their history following years of dominance. The lesson was not lost on them that innuendo in the press, scandal-mongering and accusation, sown in the clubs and over dinner tables, was at least as effective a tactic as parliamentary questions and stump speeches. And in the midst of a search for a new appeal to the mass electorate, the one basis on which nearly all factions of the opposition could come together was that their successors lacked the "character" of the old regime: that elusive, probably mythical, quality of the born gentleman that had allegedly protected the commonwealth from the greedy hands of the plutocrats and parvenus in the past. That "character" was a fairly transparent code word for "breeding" and lent the scandal-mongering a distinctly class, and sometimes a racial, undertone.

Searle handles all of the mudslinging with tact and restraint, resisting the temptation to impose any grandiose scheme on what seems to have been a time of slightly shriller, and never very well organized, expression of old-fashioned English xenophobia and class chauvinism. Although he draws on a broad array of the most appropriate sources in private collections and public papers, it is not the originality of information that gives his book its principal merit but his convincing illumination of this period as the era of the political scandal, with a character and style of its own. Further, he is able to keep its character linked to the main transitions in the politics of the time, especially the problem of adapting politics to the new importance of money in party politics and to politicians in search of new money.

Inevitably, David Lloyd George darts about the center stage of this story of scandals, ambition, and corruption mixed with democracy, as he barely eludes Tory slings and arrows, as well as the law, through the Marconi affair and more private improprieties before succumbing as one of a crowd in the Liberal collapse, escaping by only a few years the criminalization of honors-peddling in 1925. War profiteering and its association with the coalition government opened the floodgates of righteous outrage as never before and set in motion the reaction that ended with pure and simple Baldwinism. Once the war and censorship were past, honest mediocrity rose above brains as a qualification for office, possibly eliminating many of those who might have been best equipped to deal with the country's interwar problems. That the political beneficiaries were mostly mainstream Tories and old boys suggests that scandal was an effective tactic indeed in perpetuating the old regime.

In a work that engages some serious historical matters—the contretemps of democracy with wealth, privilege, ambition, and offended tradition—Searle's most admirable accomplishment is to resist the temptation to impose too much order on the deliciously messy story he tells.

ROBERT J. SCALLY
New York University

LINDA BRYDER. *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Britain.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 298. $59.00.

Given the importance of tuberculosis as a killer disease in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, its neglect until recently (in comparison, for example, with studies of cholera and plague) has been surprising. By the first decade of this century, "the captain of all the men of death," "the white plague," was still, especially in its pulmonary form, the greatest single killer of males and a close second to heart disease as a cause of death for women (p. 1). Tuberculosis became the first disease to be tackled on a national level

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in Britain and elsewhere, giving rise not only to new medical techniques but also to new institutions and administrative structures. Moreover, as Linda Bryder is quick to point out, because of its association with poverty and infectivity (and incorrectly, but still widely believed, with heredity) and because for long there was no effective treatment, for some sufferers "the social consequences of the disease were far worse than its physical manifestations"; "not only a major killer, it also became a social problem" (p. 6).

Bryder's study examines the progress of the disease in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, focusing on the major antituberculosis campaign initiated around 1900, which employed the resources of medical science and the state. Bryder demonstrates, supporting Thomas McKeown's thesis, that by the time intervention became effective (after the Second World War), and even by the time the campaign commenced, tuberculosis had long been in decline.

It may appear contradictory to describe a book that virtually ignores the nineteenth century, the period when tuberculosis was most devastating, and that deals with only one country as being remarkable in its scope, but this is no overstatement. For Bryder touches on many aspects of the efforts employed in fighting the disease, the various tuberculosis services and preventive measures, why they were set up and took the forms that they did, and their social and political implications. The rise of state involvement is also traced in detail.

Commencing with some striking statistics (and excellent tables and graphs)—in the first decade of this century tuberculosis was responsible for one death in eight in Britain—Bryder examines the setting up of preventive schemes and the establishment of sanatoriums and tuberculosis dispensaries. The sanatorium regime and the imposition of graduated labor involved "implicit obedience" (p. 58) on the part of the patient; raising the prescription of work to the level of a science raised the status of sanatorium treatment. It also ensured that the patient would not forget his or her position in society. Bryder stresses the importance of the notion of national efficiency in the overall guidance of the campaign against the disease; as with the infant welfare movement, initiated a few years later, emphasis was also placed on individual responsibility and education rather than on broader economic and social problems. The high levels of tuberculosis in areas of unemployment and material hardship were dismissed by many campaigners.

Later chapters discuss the debate concerning the causal factors in tuberculosis and the various means employed in its prevention, including control of milk supplies, BCG vaccination (bacille Calmette-Guérin), education and propaganda, open-air schools, village settlements, and the rise of surgical intervention in the 1930s. The struggle to raise the status of tuberculosis prevention and treatment as a professional concern forms a continuous thread through the discussion. Britain frequently lagged behind other countries in the adoption of new techniques of prevention; the introduction of the BCG vaccination, for example, was delayed through both concern with scientific verification and administrative obstacles.

This is no dry "heroic" study of the steady elimination of a killer disease through the employment of administrative and medical weapons. It is a study of misguided men, failures and setbacks (representative of much of the antituberculosis initiative), and, above all, stubborn refusal to recognize the glaringly obvious link between poverty and tuberculosis. Light is thrown on the patient as participant in tuberculosis services and as commentator on the services and on the illness itself. Chapter 7, which discusses the "patients' view" of tuberculosis, is "the icing on the cake" of a fascinating study. Overturning the romantic view of nineteenth-century writers on tuberculosis, perpetuated most notably by Thomas Mann and Susan Sontag, Bryder uses interviews and personal accounts of sufferers to depict the isolation and rigidity of sanatorium (or should this read "asylum"?) life and the loneliness, degradation, fear, and stigma attached to "lungers." Tuberculosis appears more in the guise of a modern leprosy than as a lingering and romantic decline.

Bryder's book is neither the definitive account nor the end of the tuberculosis story. Although much is packed into the volume, some aspects are dealt with in more detail than others. Many of the chapters are a tempting invitation to further research. Much remains to be done outside of the Anglo-American context, and a return to a study of the nineteenth century and earlier is long overdue. The importance of Bryder's work is not only its intrinsic excellence, the high quality of research and writing, but also its provocation of further analysis of the social and medical aspects of tuberculosis, its rise and reign as a killer disease, and its eventual defeat.

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SCOTT NEWTON and DILWYN PORTER. *Modernization Frustrated: The Politics of Industrial Decline in Britain since 1900*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. 1988. Pp. xv, 224.

The debate on the causes of Britain's relative and absolute decline as an industrial nation is a long-established one, reflected in a voluminous literature both academic and polemical. The most widely accepted diagnoses of industrial weakness have suggested that the productive efficiency of industry has been seriously impaired by deficiencies in managerial standards combined with structural weaknesses in the labor market that have facilitated the survival of restrictive practices. Similar analyses have drawn attention to Britain's anachronistic social structure, which has led to divisive attitudes in industry, the neglect of vocational studies within the educational system, a "contempt" for industrial investment on the part of governments, and

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a Treasury-dominated civil service elite obsessed with macroeconomic issues. Others have emphasized the disadvantages of Britain's early start in the industrialization process, the inappropriateness and inconsistency of government industrial policy, and the dead weight of an inefficient public sector. And so the list could go on. As Scott Newton and Dilwyn Porter emphasize, however, while all of these explanations for economic decline contain an element of truth, previous and existing policies for rejuvenating the industrial sector—"a judicious touch of planning here or free enterprise there" (p. xii)—were and are doomed to failure. The reason is that the decline of the British economy has been the inevitable consequence of the nature of the British state itself as reflected in the sustained hegemony of finance capitalism. The major purpose of this book, therefore, is to trace the historical antecedents of "the core institutional nexus" (p. xv) based on the overwhelming political and financial dominance of that unholy trinity of the City of London, the Bank of England, and the Treasury.

The commitment of these institutions to maintaining the openness of the British economy—the free movement of capital abroad, support for multilateral trade, and sound money—has wreaked great damage on the industrial sector by depriving it of much-needed investment finance, an appropriate exchange value for the pound, and a regime of commercial policy geared to the interests of domestic producers. Armed with this perspective, the authors attempt to show that every attempt to curb the power of City institutions was ultimately undermined as a result of their overweening political influence. This assessment applies to the pre-1914 "national efficiency" and tariff reform movements, to the industrial modernization programs of the interwar period, and to the planning and strategy experiments of the 1960s and 1970s. The thesis is hardly an original one, having been anticipated in the work of Martin Wiener, Sidney Pollard, and Geoffrey Ingham. This is, however, the first study to trace the adverse influence on industrial growth of Britain's distinctive political and financial institutions over an extended period.

Unfortunately, the authors overstate their case. In the first instance, it is a misreading of British economic history to view the industrial sector as deprived of essential finance for investment. Capital was available for new and risky ventures even before 1914 when the overseas perspective of City institutions was at its height. The funding of British industry did not conform to overseas practice because British businesses had long preferred to finance investment from ploughed-back profits. In the interwar period the modernization of large sectors of British industry foundered not in the face of liberal political economy but as a result of the unwillingness of entrepreneurs to place their own houses in order via amalgamations and the elimination of redundant capacity. The authors' approach, moreover, leads them to accept implicitly the rationale of virtually every attempt since 1900 to embrace an alternative economic strategy based on domestic priorities. Thus, Sir Oswald Mosley's Greater Britain proposals of 1932 receive much sympathetic attention as do the post-1964 Labour government's attempts to plan the economy. Yet Mosley's program was beyond the pale of political reality, and its implementation would have provoked a major crisis of confidence on the part of its intended recipients within the business community. Planning in the 1960s and the industrial strategy experiments of the 1970s were doomed to failure not so much because City institutions subverted them but because they were viewed with disfavor by the international financial community on which Britain depended for the maintenance of financial solvency in the face of acute balance-of-payments problems and by industrialists themselves who were deeply suspicious of anything that smacked of state socialism.

As with many of the explanations for Britain's industrial decline, there is some validity in the authors' analysis, but, in focusing on cosmopolitan financial interests, they, too, have fallen into the trap of offering yet another monocausal explanation of a century-long process of industrial decline, extraordinarily complex in its causes, with economic, technical, political, social, and cultural factors intermingled in varying degrees.

M. W. KIRBY
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W. J. READER. *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism.* (Studies in Imperialism.) Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. viii, 134. $39.95.

Based substantially on secondary works, W. J. Reader's "examination of the development of upper-middle class attitudes" (p. 15) before World War I holds few surprises for the academic specialist: Edwardian British boys of the comfortable classes were fed compulsorily on a diet of classics, team sports, and noblesse oblige; they supplemented such wholesome fare with the ripping yarns of George Alfred Henty, Rudyard Kipling, and the *Boy's Own Paper*. Acceptable heroes ran the gamut from Charles "Chinese" Gordon to Lords Wolseley and Roberts and culminated with Lord Kitchener, that "great poster," as H. H. Asquith's daughter called him.

The high temple of such a faith was, of course, the public school—that establishment whose label still confounds Americans. Lately it has been the style to defame those institutions merely as breeding grounds of racism, sexism, and imperialism; Reader's description, however, does not leave them totally undefended.

Reader includes enough past politics to qualify this work for the history catalog: the rise of the antipathy between the great "Anglo-Saxon" powers and the dangerous nature of imperial feeling. Themes we know well—the popular press, best-selling hysterical nationalist fiction—are all recounted. Present, too, in the longest single chapter, is a survey of the recruiting

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campaign of 1914–15. Here are the now familiar stories of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, the temporary magic of the Kitchener recruiting poster, the rise and fall of the "rally" period of enthusiastic recruiting, and the final resort to conscription.

In a brief closing essay of eight pages, Reader argues that the sons of Eton and Harrow did set the tone of sacrifice (and paid for their privileges) by rushing off to die in France and Flanders. No leftist critics will be converted to the belief that that is anything but "the old lie" once again. Those he will convince probably already agree with Reader.

What do we have here? This is a skillfully written and not particularly original essay about the climate of opinion in Britain on the eve of the Great War. Those interested in the armies that went to France would be well advised to supplement this with, among others, recent works by Thomas C. Kennedy, John Morton Osborne, Peter Simkins, or myself (with Philip P. Poirier). Those wishing to know about the attitudes that led to war are already familiar with the recent books by A. J. A. Morris and Paul Kennedy. One can take the list of books on and on until it sounds like serious carping.

There is, however, a place for books such as this one. This book will be more useful to general readers and students than to specialists. Professionals will find it helpful as a brief and readable teaching text. It is well written and skillfully argued, and, as a result, it is a good read. There will always be a place for that.

R. J. Q. ADAMS
Texas A&M University

PETER SIMKINS. *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914–16.* (War, Armed Forces, and Society.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. xvi, 359. $67.50.

Renewed study and reevaluation of World War I has been burgeoning in the last decade, especially in Britain. Official sources have either been newly opened or reexamined while several impressive efforts have been made to gather private papers that tell individual stories of participants at all levels. Here Peter Simkins has produced a fine study of that most remarkable of happenings, namely, the raising, organizing, and training of 2.5 million volunteers who made up what came to be known as Kitchener's Armies.

Simkins's treatment of the official and governmental side of the story centers, of course, around the role of Lord Kitchener, the icon-like secretary of war. The approach here follows the recent trend to rehabilitate Kitchener and the dismal view of his wartime performance and place the difficulties that Britain faced in men and materiel during 1914 more suitably in the context of a prewar military commitment to a European land war for which civilian politics lacked the will to prepare. Therefore, Kitchener, coming to office from Egypt in 1914, faced a massive problem not of his making, and Simkins portrays him as a true Horatio holding the bridge. This account is balanced, though, as it should be, with a clear examination of the significant shortcomings that Kitchener displayed in office in the face of both his gargantuan organizational task and the maneuverings of Asquith's cabinet.

But generals, politicians' disputes, and cabinet intrigues pale before the astounding fact of the Kitchener Armies themselves. And it is Simkins's discourse on the armies, away from Whitehall and the slightly overdone Kitchener controversies, that makes up the best part of the book and fills comprehensively a gap in the literature. To do this, he skillfully selects and marshals information from an exhaustive range of sources, depending notably on personal reminiscence and War Office operational documents. He probes first what went into the millions of individual decisions that brought men into uniform and then explores the numbing chaos that ensued as the nation struggled to feed, house, clothe, equip, arm, and find leaders for a force that, in a matter of weeks, dwarfed any organization Britain had ever seen.

Touching on the social, economic, and cultural impact of the bringing together of a citizen army, Simkins sees, as have others, that this feat was a national effort, grounded in hundreds of local civilian communities, which could not have succeeded without a last great outpouring of volunteer liberalism at all levels. Kitchener was the catalyst and the symbol, but the achievement was that of a nation at a unique juncture in its history. In understanding this fact and then applying his considerable skills as a historian to illuminating it, Simkins has produced what must remain the definitive work on the new armies for many years to come.

JOHN MORTON OSBORNE
Dickinson College

GAIL BRAYBON and PENNY SUMMERFIELD. *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars.* (Pandora History.) New York: Pandora. 1987. Pp. xiii, 330. $14.95.

This book is a contribution to a debate on gender and wartime that has recently become very interesting turf for historians. Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, each the author of a previous scholarly book on women and work in Britain during one of the world wars (Braybon on the first, Summerfield on the second), here present a study intended for general readers. As sources for this book, the authors draw heavily on vivid oral histories and, for World War II, on the wonderful files of the Mass Observation Archive.

With its unwavering emphasis on recounting women's wartime "experience," this book can sometimes seem rather bland. Other recent work on modern war in literature and history deals with such fresh and fascinating issues as wartime definitions of virility, public and private misogyny in times of war, and the politicization of the bodies of soldiers, workers, and mothers in language and public policy. But Braybon

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and Summerfield's thorough research, vivid oral accounts, and well-chosen photographs (each one with pungent commentary) make theirs a very valuable book. I was moved and educated by the jaunty World War I snapshot of Mabel Davidson in her double-breasted gold-buttoned tram driver's uniform and by the picture of the smooth-faced housewife of 1939 who by 1943 looked fifteen years older.

Both Braybon and Summerfield, in their separate sections of the book, argue that the dislocations of wartime as much as the vacant places left by men in factory, farm, and workshop represented opportunities for freedom, companionship, and cash to millions of women. But they also detail the prices women paid for those wartime boons: food lines; absent, endangered, unfaithful, or disgruntled husbands; TNT poisoning; miserable working conditions; and diminished social services, which meant, for example, long waits in the dark for buses running on reduced wartime schedules.

This short review certainly cannot do justice to the range of this book. Braybon and Summerfield describe, among other subjects, the new World War II women's branches of the armed forces and their members, the occupational health problems of women workers, the official attempt during World War I to cover up the seriousness of TNT poisoning, and the audacious attempts by the state during both wars to regulate women's private lives by enforcing curfews, making house searches, and declaring pubs off-limits in certain towns during World War I.

In this study, which draws so heavily on oral sources, the memory of World War I in women's encounters with World War II is an insistent issue. The authors include telling details. They write about a mother in the 1940s, her son just called up for military service, suddenly and vividly recalling the men of her own generation who did not come back in 1918. We read about a young wife in the 1940s dipping into her grandmother's World War I cookbook of austerity recipes and about women who had heard their mothers describe the dangers of munitions work and who refused to take those jobs during World War II. Labour and Conservative governments in 1944 and 1945 drew on the first war's history and avoided the abrupt layoffs of women workers that generated such protest in 1918 and 1919.

The book's life history approach means that we grasp the fact that a teenaged war worker in 1917 was still a prime war worker in 1941; thousands of women made munitions for two generations of soldiers. This book is as much the story of a generation haunted and damaged by war as of new opportunities for women.

ELLEN ROSS
Ramapo College of New Jersey

BERT HOGENKAMP. *Deadly Parallels: Film and the Left in Britain, 1929–1939*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities or Lawrence and Wishart, London. 1986. Pp. 240. $12.50.

The phrase "deadly parallels" was coined to describe a workers' magic lantern slide show in 1907 that juxtaposed scenes of wealth and abject poverty. Bert Hogenkamp's goal is to examine the manner in which the left-wing workers' movement in Great Britain in the 1930s attempted to use motion pictures to draw their own deadly parallels. The Left believed that they "had to oppose the commercial cinema, because it reduced film to mere 'entertainment,' with a cinema that would educate and enlighten the spectator."

The British Conservative party has traditionally been astute in its use of the mass media, and, in the 1930s, it produced over twenty propaganda films, disseminated through mobile projection trucks. In contrast, members of the British Labour and trade union movement frequently discussed using films for overt political ends but did practically nothing. The exception was the Communist party of Great Britain, which followed the example of other European workers' organizations, particularly in Germany, and repeatedly attempted to create a propertyless cinema that both made and exhibited films outside the commercial system. The model for workers' cultural activism everywhere was the Soviet Union. The British workers' film movement initially centered on trying to get "free sight" for Russian films that were generally banned by local watch committees and the British Board of Film Censors. This evolved into making films that addressed issues and concerns ignored by commercial newsreel and fiction films in the 1930s.

A recurring theme in Hogenkamp's book, but one not adequately explained, is why workers' movements in other European countries, particularly in Germany and France, were more successful in attracting a following than the British movement. For example, the British sections of the Workers International Relief Organization, the Socialist Film Council, the Workers' Film and Photo League, and the other organizations that he cites all compared poorly to German counterparts such as the *Volksfilmbund*.

The British workers' movement had a history of trying, stumblingly, to set up workers' film societies and workers' film production units, but it never had the support of the British Labour party. Its attempts to get screenings of Russian films were aided by the emergence of the 16–mm film because this was not subject to government control. This format, which blurred the distinction between amateur and professional production, also made it possible to make films on a modest scale. The Workers' Film and Photo League, the Socialist Film Council, and other activist organizations made a series of fact-based films and newsreels, which rejected the sanitized commercial newsreels of the day and filmed subjects not done in commercial cinema. Those subjects were described in one left-wing journal as "industrial and political demonstrations; the social causes leading to strikes; co-operative activities; the effects of the miners' eight hour day on the miners and their families; the contrast of nine-in-a-room in workers' homes with one-in-nine-rooms in the homes of the

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upper class." The most important aspect of the newsreels and films about the annual May Day parade, the hunger marches and strikes, and the war in Spain was, as Hogenkamp rightly states, that they "gave the audience an opportunity to see 'us' instead of 'them' on the screen."

This type of oppositional cinema warrants serious study, and Hogenkamp has clearly spent much time negotiating his way through primary sources that, in common with much documentation of workers' activism, are often hard to come by. His principal problem is in his treatment of the films themselves. A book centered on how film functioned politically ought to be sensitive to the medium itself, but Hogenkamp seems less comfortable analyzing films than he is examining the minutes of a film society meeting. Because he eulogizes Russian films so frequently, he ought to justify this praise and explain the debt owed to their example by the workers' film movement, yet he rarely does this. So, for example, Sergei Eisenstein's theory of film montage is described cryptically as "the production of meaning through the arrangement in proper sequence of seemingly unconnected film shots." Similarly Hogenkamp oversimplifies and understates Dziga Vertov's *Man with the Movie Camera* as "a dazzling experiment in film editing." An interpretation of German workers' newsreels as "based on the principle that, in film, news was a construction of images and that the meaning of those images depended on the editors' view of reality" is too simplistic to be helpful. Nevertheless, Hogenkamp gives some sense of an emerging workers' film aesthetic—location shooting, hand-held cameras, a collapsing of the distinction between amateur and professional production, and a basis in fact—but this needs to be developed further. The best reading that Hogenkamp gives of any single film is his analysis of *Peace and Progress* (1939), which is the subject of a whole chapter, and one wishes that other films cited had been given equal analytical treatment.

Hogenkamp is best when he talks about the institutions of the workers' film movement in the 1930s; his analysis is weaker when he talks about the films that workers produced and watched. The book is a useful contribution; we need to know more about the minority and oppositional movements in cinema that have remained hidden until recently.

PAUL SWANN
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RICHARD TAYLOR. *Against the Bomb: The British Peace Movement, 1958–1965*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. 368. $65.00.

Richard Taylor's study of the British Nuclear Disarmament Movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s is based on extensive and even imaginative research, drawing on over twenty personal interviews as well as the papers and archives of many of the diverse individuals and organizations that made up the movement. It contains interesting and illuminating discussions of the moral foundations and political assumptions of a number of groups that formed the crazy-quilt ideological tangle of the British Left during the period. It effectively illustrates the maddening propensity of such bodies to dig themselves into politically untenable positions from which they would not be extracted, even to avoid self-destruction. It convincingly concludes that, despite obvious failures, the movement "changed the face of radical politics" and was "centrally important in creating a 'culture of protest'" (p. 340) in contemporary British society. Finally, it links the Nuclear Disarmament Movement with "the more politically sophisticated" and "more formidable" movement of the 1980s (pp. 344, 346).

All of that would seem to make Taylor's book a useful and even important contribution. To an extent, it is. But readers, especially of this journal, should be warned that, although the book is chock-full of historical detail, it is completely lacking in historical continuity. To be fair, Taylor does warn readers early on that his emphasis will be "political and analytical rather than directly historical" (p. 2), but the resulting organizational structure makes the book remarkably difficult and, at times, extremely tiresome to read. Taylor presents, in turn, a detailed analysis of each of the movement's major components: the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the Direct Action Committee (DAC), the Committee of 100, the Labour movement, and numerous other, mainly Marxist, bodies that sometimes shared actions but seldom shared ideologies. In those separate accounts Taylor reveals the intellectual gymnastics, the interminable, often-petty quarrels, and the constant difficulty in matching means and ends. Some of that is fascinating; much of it is depressing. But nowhere does Taylor provide a coherent narrative of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement as it lurched toward its brief moment in the sun.

Instead, the text is filled with flashbacks and foreshadowings and is constantly broken up by long, narrative footnotes. Phrases such as "of which more later," "as argued elsewhere," "analyzed in more detail below," and "more appropriately left until" abound. Readers who can ignore such distractions must also bear up under such infelicitous expressions as "equally undoubtedly" (p. 267) and must wade through a dismal swamp of acronyms. There are also minor but irritating errors that should have been excised by careful editing. At one point, for example, the text states that five people were arrested during an early demonstration and the accompanying footnote lists six names (p. 27); similarly, Bertrand Russell's age is given as ninety in 1960 when, in fact, he was eighty-eight. Either Taylor has been badly served by his copy editors, or the Clarendon Press no longer provides such services.

Beyond those stylistic problems, one feels compelled at times to challenge the conclusions Taylor draws. In his discussion of the CND, for example, Taylor asserts that the CND's liberal, elitist, antidemocratic leaders considered the bomb as an aberrant development in an

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otherwise structurally sound society. Thus, they had "little in common with the inherent radicalism of the Mass Movement" that saw nuclear weapons as a "final, absurd, and obscene product of a society . . . based on irrational if not insane assumptions" (p. 47). That fundamental division between the leaders and most of their followers, Taylor says, was a major contributory factor to the movement's ineffectiveness and ultimate failure as it broke apart into tiny squabbling factions. Were the "masses" supporting the CND, who were chiefly drawn from the educated middle class, really interested in overthrowing the social order rather than simply banning the bomb? Taylor seems to believe that they might have been, and he criticizes the snobbish, moralistic CND leadership for not following a more politically radical course. But the evidence of events would more readily support the conclusion that it was not the tameness or autocratic tendencies of the CND leadership but rather the increasingly radical, even anarchical, activities of groups like the Committee of 100 that eventually cost the movement most of its public support. Indeed, Taylor's insistence that the movement could have or should have accomplished more might be replaced by an expression of wonder that it managed, amid ideological struggles, tactical differences, and superinflated egos, to accomplish anything at all.

Having expressed a number of reservations about this book, I must add that historians of the modern peace movement and students of contemporary mass society can find a great deal that is useful and informative in Taylor's study. More's the pity that it is not presented as a more palatable literary dish.

THOMAS C. KENNEDY
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

STANLEY H. PALMER. *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 824. $44.50.

Police are, among other things, an important means by which governments control their subjects. That is why they were so unpopular in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain, which was antipathetic to government generally. That may also be why historians have rather neglected British police history until recently, because of a myth—deriving originally from that eighteenth-century prejudice—that Britain's police, when they eventually arrived on the scene, were different. They were not an instrument of the state at all. Instead, they were an entirely neutral body of men (and later women) whose only function was to protect ordinary people from criminal wrongdoing: "bobbies" rather than "cops." That, of course, is both contemporary and historical nonsense. The slow realization of this fact has recently been turning the attention of some academic historians to the serious study of police history as a way of understanding the relationship between state and society in nineteenth-century Britain at, so to speak, its most abrasive edge.

There can be no doubt at all that the main motive behind the setting up of Britain's first police forces was the maintenance of public order against popular political and economic protest at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Crime was secondary. Stanley H. Palmer makes this point abundantly clear. He also makes a great deal of the Irish (or, if you like, anti-Irish) contribution to these developments. In Ireland, political and economic protest was far more serious than in England and also took more outrageous forms. Murder and mutilation in the course of uprisings were rare in England but sickeningly common in Ireland, as they have been in more recent times. (Has this ever been adequately explained?) Consequently, Britain's earliest experiments in proper, state-organized policing took place there in response to an absolute breakdown of government authority in many areas.

Palmer is right to stress this and to chide those historians who have neglected Irish precedents, especially before Robert Peel, in their discussions of the origins, for example, of the London Metropolitan Police bill of 1829. One of the many virtues of this book is the way it deals with developments in policing in both parts of the kingdom equally and in parallel. The result is to suggest some fascinating comparisons and possible links. Those links are not always straightforward. Ireland furnished precedents, but precedents do not necessarily have to be followed. They may have the opposite effect. In this case they served to strengthen many antipolice prejudices on the British mainland in much the same way that even earlier European precedents had done. It is arguable, therefore, that Irish policing set the cause of English policing back. It acted as a warning, as well as an example. And it undoubtedly contributed to the fact that, when a formal English police system did start evolving, it was on very different lines from the Irish constabulary.

Both were effective, the English system particularly so. The early popular resistance against the implementation of industrial capitalism stood no chance. At bottom it came down to sheer strength: "We have the physical force," as General Napier pointed out in 1839, "not they" (p. 437). Intelligence—espionage—was also important, although not enough is made of that here. Both these methods, however, were potentially counterproductive, which is where the value of Peel's new uniformed and unarmed police forces lay. They kept the lid on the cauldron without forcing it and without offending Whiggish sensibilities too greatly. In this way they may have been instrumental in securing the success of the world's first full-scale capitalist experiment, against what might otherwise have been frightening odds.

There is much more in Palmer's book besides this. It runs to eight hundred pages, or (including endnotes) nearly half a million words. Some of the words are unnecessary, especially in the endnotes, which could have been cut by two-thirds. In view of the generous

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room his publishers have allowed him, and his digressions on, for example, policing developments in the empire (pp. 542–44), it is a shame that Palmer could not have found just a word or two for Scotland, as well as for England, Ireland, and Wales. Much of his analysis follows trails blazed before him by other scholars, such as Leon Radzinowicz, Clive Emsley, Galen Broeker, and Robert Storch. But that is all to the good. We needed their findings to be brought together in this way. Palmer also adds a great deal of himself to their work: an immense scholarship, masses of new evidence, scrupulous accuracy, fine understanding, a wide range of speculation, some interesting original ideas, a readable style, and one or two very worthwhile digressions (such as his appendix 5, a computer analysis of the membership of the early Irish police). All in all, this is a marvelous book, probably the most important to have appeared in this general field since E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1964), which it complements admirably.

BERNARD PORTER
University of Hull

NICHOLAS CANNY. *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 149. $25.00.

Nicholas Canny remarks at the end of this book that the early modern period of Irish history has often been the subject of heated debate. This debate, to which Canny has already made a major contribution, will undoubtedly be enhanced with the publication of his latest work. Indeed, chapter 3, "Migration and Opportunity," which appeared earlier in a somewhat different form in *Irish Economic and Social History* (1985), has already elicited a response. This book should not be regarded as Canny's last word on the subject, for, as he explains, it should be seen as a progress report on the way to a more substantial study of Ireland in the English colonial system.

The book is the outcome of the second series of Atlantic Lectures at Johns Hopkins University and consists of four chapters. The first, entitled "Ireland as *Terra Florida*," argues that, by the end of the sixteenth century, Ireland was being governed along colonial lines. The argument is advanced cautiously: other opinions are assessed, but the conclusion is that, by 1600, English officials in Ireland had "come to regard the country as a place to be colonized rather than a commonwealth to be governed" (p. 26). Here certain phenomena, such as the tension between old families and new men in high office, are interpreted as manifestations of a colonial situation, even though we can find the same phenomena in England. Canny also tends to ignore the not entirely unsuccessful attempt to incorporate the native population into the aristocracy, a process that was noticeably absent in America. Moreover, he tends to dismiss strategic considerations as they affected English policy in Ireland, even though their importance became overriding during the 1580s, precisely the point at which he sees the final commitment to a colonial policy emerging.

Ireland was, of course, a colony, at least in part. It is, therefore, all the more disappointing that so little is said about the theory of acculturation in the second chapter, which is supposed to deal with that topic. Edmund Spencer and Sir John Davies are mentioned, but Giraldus Cambrensis, hardly a representative of early modern thought, receives more emphasis. Theory is otherwise dealt with by reference to an anonymous pamphlet of 1615, a comment by Mathew De Renzy, who was not English, and the ideas of Henry Cromwell. And it is not persuasive when the snobbishness of an Irish landowner toward "Irish churls or serfs" is ascribed to "English thinking on the acculturation process" (pp. 42–43).

Far more worthwhile is the section on the practice of acculturation in which Canny shows how the various components of Irish society had to accept one another as integral parts "of the Irish political nation" (p. 55). Similarly, imaginative use of the depositions throws much light on the way this acculturation collapsed on the outbreak of rebellion in 1641. The depositions are also used to good effect in the chapter "Migration and Opportunity," which, although modified from when it was first published, still holds to the original thesis that plantation in Munster produced more fundamental economic change than it did in Ulster. More debate on this subject will occur, particularly because it looks as though Leinster, where there was little plantation, prospered more than the other provinces.

According to Canny, it was only in the middle of the eighteenth century that Ireland shed its status as *Terra Florida* and became a kingdom. This view is also likely to be challenged, but, if it is, the book will have fulfilled its purpose, for it is clearly intended to arouse discussion.

M. PERCEVAL-MAXWELL
McGill University

DONALD HARMAN AKENSON. *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922; An International Perspective.* (Studies in the History of Religion.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 236. $29.95.

This short, rigorously argued "reflective essay" (p. xi) examines the differences, imagined and real, between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants during the nineteenth century. A skilled quantifier, Donald Harman Akenson brings the logic of social inquiry to bear on cultural determinism—the view, often adopted by historians, that rival Catholic and Protestant cultures in Ireland caused the two peoples to differ fundamentally in social behavior. Akenson concludes that what most Irish historians assume to be true must be revised, for the two different worlds of the Irish were "worlds of

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the mind," not worlds of different social behavior (p. 126).

Akenson begins by examining three areas of Catholic and Protestant behavior—economic achievement, family structure, and the treatment of women—to see whether culture created significant differences. He concludes that, although the Catholics of Ireland did suffer from "a comparatively lower socioeconomic status and underrepresentation in 'modern' jobs" (p. 22), the thesis of cultural causation formulated by Max Weber and R. H. Tawney is not justified: the real cause of Catholic disadvantage was the penal code of the 1700s. As for family patterns and sexual mores, Akenson finds the similarities between Catholics and Protestants more important than the differences. He agrees that most Irish males mistreated their women, but he reasons that that was as true of Protestants as of Catholics.

Next, in the most innovative part of the book, Akenson seeks "clean laboratories" (chap. 3) in the Irish experience overseas—New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United States. He argues that, although the "laboratory" of Ireland may be seen as too disturbed to yield reliable results, that is not true of the areas of the world to which the Irish emigrated. Here Akenson shows an impressive critical knowledge of the literature of Irish emigration. He says that the literature, culminating in Kerby Miller's *Exiles of Erin* (1985), rests on four hypotheses: first, Irish emigrants became city people in the new worlds because of their technological backwardness and their miserable experience in farming at home; second, the preference for cities was more pronounced among Irish Catholics than among Irish Protestants; third, Irish Catholics achieved a "markedly lower occupational profile" in the new worlds than Irish Protestants; and fourth, compared to Irish Protestants, Irish Catholic emigrants showed "significantly less rapid upward social mobility" in their new homes (pp. 49–50).

Akenson's arguments regarding those assumptions are too complex to summarize here; suffice it to say his findings are destructive of conventional interpretations. He believes that, although the data from the United States are too vague to prove or disprove any of those hypotheses except the first, on that count some evidence is clear: most Irish immigrants in America became rural, not urban, settlers. The data from New Zealand, Australia, and Canada largely contradict the first two hypotheses and call the third and fourth into doubt.

Then what does account for the separateness of the Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant populations during the nineteenth century? Akenson focuses first on two institutional factors of segregation: the taboo against mixed marriages and the separate educational systems. His discussion of those phenomena is fascinating, not least because he shows that Catholics and Protestants alike maintained them. Next, he analyzes the world views of the two peoples and shows that both were premodern in holding that "the world was governed by spiritual forces" (p. 151). Along the way, Akenson debunks many assumptions held by modern Irish historians that are rooted in the spurious Celtic racialism of the late nineteenth century. Some historians may well be offended by Akenson's abrupt judgments, but they will ignore his revisionism at their peril. He has provided a provocative reconsideration of some main themes in modern Irish history.

THOMAS WILLIAM HEYCK
Northwestern University

AUSTEN MORGAN. *James Connolly: A Political Biography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 244. $49.95.

James Connolly, the Irish syndicalist who was a martyr of the 1916 republican rising in Dublin, is sometimes portrayed as a pragmatic idealogue who successfully blended socialism with nationalism. But that is a view vigorously rejected in this new biography by Austen Morgan. Instead, Morgan believes that Connolly's participation in an insurrection that sought a nationalist republic was a personal misjudgment that seriously compromised the socialist cause in Ireland. It is not a new thesis, but the author does document that argument in a far more specific fashion than has been previously attempted. And, in doing so, Morgan exhibits a thorough familiarity with the dozen or more important studies on Connolly that preceded his own work.

Born in Edinburgh in 1868, Connolly first saw Ireland in a British military uniform while still in his teens. He soon left the army, married, and spent seven years as an active socialist in Ireland where he founded the Irish Socialist Republican party and a journal, *The Worker's Republic*. The people of Ireland were not very receptive to the socialist message, however, and, in 1903, Connolly left the country for the United States where he spent seven years as a trade unionist and syndicalist. He returned to Ireland in 1910 and became actively involved in promoting the political agenda of the Socialist party. Thereafter, in 1911, Connolly became the Belfast organizer for the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and, in the following year, he helped establish the Irish Labour party. Throughout this period, however, he was eclipsed by James Larkin who, together with Connolly, was a driving force in the Dublin lock-out of 1913. But, when Larkin left for America shortly thereafter, Connolly became the unquestioned leader of the Irish labor movement.

With the outbreak of war in 1914, the second Socialist International was essentially destroyed as the workers of Europe undertook to slaughter one another in pursuit of national glory. Connolly, much like those in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, took the view that England's difficulty would be Ireland's opportunity, and his drift from socialist orthodoxy can be traced to this period in time. Morgan feels that the funeral of Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in 1915, and espe-

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cially the oration given on that occasion by Patrick Pearse, had a major influence on Connolly's conversion to nationalism. What the author's neo-Marxist approach finds difficult to reconcile, however, is how people could be equivocal, and even contradictory, in their ideological thinking and how many of them simply did not perceive nationalism and socialism as being exclusively defined in terms of good and evil. The supreme irony, of course, is that Connolly, whose lifelong efforts on behalf of socialism in Ireland had yielded decidedly modest results, was elevated to the pantheon of Irish nationalist heroes as a consequence of his execution following the 1916 Easter Rising.

Subtitled a political biography, this book is also a polemic. The narrative, although it provides an excellent account of Connolly's organizational work within various socialist groups, is nevertheless flawed by the author's own misperceptions. Morgan's bias is that of a British Marxist, and his insensitivity to the dynamics of Green socialism in Ireland is no different from Connolly's failure to better understand the contradictions of Orange socialism in that country.

THOMAS E. HACHEY
Marquette University

A. LYNN MARTIN. *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 256. $29.95.

This study is founded on a reading of the letters written by Jesuits serving in France in the 1560s and 1570s. Although some of these letters have been published and others have been quoted and referred to by Jesuit scholars, especially in the collective work edited by Pierre Delattre, *Les etablissements des Jesuites en France* (1949), A. Lynn Martin's contribution is original, not only because his purpose is not primarily apologetic but also because of the remarkable openness and attentiveness of his approach. He is not out to prove anything, but he listens to his informants.

What he hears is a steady stream of banality. Neither heroic saints nor devilishly clever supermen, the Jesuits show up in these letters as very ordinary men indeed. They worried about their creature comforts, mostly their health and their income. They tended, very sensibly, to run away from epidemics ("Since I was in some danger at Paris . . . because it would have been necessary to visit the sick . . . I decided to go and visit Monseigneur de Clermont" [p. 167]). The vocations of their recruits were sometimes shaky, the judgment of their leaders sometimes hilariously wrong and naive. Thus, Louis Coudret said, when recommending a new recruit, "He is a very good candidate, very learned and very humble and modest . . . he has a canonry and a house in Avignon and a priory nearby." The candidate in question was accepted, ordained, and quickly equipped with a doctorate in theology. As soon as he was put to work, however, he was discovered to be "the most useless person of his age that one could find" (p. 24).

The Jesuits appear to have been poorly prepared for their task of teaching Latin and Greek. Their letters were mostly written in Italian, and their competence in the classroom was in doubt, if one is to believe the rector at Tournon, Claude Matthieu, whose reports on his staff hardly inspire confidence: V. "teaches theology to the very great dissatisfaction of those who hear him"; F. and V. "speak very bad Latin"; B. "knows very little and speaks extremely bad Latin and French"; B. "speaks French a little better, but he cannot say three words of Latin without committing either a horrendous blunder or a barbarism, or both at the same time"; as for M., he "knows very little and is also extremely troubled and restless" (p. 54). The same Claude Matthieu, in the same year, however, wrote of students who were able to compose in both Latin and Greek so well that "you would not say that they are French" (p. 61). Martin merrily ignores such contradictions, while acknowledging that these letters are not entirely trustworthy and sober accounts.

If there is an explanation for the amazing discrepancies, the wild fantasies and exaggerations, it may be provided in a letter written by Father Auger in 1564. Having just sent off a fictitious progress report, he sat down to write a second, corrective letter, in which he explained that the events he had just reported, while not true, strictly speaking, were "like designs for the future" (p. 4). Wishful thinking, in other words, is the trademark of these letters. To discover how things really were, those naive, passionate, credulous voices ought not to be heard a cappella. They should be set against the rich archival sources that document life outside the walls of Jesuit residences in each town where they established precarious footholds against considerable opposition (Bordeaux is a case in point). Martin does not exercise this option, resolutely ignoring even the secondary literature, such as Ernest Gaullieur's studies of education and religious conflict in Bordeaux. Martin's purpose is to find out not what really happened but what went on in the minds of the Reverend Fathers.

GEORGE HUPPERT
University of Illinois, Chicago

JEAN MEUVRET. *Le Problème des subsistances à l'époque Louis XIV*. Volume 3, *Le Commerce des grains et la conjoncture*. In two volumes. (Civilisations et sociétés, number 77.) Paris: L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1988. Pp. 191; 162. 360 fr. the set.

With the appearance of these two volumes, one of text and the other of notes, the posthumous publication of Jean Meuvret's brilliant study *Le Problème des subsistances à l'époque Louis XIV* comes to an end. The first part of this work, which was devoted to the production of cereals, was published in two books, the first appearing

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in 1977 and the second in 1987. Having been virtually finished when Meuvret died, it showed all the marks of his talent and industry and was well received by the profession.

The second part, which was to treat in two books the commerce in grain and the levels of grain prices, was left unfinished. It has now been issued with loving care in its unfinished state. Only the first of the two books was near completion, and at least one of its chapters was never written. The four existing chapters are for the most part in good condition, with perhaps the exception of chapter 4. Originally intended as the introduction to the volume, that chapter was never fully revised, and it repeats some of the information and text in the preceding chapters. From the second book, which was to have dealt with grain prices, we have only fragments, which are found in the volume of notes. Incomplete though this second part may be, we have every reason to be grateful for its appearance, for it throws fresh light on many difficult topics in French rural and economic history and gives new evidence of the luminous intelligence of the distinguished author.

The analytical mode employed by Meuvret will be familiar to readers of his earlier works. To understand the grain trade in seventeenth-century France, he divides that complex subject into all its component parts and rigorously analyzes each part in its turn without losing sight of the unity to which those parts contribute. The archival research on which those analyses rest is extensive, and the logic of the argument unfailingly persuasive.

The overall theme is the fragmentation, disunity, and systemic weakness of the grain trade in France, all of which made for what Meuvret describes as "la tragédie collective des subsistances" (p. 129). The grain trade played merely a partial role in the network of commercial exchange, suffering as it did from the lack of available stocks, grievous deficiencies in transportation, and a shortage of specialized, experienced personnel. The links in the chain needed for a commercial grain network had not all been forged, and many of the links that did exist were of unequal dimension and did not quite fit together. Efforts to market grain faced contradictions and antagonisms at every point.

Of course, deficiencies in agrarian technology limited the amount of cereals that could be harvested, but the harvest itself was largely consumed or otherwise used in the localities where it was produced. So heavy were the commitments of producers to their own families, households, and social superiors that only a modest surplus was available for the market at any time. Except in such favored regions as the concentrated grain-producing strip of coastal Brittany, such grain as was for sale had to be assembled from among a widely dispersed array of small stocks.

Once assembled, the grain had to be transported, and it is in its treatment of the conditions of transport that Meuvret's analysis is particularly revealing. Everyone knows that transport by water was cheaper and faster than transport by land, but in Meuvret's account even that truism becomes complex as the author penetrates the material realities that governed each type of transportation. His analysis extends to the sizes, shapes, and technological characteristics of carts, wagons, boats, and barges; to the construction and upkeep of roads and paths, indeed, even the width of roads and paths; and to the difference in costs incurred by water travel with or against river currents and by overland travel within and outside of a radius from a town or city. The transportation realities that confronted particular merchants or carriers emerge as even more daunting and complicated than had been imagined. Those realities alone would have relegated the greater part of the grain trade to local or regional traffic.

To make matters worse, the truly specialized grain merchant was a rare being indeed, the market being served ordinarily by the part-time dealer whose principal occupation might well be that of innkeeper or tavern proprietor, teamster or boatman, postman or office holder, or, indeed, entrepreneur for whom the grain trade was only one of a range of economic activities. With the exceptions of Paris and Lyon, the market was characterized by low demand, limited activity, and a "calme surpenant" (p. 154) inasmuch as so many individuals at every social level acquired at least some grain from leased or private properties. Even when supplies tightened, driving demand up, the market was slow to respond with appropriate incentives.

Small wonder, then, that the grain merchant was a part-time dealer. Small wonder, too, once one has read Meuvret's penetrating analyses, that a true national or even regional market in grain did not develop in the France of Louis XIV. Much as we regret that this important work is not complete, we owe a great debt to the editors and publishers who have given us so much of it.

JOHN J. HURT
University of Delaware

ERNST SCHULIN. *Die Französische Revolution.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 1988. Pp. 285. DM 38.

The bicentennial of the French revolution inspired historians from around the world to pit themselves against one of the toughest challenges the profession has to offer, that is, writing a readable one-volume account of events in France from 1789 to 1799. At least four new syntheses in English (by George Rudé, John Bosher, William Doyle, and Simon Schama) appeared; the French market was inundated with works on the revolution; and the Freiburg historian Ernst Schulin offers what he bills as the first original effort in German since publication of a longer book by his teacher, Martin Göhring, in the early 1950s.

Given the amount of material that must be compressed, the author of such a book can hardly be expected to offer detailed new findings. The result must be judged by the author's skill in summarizing the research of others, choosing significant aspects to em-

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phasize, and making one of history's most complex events intelligible to nonspecialist readers. By these criteria, Schulin rates only qualified praise. Not himself a specialist in the field, Schulin shows only a patchy acquaintance with recent French, English, and German works on the subject. He draws most heavily from older narrative accounts of the revolution, notably those of Albert Mathiez, Göhring, and François Furet and Denis Richet, but without embracing Furet and Richet's distinctive interpretation.

Schulin's choice of emphases is highly traditional. His narrative centers on national politics from 1789 to 1799, and his sympathies are clearly with the liberal phase of the revolution, although he concedes that the leaders of the National Assembly made some serious mistakes and that their Jacobin successors were forced to deal with dramatic crises that justified extreme measures. The only novelty in the book's structure is Schulin's decision to put his sections on the background of the revolution after the account of events from 1789 to 1792, in order to avoid, he says, the danger of making the revolution appear the foreordained consequence of developments in the late *ancien régime*. One doubts that ordinary German readers will appreciate this logic, and they are not likely to be charmed by Schulin's flat-footed prose.

Non-German historians who turn to this work looking for insights into the condition of history writing in the Federal Republic will be disappointed. The book's only distinctively German feature is an old-fashioned survey of revolutionary historiography that consumes an extraordinary 30 of the 254 pages of text. After a wordy and not entirely accurate evaluation of the deaths caused by the Terror, Schulin does devote a few paragraphs to the recent French polemics assimilating the Vendée to the Holocaust, concluding, sensibly enough, that the two phenomena are hardly comparable. Other than that, Schulin has produced a bland, drab account. He follows Göhring in denouncing the traditional German hostility toward the revolution's liberal and democratic ideals, but his book is hardly likely to inspire students or general readers with any real interest in the subject. Anyone who wants a sense of what is special about West German scholarship in this field will do better to seek out the collective volume edited by Rolf Reichardt and also titled *Die Französische Revolution* (1988); it provides an original and innovative West German contribution to the debate on the revolution that the bicentennial has provoked.

JEREMY D. POPKIN
University of Kentucky

MARC A. GOLDSTEIN. *The People in French Counter-Revolutionary Thought.* (American University Studies, ninth series; History, number 36.) New York: Peter Lang. 1988. Pp. 265. $38.50.

The strength of this study is its focus on the ideas of the French counterrevolutionaries; Marc A. Goldstein examines the ideas "in themselves, to see what conceptual bases they stand upon, how they add up and what this entails" (p. 14). The fundamental achievement of these thinkers, Goldstein contends, was to respond to the challenge of the revolution "by exploring the ramifications of natural law and elaborating these in formal terms with a breadth matched neither before nor after the revolution" (p. 15). Using the idea of the people as a point of focus, the author delineates the formal political theory of representative counterrevolutionary writers, elucidates both the logical coherence and the limitations of their theories, and concludes by showing how their limited understanding of economics enfeebled their attempts to construct an alternative to the economic vision of their opponents. In the end, Goldstein believes, the counterrevolutionaries "ultimately joined with the new leaders of society in increasing the number, exploiting the labor and fearing the eruptions of the people" (p. 213).

Although the author has apparently thought hard about methodological problems (to judge from the extended discussion in his introduction), intractable difficulties remain. His decision to exclude context (biographical and bibliographical details concerning the writers and the circumstances of their works) renders suspect his choice of evidence. His exposition of the thought of Joseph de Maistre, for example, is drawn mainly from *Etude sur la souveraineté*, an unfinished piece that remained unpublished until fifty years after the author's death. No rationale is given for why some thinkers and works are included and others excluded. Similarly, Goldstein's decision to avoid direct reference to the work of other scholars who have studied these thinkers (p. 3) means avoiding debate with those whose readings differ from his own.

More serious difficulties arise from Goldstein's treatment of "natural law," since he conceives the subject of his book as "the swansong of natural law theory" (p. 16). Largely ignoring the history of natural law theorizing and the diversity of theories within that tradition, Goldstein's exposition of the political thought of Maistre, Augustin Barruel, and Louis de Bonald fails to explain how problematic their relationship to that tradition really was. In their attack on "reason," in their exaltation of "prejudice," and in their conception of "laws of society" analogous to Newtonian "laws of nature," these thinkers were, in effect, repudiating essential elements in the traditional Catholic understanding of natural law. Although Goldstein discusses their rejection of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's concept of the general will, he fails to appreciate the implications of their acceptance of Rousseau's voluntaristic understanding of law. If law is primarily a matter of will (and not reason), the traditional concept of natural law as a law of reason obviously suffers.

Numerous misprints, a couple so serious as to render the text incomprehensible (pp. 115, 136), disfigure the volume. The index is of limited utility because it lists only names with no subheads. On the other hand, extensive endnotes reproduce the French texts of most

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of the longer citations, and there is also a brief bibliography.

In summary, despite its limitations, this is a useful survey of the thought of the major French counterrevolutionary theorists.

RICHARD A. LEBRUN
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KATHERINE A. LYNCH. *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France: Social Policy and the Working-Class Family, 1825–1848*. (Life Course Studies.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 272. Cloth $39.50, paper $18.75.

Early phases of industrialization during the first half of the nineteenth century in France had social impacts severe enough to inspire bourgeois intervention in working-class life and in the system of industrial capitalism itself. As pauperization became more palpable, lingering memories of revolutionary upheaval inspired social observers, administrators, and policy makers to mold workers in their own image in order to close a cultural chasm between classes that, they believed, threatened the future of France.

Katherine A. Lynch steps well beyond previous scholarship by carefully dissecting the moral values of those reformers and arguing that the basis of their ideology was essentially humanitarian instead of self-serving. She also examines the working-class reality to which policies were directed and worker responses to those policies. The two middle-class perspectives on the social problems of industrialization that most influenced policy were held by Social Catholics and moral economists. In response to what they perceived as moral degradation resulting from industrial capitalism, the reformers wished to establish an interclass "moral community" in which the virtues of "reciprocity, mutual obligation and solidarity" would receive priority (p. 224).

Both moral economists and Social Catholics targeted the family as the only institution through which that moral community could be constructed. They focused primarily on the perceived problems of early marriages and concubinage, the abandonment of children, and child labor. Lynch examines the formulation and implementation of policy in Lille, Rouen, and Mulhouse. In trying to measure the reality of workers' lives against the bourgeois image of them, she comes to the following conclusions. First, the practice of early and common law marriages must be understood within the context of migration, and migration had a more disruptive impact on family life than historians have previously suggested. Second, a great variety of moral and material factors led to the abandonment of children, and those factors did not change much with industrialization. And, finally, child labor in factories marked not only a break with the past but also a break in family bonds that was more severe than historians have previously argued. Working-class family behavior, in general, changed "much less radically" with industrialization than the Social Catholics and moral economists believed. Lynch's conclusions provide an important corrective to studies that have stressed working-class flexibility and adjustment in the face of industrial change.

The difference between image and reality in this book is not always clear. The moral economists, for example, used extensive empirical data to support their arguments for implementing sometimes inhumane policies. Lynch does not always establish whether their data were correct, and evidence she gathered from her three cities is, for understandable reasons, incomplete. In her fascinating discussion of child abandonment, she demonstrates that the poor resorted to this unfortunate practice during industrialization for the same reasons they always had, but she does not establish clearly whether the moral economists were correct in thinking that the existence of *tours*, where parents could leave babies anonymously, actually encouraged abandonment.

Lynch's primary purpose is to understand better the bourgeoisie, of which she considers the Social Catholics and moral economists to be representative. She certainly succeeds in that goal, particularly in her careful examination of the philosophical and methodological differences between those two groups. Indeed, she skillfully maps a developing bourgeois conscience. Her contribution in that regard would have been even greater had she commented, at least briefly, on the ways the early industrial bourgeoisie provided a foundation for its late nineteenth-century counterpart. In particular, she might have said something about the relationship between the Social Catholics she examines and those who emerged after the Commune and who had far greater importance than the purely charitable functions into which, she says, they lapsed.

Historians have spent a great deal of time studying the ideology and moral economy of workers. With the exception of Peter Stearns in *Paths to Authority* (1978), no one has attempted to examine in detail middle-class attitudes toward the laboring poor during the early industrial period, particularly the ideology behind policies that were intended to intervene in the most private aspects of workers' lives. Furthermore, no one has attempted to examine workers' responses to those policies. This book certainly makes a significant contribution in both those respects and should be read by anyone seeking to understand the nature of class relations.

ELINOR ACCAMPO
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PATRICIA E. PRESTWICH. *Drink and the Politics of Social Reform: Antialcoholism in France since 1870*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship. 1988. Pp. 365.

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In 1977 the per capita consumption of alcohol in France was still no lower than it had been in 1913. This thoroughly researched and highly informative study sets out to explain the failure of temperance efforts there. Marxist historians will find persuasive evidence in this book of the overriding influence of economic factors on alcohol consumption in France. Patricia E. Prestwich does not oversimplify the question in purely economic terms, however, but offers a balanced discussion of the importance also of contemporary medical knowledge, cultural traditions, and sociopolitical factors.

Advances in agricultural science by the 1850s allowed the widespread replanting of vineyards with higher-yielding rootstock; a decade later the technique for the extraction of alcohol from sugar beets was perfected. By the turn of the century, the resulting, serious overproduction of both wine and spirits led government concerns about rising alcoholism to be suppressed in favor of efforts to encourage the public to drink to prevent the economic ruin of the producers. If the 1.6 million grape growers (accounting, with their families, for some 7 to 10 percent of the population) were a sector of the electorate too large to be ignored, the purveyors of drinks, the so-called *bistrocratie*, gained more direct influence through better organization. In 1916 they even toppled the minister of war, who sought to solve disciplinary problems by restricting the sale of spirits to soldiers. The Vichy government launched "the most comprehensive program against alcoholism yet initiated in France" (p. 247), but little was implemented. The measures of the government of Pierre Mendès France in 1954–55 were "unique in their breadth, imagination, and political courage" (p. 269), yet all they achieved were "widespread attention, a high degree of public support, and almost no results" (p. 270).

The emphasis of this book is, then, different from other, recent studies of temperance movements in Europe, which have tended to stress their positive aspects as effective outlets for popular political expression. Prestwich sees failure and provides thoughtful explanations for it. The many temperance organizations had difficulty sustaining interest even among their own members. As one leader put it in 1921, "Once you have founded a group and had three or four meetings, you have said almost everything" (p. 192).

Prestwich is well attuned to the recent literature on the medical profession in France and examines the domination of the discourse about alcoholism by psychiatrists. To their social prejudices was added pharmacological ignorance about the etiology of the disease, held to be caused primarily by the excessive consumption of spirits. Suggestions that wine, the national drink, might bear some of the blame were brusquely denied. Indeed, in early treatments for alcoholism, French doctors actually prescribed wine for their patients. A minister of education, Mario Roustan, urged in 1931 that children should drink as much wine as possible, arguing that abstainers would more likely fall prey to spirits, cocaine, and heroin.

Ultimately, though, the material, economic factors loom largest in the broad sweep of this book. Even as recently as 1943, only 38 percent of French communes had a safe drinking-water supply. With mineral water highly taxed, is it any wonder that the French turned to the fruits of the vine?

GEOFFREY J. GILES
University of Florida

ROBERT H. JOHNSTON. *"New Mecca, New Babylon": Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920–1945*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 254. $29.95.

Some political exiles go home to take power, and many others leave home forever after losing power. Although historians tend to study the early exile of eventual political winners more than the later exile of political losers, Robert H. Johnston writes about Russian émigrés who fled from the Bolshevik revolution and became early examples of the vast refugee migrations that have streamed away from twentieth-century conflicts and regimes in all parts of the world. His specific purpose in this well-researched, informative study is to "brush away some of the dust burying that part of the Russian diaspora which found refuge in France" (p. 6), perhaps one hundred twenty thousand people out of the roughly one million who left Russia after 1917. According to Johnston, however, the exiles in Paris provided intellectual and cultural leadership for a Russian emigration that was dispersed in the 1920s and 1930s throughout Europe, Asia, and America.

Johnston uses a collective biography of the émigrés in France to argue that they have been unfairly stereotyped as eccentric nobles, reactionary tsarists, and latter-day taxi drivers. Some of those characters appear in Johnston's book, but he focuses on a far more diverse group of journalists, novelists, democratic socialists, and liberal intellectuals to show the creative activity of an emigration that claimed the cultural status of "Russia abroad" (p. 5). Despite the author's explicit intention to recover the history of the exile masses along with the exile elite, his analysis deals mostly with prominent figures (for example, V. A. Maklakov, P. N. Miliukov, A. F. Kerensky, and M. V. Vishniak) whose articles, books, and memoirs reveal more about the famous than about the unknown. Johnston's emphasis on writers suggests that intellectuals played an important role in émigré society. They gave purpose and coherence to the emigration by proclaiming their duty to protect Russia's true national heritage, a cultural mission that consoled and united émigrés who otherwise disagreed on almost every political issue except for their opposition to V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

The émigrés' political and cultural interests made Paris the most appealing place to live, partly because of

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the French capital's lively intellectual heritage and partly because most émigrés wanted to emphasize their link with European culture. But those who went to Paris seeking the "new Mecca" of free speech and political opportunity found also a "new Babylon" in which they were frequently ignored or categorized as strange outsiders. Unable to find good work or to gain a secure legal status, most Russians lived in extreme economic hardship and found themselves alienated from the French, from other exiles (who were mostly leftist refugees from fascism), and even from their own children who assimilated French culture.

Johnston discusses these various tribulations with interesting, specific examples and a balanced, concise use of Russian and French sources. He recognizes that the emigration's political programs were historically doomed or irrelevant, yet he also explains that some émigrés became Europe's first thoughtful analysts of Soviet society and that others (for example, Vladimir Nabokov and Henri Troyat) made original contributions to world literature. In short, Johnston describes the achievements and local victories of some unhappy losers without ignoring their many historical problems, failures, and defeats.

LLOYD S. KRAMER
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JULIAN JACKSON. *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934–38*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 353. $54.50.

After more than a half-century, the French Popular Front retains its fascination. For some it is a living legend, glorious, despite its evident failures, as example and inspiration. The union, however brief and brittle, of a hitherto disunited Left plus contagious popular enthusiasm for anti-fascism, republican defense, and social change stand as a precious moment of resolve in the tawdry history of the Third Republic. For others, on the Left and the Right, the moment remains lamentable, a source of deception or the outright cause of future debacles, such as the defeat of 1940 or the desiccation of the revolutionary spirit in France. Partisanship as well as passion run deep in much writing about the Popular Front, largely in France; strangely few scholarly studies have been devoted to it since the late 1960s.

In this volume, Julian Jackson, author of a superb account of depression politics in France between 1932 and 1936, provides a general, synthetic history, which draws on specialized works and archival sources. He concedes readily that his work is not particularly revisionist and acknowledges that the Popular Front lived as a myth, that "its words were among its most important acts" (p. xii), thus making elusive a just measure of its accomplishments and meaning. Attention is devoted principally to the Popular Front as a mass movement, a political coalition, and a government, and discussion of each provides both narrative and engagement with the main lines of historical debate.

This approach yields abundant success in offering analysis of the state of the debate, but it is less successful in providing a general history. Its strengths are clear. For example, persuasive argument is offered to demonstrate that the Communists were both opportunistic and cautious and possessed a supreme sense of timing, a formula that gave them much popular credit and political advantage. In addition, Jackson understands Léon Blum very well and offers a portrait of a leader with truly exceptional qualities of intelligence and humanity confounded by events, by other leaders, on the Left and on the Right, and by his certainties as well as his uncertainties. Excellent, too, are analyses of the strikes of June 1936, of the economic aims, activities, and failure of the Blum government of 1936–37, and of the popular enthusiasm and participation that made the Popular Front possible.

Yet there is much more to do. Jackson provides a lively chapter on the cultural ferment of the period, including the political cinema and mobilization of intellectuals, but it is without the richness of detail and analysis of those cited above. The Right, whose hatred and hostility toward the Popular Front were extraordinary by any standard, is given very brief treatment. Similarly, foreign policy, interpreted as increasingly decisive in domestic political choices, and attitudes about international affairs, for example, what was meant by "pacificism," are not explored as perhaps they deserve to be. Finally, little is said about the structures of the parties and organizations, both are too readily identified with the thoughts and actions of their leaders with oversimplification the result.

This is the first substantial history published in English of the French Popular Front. Its strengths and fair-mindedness are compelling. It provides summary, synthesis, and explanation and should serve to stimulate research that will result in the many special studies that are surely needed.

NATHANAEL GREENE
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JACQUES CAPDEVIELLE and RENE MOURIAUX. *Mai 68: L'Entre-deux de la modernité; Histoire de trente ans*. Paris: La Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 1988. Pp. 317. 165 fr.

"Tout commence en mystique et finit en politique." About the events in France in May 1968, at least, Charles Péguy was mistaken. What began as a discrete series of unmistakably political events has acquired, with the passage of time, a mystique out of all proportion to its significance. The torrent of memoirs and analyses devoted to this subject has all too often been at the service of personal or collective self-aggrandizement (or, less frequently, self-abasement). Dispassionate accounts that seek to set 1968 in a larger historical process are rare, and this analytical history by two

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well-known French political scientists is thus a welcome addition to the literature.

Jacques Capdevielle and René Mouriaux have not, however, set out to tell once again the story of that year. Instead, they have a thesis about its place in recent French history. May 1968, they claim, was a parenthesis in what they term the "problematic of modernity" (p. 17). This is not wildly original—it is compatible with the contemporary observations of Michel Crozier and Raymond Aron—but it does make sense of a whole complex of developments, which the book sets out in a chronology of the French experience since the mid-1950s. The population explosion of the postwar years, the crisis in the Left precipitated by Charles de Gaulle's consolidation of power and his new constitution, and the rapid economic transformation of the previous fifteen years all contributed to the "cultural" crisis in French life of which 1968 was a symptom, albeit a startling one.

In this view, the events of May and June 1968 in France constituted three discrete crises: the problem of a higher education system utterly unfitted to absorb a 225 percent increase in students in the decade 1958–68; a strike wave that was already in evidence in 1967 and that did not abate until the mid-1970s; and a political trauma triggered by the social conflicts but with its roots in a divided Left and a conservative party undergoing internal transformation. Although this way of breaking the moment up into its parts risks tending to the counterintuitive—something really did happen in May 1968 that cannot be analyzed into invisibility—it does help account for certain oddities of the time.

Thus, the authors emphasize the contrast between the scale of "action" in 1968 and the unremarkable results achieved: a minor educational reform and some short-lived gains for organized labor. They also note the paradox that it was the very "official" Left, which was so humiliated in 1968 (witness François Mitterrand's many false moves at the time), that recovered within a decade and emerged once again influential and effective, while hardly any of the prominent young men of May have found themselves a place in French political (as distinct from cultural) life in the ensuing years. Here the leitmotif of "modernity" helps illustrate the erroneous perspectives of 1960s "leftism"—the marginal workers (women, immigrants, the unskilled) whom the new Left saw as the avant-garde of a new revolutionary wave turned out to be the latest helpless victims of the transformation of French industrial capacity. By 1981, theorists and workers alike could look only to the new Socialist party and its renascent leader, himself a paradoxical bridge between the old politics and the New France.

The thesis, then, is fine as far as it goes. May 1968 probably will be recorded as an angry hiccup in the helter-skelter transformation of postwar France, a culturally determined response to deeper disturbances and frustrations. What this book fails to address, however, is why, in France, response to change took (takes?) such a form. Nor do the authors ask themselves why modernity should have been challenged in Paris in 1968 just when similar upheavals were occurring worldwide. It is good to be reminded of how silly people could be in those years and how naively inconsequential. But to classify the moment as a cultural parenthesis is only to describe it anew. To be explained it must be taken a little more seriously. But then, in the France of 1990, there are strong political motives for seeking to diminish the significance of the debates and myths of the 1960s. Perhaps Péguy was right after all.

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R. A. STRADLING. *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621–1665*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 381. $59.50.

During the reign of Philip IV (1621–65), imperial Spain reached the zenith of its military power only to suffer ignominious decline. Despite the significance of this period, little is known about Philip. From 1621 to 1643, he was dominated by his *valido*, the count-duke of Olivares. So much historical attention has been devoted to Olivares and his period of ascendancy that both Philip and the last twenty-three years of his reign have been almost totally ignored. Consequently, Philip IV remains very much the distant figure in the mirror as portrayed in Velazquez's famous canvas *Las Meninas*.

It is the singular merit of R. A. Stradling's book that Philip emerges from the background to take his appointed place in the foreground of Spanish history. In the process, he sheds his traditional characterization as a weakling, addicted in his youth to pleasure and in his maturity to pious self-pity, while remaining throughout dependent on stronger people around him. Stradling's Philip IV is an intellectual, a would-be military commander, and a conscientious Christian who through study and experience prepared himself for a lengthy period of relatively successful personal rule.

Philip IV's emergence from dependence to independence constitutes the main theme of Stradling's study. The process commenced in 1627–28 when the combination of a near-fatal illness followed by the debacle of the Mantuan War produced in Philip a "coming of age" (p. 92) manifested by a desire to be more involved in government and to lead an army into battle. During these years a tension developed in his relations with Olivares that came to a head in 1642, two years after the Revolt of Catalonia, when Philip, against Olivares's wishes, took personal command of his army in Aragon. Having become as publicly reviled as his *valido*, Philip by this action inaugurated a new phase in his reign and his life: he "crossed his Rubicon" and experienced his "Canossa" (pp. 214–15). Olivares fell from power shortly thereafter, in January 1643. For Stradling, "The year 1643 marks the end of Philip's journey, which had taken some fifteen years, from dependence

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on a mundane substitute to direct reliance on the heavenly *Todopoderoso*" (p. 270). At this point, "the age of the *valido* had come to an end" (p. 267). Philip's rule became a personal rule, his independence ensured by a careful balancing of rival court factions. Despite the manifold problems that he encountered during the late 1640s, Philip regained his popularity and became the architect of Spain's survival. Indeed, according to Stradling, despite recent historical opinion to the contrary, the power of the Spanish crown was not substantially less in the 1650s than it had been thirty or even fifty years earlier.

Stradling's study is not primarily biographical; by far the greater emphasis is not on Philip but on the *government of Spain, 1621–65. Stradling examines in* detail the workings of court and government, the interplay of factions, the relations between crown and Cortes, aristocracy and church. In doing so he brings a fresh perspective to this period in Spanish history. For example, he casts a far colder eye on Olivares than does J. H. Elliott, the leading historian of the count-duke. Stradling has a penchant for hyperbole, and one might quibble with his designation of 1643 as the year of the Spanish Fronde. But more striking are his skeptical judgments on the interpretations of other historians who have written on aspects of this period. His book makes a most valuable contribution to the field, not least of all by bringing life and thought into the inscrutable face of Philip IV.

CHARLES JOSEPH JAGO
Huron College

VICTOR ALBA and STEPHEN SCHWARTZ. *Spanish Marxism versus Soviet Communism: A History of the P.O.U.M.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1988. Pp. xi, 323. $44.95.

This book is basically Victor Alba's 1973 work, originally published in Spanish, translated and given a final chapter by Stephen Schwartz. It is dedicated to Andrés Nin and Joaquín Maurín. Those two Catalans might have remained obscure revolutionary writers if not for the struggles of Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky in the Soviet Union and of Francisco Franco and George Orwell during the Spanish Civil War.

Nin, killed by Stalinists in 1937, became one of the martyrs of the second Spanish republic; Maurín, who survived a Franco prison, died in New York in 1973. As its subtitle indicates, this book is the story of their tiny "Trotskyist" party, the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), created in 1935 in opposition to the small Stalinist Communist party of Spain (PCE). During the 1920s Nin and Maurín were both Communists in a secret illegal sect of about five hundred Spaniards. Nin pursued Comintern politics in the Soviet Union until his expulsion in 1930, while Maurín stayed in Catalonia, much of the time in jail.

The Spanish republic, launched in April 1931, tolerated the activities of Nin and Maurín, as well as those of anarchist and socialist parties and unions. From 1928 until about September 1934, Nin remained dedicated to the exiled Trotsky's ideas on revolution. Maurín was devoted to a Spanish working-class revolution inspired by both Lenin's and Trotsky's activities of 1917. Both believed in Lenin's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Neither, after the late 1920s, wanted anything to do with Stalin. So the PCE regarded Nin, Maurín, and the POUM as rivals who might rob the Stalinists of potential recruits.

For those historians unacquainted with the details of the Spanish Civil War, this scholarly and well-documented book sheds light on the origins of the Popular Front and the struggles on the Spanish Left. There is little clarification, however, as to how Spaniards might have applied Karl Marx's ideas to problems of social injustice. There is even less about the Soviet Union. In their efforts to recruit workers to their views, Nin and Maurín promoted revolution from 1931 until 1936. Maurín was principally a party organizer and Nin a union organizer; both were writers. Maurín was the only POUM member of the Popular Front Cortes elected in February 1936, and, after the Civil War erupted, he was jailed in an area where the rebels prevailed. The insurgent generals' counterrevolution was in part a response to the threat of working-class revolution advocated by the POUM, the PCE, and other radicals in Spain's major labor unions, the socialist UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores), and the anarchist CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo).

During the war the POUM presented two problems for Stalin. First, Nin, who became an official in the Catalan government, was a former Soviet resident who did not believe in Stalin's version of the purge trials then going on in the Soviet Union. Second, and more important, the POUM wanted to seize the opportunity provided by the war to promote worker and peasant revolution against capitalism and feudalism. Stalin, on the other hand, sought to use the Spanish conflict to combat the Axis brand of fascism in Europe.

The notion that Spain would be a pawn in a great power struggle was totally foreign to the POUM leaders. They maintained a Bolshevik fantasy of 1917, that a second Russian-style social revolution could be pulled off in the Spain of 1936. Stalin, however, not only was by then in a counterrevolutionary phase at home but also was paranoid in believing that Trotsky, in exile in Mexico, could somehow capitalize on a Spanish revolution. The fact that the POUM leaders rejected further association with Trotsky after September 1934 proved unconvincing to the Soviet dictator.

Thus, in May and June of 1937, following fighting in Barcelona among republican factions, pro-Soviet republicans had Nin and perhaps fifty other leaders executed. The POUM party was disbanded. George Orwell, a member of the POUM militia, barely escaped to write *Homage to Catalonia*. The aftermath of the bloody "May Days" smudged the democratic reputation of the beleaguered Spanish republic and proved to be one of the key turning points of the civil war. The

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whole story lacks clear heroes or villains but is an interesting tale of the blind leading the blind.

This scholarly work, with its impressive footnotes, index, and bibliography, merits careful attention by historians of the Spanish Civil War. Schwartz, a labor union organizer and a fellow at the Hoover Institution, and Alba, a Catalan and an "ex POUMster" who has had a long academic career in the United States, present a perceptive and compelling story. One can, however, criticize their romanticized version of the revolution and entertain some doubts that the Stalinists were always wrong, always trying to dominate, and that the POUM always set "a correct line." The "alwayses," "nevers," and "onlys" scattered throughout this book create a sense of unease. This work is good, passionate history, but it only tells half of the story. In the future, a historian who has access to Communist party archives should relate the POUM story as seen from Moscow.

For Spanish historians, Alba presents further evidence against republican Prime Minister Juan Negrín, who loses more of his already tarnished reputation. Alba accuses Negrín of covering up the execution of Nin and the POUM affair, despite a show trial in October 1938. There are also some novel sketches of important women who participated in the Spanish Civil War in Schwartz's chapter on foreigners and the POUM.

Alba and Schwartz show to the passionate American anti-communist that Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Spanish working-class revolutionaries, fascists, and liberals had complex, multifaceted motivations for taking up arms and seeking revolution during the 1930s. The POUM story, although anti-Stalinist, does not easily fit into the reactionary ethos popular in America from the end of World War II to the present Gorbachev era.

ROBERT H. WHEALEY
Ohio University

MICHAEL F. METCALF, editor. *The Riksdag: A History of the Swedish Parliament.* New York: St. Martin's. 1987. Pp. xii, 347. $39.95.

In a sense this book is a distillation of the best scholarship produced by two generations of Swedish historians and political scientists. The subject is one that has attracted few scholars outside Sweden, although passing tribute is given to the excellent historical work by Michael Roberts and Michael F. Metcalf, who has both edited this book and written part 3 of the study.

Herman Schück, in his essay, examines Sweden's parliamentary institutions from the high Middle Ages until the opening of the seventeenth century. He finds the rudiments of a parliament at the end of the thirteenth century on those occasions when kings consulted with secular and spiritual lords. These informal conversations, he believes, could be termed a *parlamentum*. Subsequently, he finds the roots of the four-estate Riksdag in royal conversations with burghers and free peasants in addition to the talks with nobles and members of the clergy. The agreements that were concluded had the earmarks of a political contract. Schück maintains that the Arboga meeting of 1435 hardly qualified as a parliament, but he indicates that the frequent meetings with the lords are the origin of the Council of the Realm, which served as de facto ruler during interregnums and was linked intimately to the noble estate in the later, structured Riksdag. It was indeed the council and the associated aristocracy that provided leadership for Sweden's independence from the Scandinavian Union. When Sten Sture proclaimed the principle that "what touches all must be approved by all," he was in effect putting a stamp of approval on representative government. It was in this transitional era, which led to Swedish independence, that the Riksdag developed an organization and a mode of procedure that was to qualify it as a legitimate part of government in succeeding years.

In part 2, Göran Rystad describes the period sometimes called Sweden's Era of Greatness (1611–1718). It was a period in which the main royal offices were organized into colleges, and the Council of the Realm began to function like a cabinet. Perhaps of greater importance, however, was the Instrument of Government adopted in 1634, which signaled certain rights of the Riksdag and implied theoretically that there were limits to royal authority. It was in this period that one can observe a new alignment in the Riksdag, specifically non-nobles versus the privileged nobility. This alignment had some consequence in curbing the noble estate, but in the process the occasional cooperation of the non-nobles with the monarchy enabled the king to take on the mantle of absolutism. In fact, the Riksdag was, for all practical purposes, ignored in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and it was left in total limbo during the years in which Karl XII was absent from the country during the Great Northern War. The Council of the Realm exercised sovereign authority.

Metcalf deals with the experiences and changes that took place in the eighteenth century. The Riksdag had considerable power initially, but that was followed by the political coup of Gustav III and the suppression of the Riksdag during the balance of his reign and that of his successor, Gustav IV. Meanwhile, despite frustrations, each of the estates matured.

Leaders emerged, political parties made their appearance, and the creation of various committees and deputations brought the four estates into the mainstream of political decision making. These developments enabled the Riksdag to be a more effective body of government after the deposition of Gustav IV Adolf in 1809.

Sten Carlsson deals with the Riksdag as an integral part of a rapidly changing Sweden in the nineteenth century. The Instrument of Government of 1809 clarified once and for all the political roles of the king and the Council of State and Riksdag. The period after 1809 was alive with issues, most of them a by-product of industrialization. The political bifurcation that resulted was basically between the conservatives (nobles

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and clergy) and the liberals (burghers and peasants). But actual progress was hamstrung by the four-estate system. Change was in the air. The Swedish aristocracy was losing some of its identity by intermarriage with commoners. The clergy became more and more concerned with issues that went beyond church and religion and lost its monopoly in education. Social mobility was gradually affecting the composition of both the burgher and peasant estates.

It was Louis de Geer, de facto prime minister, who proposed as early as 1860 that a two-house legislature, each with equal power, be established. The four-estate Riksdag was permanently disbanded in 1866. The bicameral legislature quickly acquired characteristics that were becoming common among other advanced countries, for example, political parties that reflected social and economic interests and a lower house that was rapidly becoming prominent. The steady increase of the Social Democratic party reflected the growth of a laboring class and the intellectual support of academics. Tariffs, taxes, and trade matters as well as suffrage and questions of defense were commonly on the agenda, and the debates were frequently bitter. The outbreak of World War I prompted all parties to close ranks, and coalition governments became the pattern during the war and later during economic crises.

In part 5, Nils Stjernquist deals with the period after World War I and points out how true parliamentarism blossomed in Sweden. This period was dominated more and more by spokespersons for the Social Democrats. There were political groupings in the Riksdag, but thanks to Social Democratic leadership the Riksdag managed to create gradually what ideologues might call a "welfare state" but that pragmatists such as the American Marquis Childs preferred to call the "middle way." By this time service in the Riksdag had become a full-time job, and the political arena did attract some very able—at times, brilliant—spokespersons from the ranks of business, industry, labor, agriculture, and education. They were to be found in every party.

Minor constitutional changes occurred from time to time, all of them leading to a responsible form of government in which the reigning monarch was left with little but moral authority and the prime minister and the cabinet were subject to the will and wishes of the Riksdag members. With the constitutional reform of 1969, Sweden adopted a unicameral system, and, since then, it is not too much to say that the Riksdag is the leading branch of government. The time has long since passed when a king or aspiring claimant consulted with a few leading heads of family (in a *parlamentum*) and then proceeded to do what he thought best.

This attractive volume is a distinguished contribution to our knowledge of Swedish parliamentary history. The various translations are accurate and the language clear. Well-selected illustrations add to the usefulness of the book. It is by all odds the best thing available on the subject in the English language.

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BERNT RALFNERT. *Kvinnoprästdebatten i Sverige i perspektivet kyrka-stat* [The Debate over Women Priests in Sweden in the Perspective of Church-State Relations]. Malmö: The Author. 1988. Pp. 390.

Bernt Ralfnert surveys in detail and with elaborate documentation the involved history of relations between church and state in Sweden with the question of women as priests as the special focus of attention. Since 1920 the issue has been recognized as viable, and it has become involved in the complications of church polity, biblical interpretation, women's rights, and sexual equality, as well as the place of the church in society. Theologians, politicians, and everyone in Swedish society has been affected. The divisiveness of the issue has deeply concerned church leaders, such as Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, already disturbed by the materialistic leanings of the laboring class and the decreasing religious interest of the intellectual leadership.

In an era that emphasized democracy and the equality of the sexes, lay people found it difficult to accept the ecclesiastical objections to women as priests. And was the question one for the church or the state to decide? Conservative elements tended to be sympathetic to the church leaders' point of view, whereas the Social Democrats regarded equality (*jämlikhet*) as itself a sacred value. Why were not women as suitable as men for the priesthood? If women and men were equal in rights and responsibilities in society as a whole, why not in the church? Those who could not accept the idea of women delivering the sacrament came up with the idea of creating a new institution using women who also did other religious duties. Thus could be circumvented the law of 1686 as well as some of the prejudice.

Women had achieved equality in education in 1841 and had gradually made gains in other fields. By 1920 the women's movement was strong enough to force consideration of the issue of women in the priesthood, if not strong enough to win. Slowly some leaders shifted their opinions, notably Arthur Engberg, a Marxist and Social Democrat who called for the separation of church and state. But he became frightened by Nazism and changed his attitude. He decided that priesthood was a state office, and he became a cabinet member as ecclesiastic and education minister. Secularization continued, equality was established, and the church-state complex was replaced by a church-folk complex. The church became better adapted to a secularized society. In 1960, women were granted permission to become priests, and the church was officially declared to be a "community of faith."

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R. PO-CHIA HSIA, editor. *The German People and the Reformation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. vii, 303.

R. Po-Chia Hsia has compiled an exemplary volume of essays, written by himself and eleven other prominent historians, on the social dimensions of the German Reformation. Hsia divides the articles among four broad topics: "Cities and the Reformation"; "Transmitting the Reformation"; "Women, Family, and Religion"; and "Impact of the Reformation." Several of the essays encompass more than one of these themes, however, and most are on the urban setting.

In "In Search of the Godly City: The Domestication of Religion in the German Urban Reformation," Thomas A. Brady, Jr. finds that, even if the Reformation owed much to popular attraction, to renegade preachers, and to pressure exerted on magistrates from below, the support of the magistracy was essential to the reform's success. Brady implicitly calls into question efforts to define a clean-cut typology of people's Reformation, conciliar Reformation, and prince's Reformation. In the end, extra-urban influences frustrated the effort to create "godly cities."

Günther Vogler, in "Imperial City Nuremberg, 1524–1525: The Reform Movement in Transition," studies the crisis phase of the Reformation. The initial anticlerical unity among all lay classes began to dissolve and polarize early in 1524; peasants and artisans opposed oligarchs. This is a quite classic Marxist formulation that traces the cause to economics, with Lutheran theology ("the freedom of a Christian") providing the ideological structure within whose terms radicals justified their insubordination. I detect conditional wording in a number of assertions that are crucial to the author's thesis: "The movement in the countryside was directed above all against the payment of tithes to clerics and to ecclesiastical institutions, *possibly* also against many feudal obligations that grew out of manorial relations of dependence [emphasis added]" (p. 38); "The refusal to pay the tithe *could very well* have grown into a broader social movement that challenged feudal land obligations [emphasis added]" (p. 41). Justifying the common people's failure to direct their energy against the feudal order per se (Karl Marx is cited), Vogler credits the effective intervention of the city council.

Lorna Jane Abray's fine essay, "The Laity's Religion: Lutheranism in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg," placed later in the collection, could as well be mentioned here. Abray takes in the whole sixteenth century. Her subjects come across as thinking people, not merely impelled by economic trends. In Strasbourg, clergy tried to mold a populace that had little interest in theology. Lutheran pastors devised miracle stories both to combat credulity and to attract the credulous. By the standards of the day, Strasbourg's magistracy was positively permissive, compelling neither each other nor the nonelite to account for their beliefs. Yet all were Christians for whom religion was fundamental to an understanding of life.

In "Münster and the Anabaptists," Hsia takes up three neglected themes: "women and the Anabaptist movement, kinship and religious revolution, and guild ideology and millenarian communalism" (p. 52). "Active female supporters and opponents of the Anabaptist movement probably constituted a minority of all women in Münster" (p. 58). And the new religion did not elevate them in society or cosmos. "Anabaptist women were denied direct access to salvation and sanctity . . . the salvific path for women was a tortuous one through a double intermediacy of men [their husbands] and Christ" (p. 59). Hsia concludes that "there is no evidence to indicate any active lower-class support of the Anabaptist revolution" (p. 63). The concept of the common weal dominated the aspirations of participants, and this ideal was especially pronounced within the ranks of solid guild members.

As in her widely read book, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture* (1982), Miriam Usher Chrisman approaches the differences between laity and intellectuals from the direction of books published in Strasbourg between 1480 and 1599. This summary includes Chrisman's fascinating circle graphs of 1982, showing the shifting categories of book production. Chrisman's work is by now so well known that perhaps it is to be regretted that a preview of her forthcoming book on the culture of lay pamphlet writers could not be included here instead. Certain passages that foreshadow it whet our appetite.

Hans-Christoph Rublack's "The Song of Contz Anahans: Communication and Revolt in Nördlingen, 1525" and Robert Scribner's "Ritual and Reformation" interpret popular culture. Rublack again spirits us back to Nördlingen during the tense spring of 1525, seeking clues to channels of communication and social interaction. A weaver, Contz Anahan, composed a song whose lyrics Rublack analyzes against a backdrop of popular revolt in April and the peasant uprising in May. The verses reveal a mistrust between citizens and council but also a sympathetic distance between these same ordinary people and the peasants. "There is no hint of Lutheranism" (p. 114), however. Rublack traces the council's reestablishment of control in the city. It employed both religion and torture to gain submission.

Scribner finds new meaning in the popular outbursts against Catholic ceremonies that occurred in a number of towns. Well-informed on theories of play and ritual, he views such acts as mock liturgical rites and iconoclasm, not as simple expressions of anticlericalism but as rituals (antirituals) of transition or, in some cases, rituals of degradation or redress. By means of such behavior, people moving from old religion to a new one expressed and propagated their enthusiasm, gave a new form to their beliefs, and helped themselves to confirm evangelical convictions. This is a most fruitful interdisciplinary study.

In "Women's Response to the Reformation," Merry Wiesner documents anew that in both Protestant and

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Catholic and Reformation and Counter-Reformation Germany, the position of women deteriorated. Urban society cooperated in females' marginalization, although many nuns resisted dissolution. Wiesner rightly concludes that women did not form a group. "When we consider women, we are forced to examine the individual responses of average people, and once men have been studied in this way as well, we will have a fuller understanding of the ultimate impact of the Reformation" (p. 171).

In "Civic Morality and the Domestic Economy," Thomas M. Safley, who earlier moved discussion of the effects of the Reformation on marriage from the theoretical level to the concrete, relates Protestant changes in the theological and legal nature of marriage to new tensions between traditional family values and individual needs in Switzerland and southwestern Germany. The centrality of the economic functions of the family in a common weal was explicitly recognized. In Strasbourg and Ravensburg, families may have responded to religio-legal changes by writing marriage contracts that did not stipulate communality of property.

In "The Reformation and Its Public in an Age of Orthodoxy," Gerald Strauss replies to the critics of *Luther's House of Learning* (1978). Bringing forward additional evidence, Strauss reaffirms his conclusions. He explores the question of why the Reformation failed to win the populace and delineates four contributing factors: the nobles' resistance to government policies; doctrinal dissension within Lutheranism; the increasingly class-specific, conservative, patriarchal tone of the Protestant message; and popular hostility to authorities' efforts to stamp out folk religion. Strauss's work needed no defense in the eyes of most of the contributors to this anthology. His article will have changed the minds of few of those who are opposed in principle to his objective treatment of the interaction of Reformation and society.

With "Johann Weyer and the Transformation of the Insanity Defense," H. C. Erik Midelfort grants us a foretaste of his forthcoming book on madness in early modern Germany. He states, "In 1563 Johann Weyer published the first edition of his extraordinary *De praestigiis daemonum* . . . and succeeded in fundamentally altering the terms of legal discourse from then on" (p. 236). Weyer added elements of medicine and theology to Roman law and helped produce a novel defense of accused women. The author documents the spread of Weyer's ideas.

The caliber of these essays by pioneers in Reformation social history is uniformly high. The authors' methodologies in illuminating past societies are of as much interest as the events retold. Hsia has greatly aided the reader by providing a map, a brief introduction to each thematic section, a paragraph before each article reviewing the author's scholarly accomplishments, and a concise bibliographic essay at the end. The book will be most valuable in undergraduate courses since graduate students and mature scholars will have read the monographs from which many of these chapters derive. The five entirely original contributions, however, will attract the specialist as well.

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RUDOLF SCHLÖGL. *Bauern, Krieg und Staat: Oberbayerische Bauernwirtschaft und frühmoderner Staat im 17. Jahrhundert.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 89.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1988. Pp. 421. DM 88.

Despite the frequency with which historians theorize about the significance of the Thirty Years' War for the future development of German society, the amount of empirical investigation into the actual socioeconomic effects of the war, apart from the question of demographic losses, is surprisingly meager. In particular, little is known about the impact of the war on the agrarian economy, where historians have had to rely on the wage and price data provided by the research of Wilhelm Abel. In the introduction to this study, Rudolf Schlögl argues that Abel's findings give only an incomplete picture of rural society in seventeenth-century Germany because they do not differentiate between cottagers and peasants with substantial landholdings (*Grossbauer*), they say nothing about the rate of property turnover, and they neglect the issue of how taxes, ground rents, and labor services affected peasant income. Those deficiencies, Schlögl points out, have made it difficult to understand how during the period from around 1630 to 1690, characterized by Abel as a time of agricultural depression, the agrarian economy was able not only to recover from the catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War but also to support through ever-higher levels of taxation the emergence of the absolutist state.

In this revised doctoral dissertation, Schlögl seeks to elucidate the interrelationships among war, state, and peasantry from roughly 1620 to 1700 through an in-depth analysis of peasant income and property relations in three rural Bavarian districts. He exploits an impressive array of archival sources, notably the tax inventory of 1671, itself commissioned in order to assess the extent of the postwar agrarian recovery, and a very large number of "letter protocols," which were drawn up by the state's lower courts in order to make legal transactions involving peasant property official. In addition, he uses Bavarian government records to analyze the state fiscal system and ascertain the tax burden on the peasantry in the districts he studies. What is so significant about Schlögl's methodology is that, unlike all but a very few historians of early modern Germany, he focuses on the points of interaction between peasant society and the lowest levels of the state bureaucracy. The findings generated by this research, whose quantitative dimension is displayed in an appendix of twenty-two useful tables, provide a uniquely concrete picture of the peasant economy in mid- to late seventeenth-century Bavaria.

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Schlögl's most striking conclusion is that, despite continuing stagnation in commerce and industry, the agrarian sector recovered rapidly and dramatically from the Thirty Years' War. Because of an efficient redistribution of vacated holdings, overall production did not fall that much, while a reduced population meant rising productivity per capita. Cottagers, who sold their labor and bought their food, benefited directly from the rising wages and falling prices of the period, while the *Grossbauer*, although in the opposite situation with respect to the market, were often able to compensate through increasing the size of their holdings. That recovery, Schlögl emphasizes, was achieved from below, because state intervention was helpful only in preventing the nobility from buying out abandoned land and from increasing the ground rents owed to them by the peasantry. Those circumstances explain the ability of the state to extract continuously increasing tax monies from the countryside. The peasants tolerated ever-higher taxes partly because they could afford to pay them and partly because they valued state protection against the local nobility.

The rejuvenated postwar agrarian sector could thus support a steadily expanding centralized state without land reform or the introduction of more productive, capital-intensive methods of cultivation. In that sense, the war prolonged the life of traditional society in rural Bavaria. Yet the seventeenth-century process of destruction and recovery also encouraged systematic state intervention in the rural economy, which, together with increasingly heavy taxes (paid in cash), accelerated the integration of peasant society into the market economy. Thus, in the eighteenth century, when commercial prosperity and overpopulation in the countryside returned, the constitutional and social changes that resulted from the Thirty Years' War prepared the way for such developments as proto-industrialization and improvements in agricultural productivity.

Although the thematic complexity of the presentation and the technical nature of the subject matter make this book difficult reading, Schlögl is to be commended for this important, pioneering work. Let us hope that other historians follow his lead and test the validity of his conclusions for other regions of seventeenth-century Germany.

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ROBERT M. BERDAHL. *The Politics of the Prussian Nobility: The Development of a Conservative Ideology, 1770–1848*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 384. $45.00.

Robert Berdahl's book is the latest in a long series of both German- and English-language works that have addressed one or another aspect of an important problem: how the Prussian landed aristocracy continued to impress a profoundly conservative stamp on the character of its society and government throughout a period in which it and its influence were threatened by repeated crises, crises of a kind that in much of the rest of Europe progressively submerged traditional aristocratic value systems under the floodwaters of bourgeois liberalisms.

In the period from 1770 to 1848, two main forces worked to sap the vitality of the patrimonial and paternalistic traditions that had long shaped the Prussian nobility's attitudes toward the nature of the state and political authority in general. One force was the inexorable trend toward commercialization of landed property, which, by permitting non-nobles to purchase rural estates, weakened the previously unique link between aristocratic status and ownership of such estates. Simultaneously that trend compromised the mystique of paternalism by rupturing the time-honored nexus of mutuality between lords and their dependents through frequent changes of estate ownership and an increased emphasis on estate profitability in a market economy. The other influence was the tenacious effort of the absolutist bureaucratic state to depersonalize the character of public authority and to insist on the dissolution of the link between private interest and public office, which was the basis of aristocratic political and social power.

Berdahl's exposition leads the reader through the periods of crisis in which one or both of these forces seriously threatened the nobility's position in society—the land speculation of the 1770s and after, the Napoleonic hegemony and the long ordeal of the reform period during and after it, the agricultural depression of the 1820s, and, finally, the social and constitutional crises of the 1840s, which resulted in the revolution of 1848. Berdahl discusses in detail the various strategies by which the nobility struggled against the institutions, ideas, policies, and personalities that threatened it. He makes clear not only that nobles had to sacrifice some elements of their traditional image of themselves to salvage the substance of their influence but also that the nobles' success in that effort, although impressive, was not complete. Put differently, the nobility of 1848, although certainly not "progressive" in the ordinary historiographical usage of the term, was also a very different nobility from that of 1770.

Berdahl's emphasis on the development of an identifiable conservative ideology as moral reinforcement—a need arising from the Gramscian crisis of hegemony eventually perceived by the nobility—revolves chiefly around the doctrines of Adam Müller, C. L. von Haller, and Friedrich Julius Stahl, all of whom in their different ways contributed ideas to a philosophical argumentation that could be brought into the arena of public political debate, which became steadily more important after 1815. Berdahl does well with his analysis of these doctrines, although both their importance in giving cohesion to a common noble ideological position and their real influence on the wider political scene are more often assumed than proved. The important practical influence of conservative aristocratic cadres in the chief institutions of the state (army, civil

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service, and so on), although not neglected, is treated somewhat unevenly.

Overall, the book, although always informative in detail, presents themes and conclusions unlikely to surprise specialists, but it is an excellent summary and a sophisticated interweaving of the most important contributions available in two languages on this important subject and does contain some interesting and thought-provoking excursuses. It is perhaps longer than it needs to be; Berdahl sometimes confuses by failing to indent long quotations. The book has a rather short index and, more distressingly, lacks a separate bibliography. But these are not disabling criticisms of a valuable work that reflects a mastery of sources as well as great scholarly diligence and judiciousness.

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HUBERT KIESEWETTER. *Industrialisierung und Landwirtschaft: Sachsens Stellung im regionalen Industrialisierungsprozess Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert.* (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, number 94.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1988. Pp. xx, 829. DM 188.

This massive, but readable and important, study has two purposes: to describe the "Saxon road" to industrialization on the basis of archival material and to develop a model of regional industrialization against which Saxon industrialization can be measured in comparison with other regions of Germany. Both parts of the project are certainly worthwhile. Substantively, Saxony's early start deserves recognition and analysis. Until the 1860s, Saxony was, by a substantial margin, the most heavily industrialized region in Germany. Theoretically, the diversity of regional economic development in Germany not only provides the backdrop for social and political conflict but also makes Germany an ideal field for the development and testing of theories of comparative development. Hubert Kiesewetter argues for a multidimensional approach, and one of the book's most useful features is a section at the end of each of the chapters on population, agriculture, artisans, and the major branches of manufacturing industry that compares Saxon data with the available information from other regions.

In outlining his theory of regional economic development, Kiesewetter shows something of a tendency to reinvent the wheel, and his definitions always seem constructed to present Saxony in the most favorable comparative light. His definition of an "industrial region" (pp. 7–8) and his insistence that a combination of high density and rapid population growth indicates a high level of industrial development (pp. 242–43) both appear unduly influenced by Saxon patriotism, for instance. Another sort of patriotism seems at work as well; his decision to begin his study in 1815 and especially his decision to end it in 1871 suggest a return to the view that the creation of the Bismarckian empire was not only an ineluctable process but also a process whose progress stimulated economic development (Kiesewetter resolutely ignores the embarrassing events of 1866–67). Of course, it may be true that 1871 marks a "political, economic, and social . . . boundary," which "ended a many-layered regional development and at the same time smoothed the way for a different sort of national industrial development" (p. 744), but this assertion should have been tested, not simply assumed to be true.

Nevertheless, on his own ground Kiesewetter is very much at home, and his analysis of Saxon economic development between 1815 and 1871 is in many respects masterful. He emphasizes three factors: the state, private industrial entrepreneurs, and agriculture. The Saxon government played an active and generally positive, but also rather hesitant, role in the economy. Confronted in 1815 with the sudden end of tariff protection under the Continental System and losses of territory that included crucial food-producing areas and the most profitable state enterprises, the government drifted through the 1820s. Many persons both in and out of government gradually came to the view that the state should support private industrial entrepreneurs, liberalize guild restrictions on employment, and restructure the agricultural sector, and Kiesewetter expertly delineates the shift in attitudes. It was only the revolutionary disturbances of 1830–31, however, that pushed the government to reform. Through the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, an impressive number of industrial entrepreneurs could thank the government for financial support, but the government dithered for years over railways, for example, though railway investment clearly provided the driving force for the metal and machinery industries. Kiesewetter rates the government's contribution to industrialization as "substantial" (p. 740) but shows also that the state never developed a clear concept of economic development or of its own role. Direct intervention remained a last resort in emergencies; narrowly fiscal motives remained important; and the government's belated enthusiasm for railways emerged after they had proved themselves a reliable source of revenue.

The role of the industrial entrepreneur is a bit less clear. Industrialists appear in Kiesewetter's government archives only as petitioners or recipients of government grants. Their factories are described in extraordinary detail, but they themselves remain in the shadows. On balance, Kiesewetter's sources paint a rather passive picture of the Saxon entrepreneur as responding to changing conditions rather than actively pushing innovations to fruition. There were many who possessed a high degree of technical and administrative competence, but there were important branches of industry that remained backward because of an inability or unwillingness to adopt new technologies. The most interesting impression conveyed is the absence of hostility between industrialists and government officials. The condescension that marked the Prussian bureaucracy's attitude toward industry before 1850 was apparently lacking in Saxony. Organizations of indus-

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trialists played an important role in bringing proposals and projects to the attention of the government. The government in turn generally considered petitions for support on their merits, the limiting factors being the shortage of funds and a general predisposition to let entrepreneurs stand on their own feet if they could.

Kiesewetter emphasizes the crucial double role that agriculture played in economic development as both supplier and market. In Saxony, the loss of territory in 1815 resulted in a food deficit, and the need for agricultural imports became an important argument both for further industrial development and for the reform of agriculture. The 1832 reform eliminated the remaining obligations of farmers to landlords, who were compensated with bonds issued by a government bank established in 1834. Once again, the absence of conflict is striking. The reform was followed by a large increase in output and production per unit of land in grains and potatoes and by large increases in the numbers of horses, cattle, pigs, and goats. Kiesewetter attributes increased output to the reforms and credits the reformed agricultural sector with a crucial contribution to industrial growth. Without a closer look at the structure of agricultural enterprises, however, and a more systematic analysis of agriculture's aggregate impact, the question remains open. Grain and potato harvests stagnated after the mid-1840s, and the number of sheep declined from 605,000 in 1834 to 304,000 in 1867 (tables 15 and 17, pp. 284, 287). If there was a fundamental reorganization of production, it apparently did not lead to long-term increases in productivity in field crops, and any savings on food imports must have been reduced by export losses in the wool industry. Kiesewetter states (p. 31) that he had begun an econometric analysis of the Saxon economy before he was granted permission to use the East German archives; I hope he will return to that analysis to answer some of these and other questions opened up by this very impressive and interesting book.

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THOMAS NIPPERDEY. *Religion im Umbruch: Deutschland 1870–1918*. (Beck'sche Reihe, number 363.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1988. Pp. 166. DM 16.80.

This book is a superb analysis of German religious life during the period of upheaval culminating in World War I. If the study were in English, it would be the ideal volume to assign American students, because it is both a comprehensive and a nuanced survey of its topic. Thomas Nipperdey declared in another context: "The task of today's enlightenment is to defend objectivity and pluralism and, reaching back to its skeptical heritage of militancy and the self-assurance of a compact morality, to resist the compulsion towards exclusive consensus, to insist on the finiteness of the human being, and, with that spokesman of enlightenment Max Weber, bear up under the strife of the gods and value-free understanding" ("Unter der Herrschaft des Verdachts," *Historikerstreit* [1987], p. 217).

This book is a product of that conviction. The problem of religion in the German empire, broadly conceived, provides the focus. Within a small compass, Nipperdey succeeds in addressing theology, church polity, associational life under the aegis of the churches, and religious culture. At the center are the two principal confessions, Catholicism and Protestantism, but Nipperdey also looks at de-Christianization, the process by which the majority of Germans ceased to think of themselves as Christians. In a trenchant conclusion, he analyzes opponents of the church and the unchurched, among whom he distinguishes three categories: critical theorists and organized atheists, those who quietly left the church, and, finally, those who cultivated new forms of extra-ecclesiastical, "vagrant" religiosity. By situating religious thought and activity within the context of society and politics, Nipperdey poses the more general question of the relationship of religion to the modern and to the crisis of modernity.

German Catholic life in the late nineteenth century, as Nipperdey sees it, was characterized by contradiction. Theologically and ecclesiastically Roman Catholicism was confirmed in an antimodern posture by the first Vatican council; concurrently the German church created modern and relatively democratic structures within its associational life, which ultimately transformed it and insured its survival. The treatment of these clubs is the high point of the book, a kind of sequel to Nipperdey's definitive "Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert" (*Geschichtswissenschaft und Vereinswesen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hartmut Brockmann [1972], pp. 2–43). The Evangelical church was polarized between a theologically modern, even socially liberal, wing and one simultaneously conservative in its theology and its politics. Both shared a form of strident and emotional nationalism, in some instances embracing anti-Semitism. Church commitment slackened, most notably among the Protestants, but confessionalism remained a powerful force in secular society, an everyday and vital fact of German life.

Nipperdey deploys statistics to great advantage in documenting various aspects of religious culture. For instance, demographic data are cited to illustrate the persistence of historically ingrained patterns of conduct. Infant mortality remained one-third higher in Catholic regions—breast feeding was practiced less frequently than in Protestant areas. Declining birth rates among Catholics, even among comparable social classes, occurred decades later than among Protestants, demonstrating, Nipperdey believes, not so much an adherence to the Catholic injunction against birth control as a mentality that continued to confide in God rather than in human reason. The cultural disparities suggested by the difference in urban and rural church attendance evoke another set of striking numbers; in Berlin during the 1870s, for example, there were a mere 120 pastors for 1.45 million church members.

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One criticism—a serious one—must be raised. Nipperdey apparently commands a wealth of information about women and the church. Particularly in his discussion of club life, Protestant as well as Catholic, he highlights the varying ideals and functions of associational life for church women and how it compared to the bourgeois women's movement. What he fails to do is present adequate statistical information, organized by gender, on the laity in general; by the turn of the century most parishes recorded their statistics by gender. Nipperdey neglects to analyze the figures he does cite, figures that imply the feminization of the German church. He claims "it is striking that everywhere men left the church sooner; in a south Hanoverian rural area, they constituted only 10 percent of the churchgoers" (p. 120). Nothing is made of this striking information. Analysis by gender would illuminate even further, for example, the fascinating contradiction Nipperdey develops between the liturgical and the associational lives of German Catholics. One wonders how this division might look examined in terms of women and men. Greater attention to gender would have enhanced the merit of this study, because it would then have elicited comparisons with the churches of other countries where recent research has demonstrated that the feminization of the church was the single most important development of the nineteenth century.

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HELGA KUTZ-BAUER. *Arbeiterschaft, Arbeiterbewegung und bürgerlicher Staat in der Zeit der Grossen Depression: Eine regional- und sozialgeschichtliche Studie zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung im Grossraum Hamburg 1873 bis 1890.* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Politik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 20.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1988. Pp. 464. DM 86.

Helga Kutz-Bauer has written an extremely detailed, revealing account of developments in the Hamburg workers' movement during the critical years that encompass both the "great" depression of the 1880s and the twelve years of Germany's antisocialist law. Although several previous works on the Hamburg movement already provide a good deal of information on this second most important of cities (after Berlin) for the German Socialist party (SPD), Kutz-Bauer adds to these earlier works a wealth of detail and an analytical sophistication that allows her to transcend the more limited earlier achievements. If a specialist in the field has time and energy for only one work on the early Hamburg movement, this book should be it.

The author's self-professed starting point (pp. 21, 418) is the assertion by Hans Rosenberg in his famous review of the period, *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit: Wirtschaftsablauf, Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa* (1967), that the relative prosperity of the working class in much of Germany during the more general economic downturn allowed the socialist movement to gain a foothold and begin its rapid growth into the largest party in the Reich and the world's largest socialist party. Kutz-Bauer's close look at Hamburg substantiates this interpretation while buttressing the argument with important resources not used in the earlier work. Thus, although its arguments are not new, the book is valuable for this new, impressive data. One example is the discussion of the impact of strike activity—which was most vigorous when the workers were experiencing the sharpest increases in real wages—on pressure for unification of the two workers' parties in the early 1870s. Although Hamburg was originally a stronghold of the Lassallean General German Workers Association (ADAV), the more sympathetic attitude of the rival Social Democratic Workers' party (SDAP, Eisenachers) toward strikes brought increased grass-roots pressure for unification (pp. 248–51).

Despite frequent and effective use of economic statistics, Kutz-Bauer by no means carries economic explanations too far. She readily and frequently emphasizes that political factors were often as, if not more, important than economic ones in determining the course of the German socialist workers' movement, at least in Hamburg. In the case of eventual socialist unification, the powerful sense of sharing common enemies brought on by the antisocialist law, a result of Bismarck's insistence on using attacks on workers' organizations as a means of weakening his political opponents among the National Liberals in the Reichstag (as pure a political motive as may be found in history), is given pride of place in explaining the eventual merger of the two workers' parties. This balance prevents the book from being a polemic of economic determinism and gives it a broader and much more convincing tone.

This is most definitely a work for specialists, both because it is so detailed and because its micro-viewpoint requires that readers have sufficient background to relate specific observations about Hamburg to the more general German and international contexts. It is a fine addition to the rapidly growing collection of sound histories of local and state-level development of the SPD and the German workers' movement that should soon encourage someone to write a comprehensive and satisfying history of the Wilhelmine SPD.

GARY P. STEENSON
George Mason University

HANS-JÖRG VON BERLEPSCH. *"Neuer Kurs" im Kaiserreich? Die Arbeiterpolitik des Freiherrn von Berlepsch 1890 bis 1896.* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 16.) Bonn: Neue Gesellschaft. 1987. Pp. 485. DM 98.

In search of popularity, in need of distancing himself from Bismarck, and with a desire to respond to the first major strike in national history, Emperor Wilhelm II

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announced, in February 1890, a dedication to social reform. The Saxon bureaucrat Freiherrn von Berlepsch was selected to pilot appropriate measures through the legislatures.

The history of each of more than a dozen proposals made in the next six years is more than fully described in this volume. There was great similarity among them. Whether it was forbidding Sunday labor, reducing hours for certain trades, increasing the number of inspectors, or setting the starting age for child laborers, the issue had usually been raised by mid-century. In the next two decades, interest increased, and there might even have been a Reichstag inquiry. Then Bismarck established his three insurance plans, which were expected to pacify working people and to obviate the need for laws on hours that would interfere with the prerogatives of business. Yet, with the failure of the Anti-Socialist Law, the unexpected avalanche of social democratic votes, and, as the *coup de grâce*, the Ruhr strike of 1889, sympathy grew for answering some of the grievances of working people. Justifiable complaints were not difficult to come by: a survey of bakers in 1892 showed that 23 percent toiled more than fourteen hours a day. Theodor Lohmann framed the legislation, and von Berlepsch gave it what propulsion he could in the Reichstag.

But proposals affecting hours and safety were sure to be watered down, as lobbyists flocked to Berlin as if it were Washington, and a vigorous countereffort was launched, even one that predicted the fall of the *Vaterland* should bakers labor fewer hours. If the Reichstag nonetheless acted affirmatively, the prospective law went to the unelected Bundesrat, where Prussian state representatives dominated. This upper house could amend, bury, or possibly pass legislation. Once a final patchwork, far from von Berlepsch's original intent, came into being, an industrialist had three options: to delay, to secure exemption from a sympathetic bureaucracy, or simply to ignore a law—in this law-abiding land—without fear of punishment. Hans-Jörg von Berlepsch maintains that the vaunted Prussian prohibition on child labor of 1839 was thus ignored.

Von Berlepsch sought to mitigate the class struggle with grievance courts and pseudoparliamentary bodies at the workplace. He was indulged, but these small institutions were without great effect. Thus, by the time von Berlepsch was forced from office, there was legislation that satisfied few, that left Germany lagging behind other powers in social reform, and that did not stem the rise of social democracy or prevent the increase in strikes. Nor did these measures make Wilhelm II, by 1896 a reactionary, more popular. Excellent research lies behind this legislative history. Then, too, it is readable despite its considerable bulk (surely several of these forty-year journeys could have been combined.) But those who want to know something of the forces behind social reform or, curiously enough, of von Berlepsch himself or of the emperor's politics must look elsewhere.

RICHARD W. REICHARD
College of Du Page

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER. *Management and Labor in Imperial Germany: Ruhr Industrialists as Employers, 1896–1914.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 208. $40.00.

This small book assesses the consequences for German society of rapid industrial growth, the creation of a strong industrial labor force, and the reactions of heavy industry entrepreneurs in the Ruhr during the boom years after 1896. In ten short chapters the author deals with the rise of Ruhr industry; analyzes the creation of an entrepreneurial elite, the work force, and relations between industry and government; and describes the development of industrial conflict, including the coal strikes of 1905 and 1912. In fact some of the chapters should not have been labeled chapters at all. They are at best paragraphs of what might have been major chapters. Is it really possible to summarize company welfare programs in nine pages? Of special value are two appendixes presenting a survey of major coal, iron, and steel corporations in the Ruhr with their employment figures and biographical data on the most important members of the entrepreneurial elite.

It is obvious that the author had a difficult task to fulfill since studies by Klaus Tenfelde (1977), Wilfried Feldenkirchen (1982), and Toni Pierenkemper (1979) have dealt with some of the topics addressed here. Elaine Glovka Spencer resolves this dilemma convincingly, however. Based on her own archival research and reading of the literature, she confirms previous interpretations of the attitudes of Ruhr industry toward labor, labor unions, and government intervention in employer-employee relations and thus adds to our understanding of Ruhr industrialists prior to World War I. It is obvious that the leaders of Ruhr industry intended to defend their independent status against both government intervention and union encroachment. Employment controls through blacklists of striking workers, industry-wide bans, and formation of employer-controlled labor exchanges were means used by coal industrialists to influence the work force; similar institutions did not exist in the iron and steel industry before 1914.

The author also shows that, if government intervention served the needs of industry, Ruhr entrepreneurs were only too willing to let the government intervene. Because the highest civil officials at the provincial and district level were often closely linked with both the ministerial bureaucracy and Ruhr industry, political and administrative changes originating in Berlin would hardly be initiated against the expressed wishes of industrialists. The overwhelming economic power of large Ruhr firms and the dependence of city governments on local taxes contributed to the influence of

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industry on municipal self-government as well. Of the thirty-eight Ruhr industrialists that the author analyzes, sixteen even served at some point in their careers as city council members, normally closely affiliated with the National Liberal party.

Comparing briefly developments in the Ruhr with those in Great Britain and the United States, the author finally tries to put those developments into a broader perspective. This book is a useful study of an important segment of German society on the eve of World War I and confirms many of the known facts about the Ruhr, one of the strongholds of industrial paternalism. But, although the scholarship is sound, too often important topics are dealt with only selectively.

HERMANN-JOSEF RUPIEPER
Philipps-Universität

MICHAEL L. HUGHES. *Paying for the German Inflation.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 267. $32.50.

This book is one of a series of recent volumes that has emerged from a massive project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, which is examining the sources and impact of the German inflation during and immediately after World War I. Historians working on the project have concluded that the inflation was neither irrational nor profitless. It allowed the government to run a fiscal deficit, which promoted full employment and helped German society adjust to the lost war and the misfired revolution. As long as the inflation continued, it was possible for all groups in the society to delude themselves that someone else would pay for the war and the inflation. Yet eventually the price had to be paid, and the inflation ended. By 1923, this fools' paradise had come to an end, and someone had to pick up the tab.

One of the facts now evident is that the German government was the biggest beneficiary of the inflation. Over 50 percent of the bonds, mortgages, and savings that were inflated to worthlessness were government securities (Michael L. Hughes says five-eighths on one page and two-thirds on another [pp. 52 and 94]). All of the billions of marks in bonds that the government sold to its citizens between 1914 and 1922 could have been bought in 1924 for less than a U.S. nickel. For the next two years, the government and other debtors fought a protracted legal and political battle to determine whether the bonds and mortgages would remain worthless or be revalued to restore some of their original worth. This study is the first full monograph we have on this intense, bitter, and vitally important chapter in the tortured history of the Weimar Republic.

Hughes maintains a tight focus on the evolving institutional and legal struggle between the political parties and the German courts as they fought to determine how large the revaluation would be. The judiciary acted as representatives of the creditors and called for full restoration of their lost holdings. The judges were motivated by a combination of moral outrage, self-interest (most of them had been net savers), and antagonism to the democratic government on the part of a judiciary still loyal to the kaiser. The political parties constantly checked to see where the votes were. While out of office, they sought votes by calling for full, 100 percent revaluation. But, on joining the government, they tended to adopt a "responsible" policy of low revaluation.

One cannot help but be struck by the emotional drama of these sometimes repetitive debates. Hughes illustrates, and clearly feels, much of the moral outrage expressed by those savers who lost all during the inflation. And he shares their anger at the political parties that refused to come to a quick, "just" revaluation. Although he argues that the 12 to 25 percent revaluation that the creditors eventually won was about all that the government could realistically be expected to pay, he joins the creditors in finding the process of the settlement dishonest and unjust.

What is perhaps most intriguing about the study is that so much heat could be produced by such a tiny fraction of German voters. One wishes that Hughes had explored the political sources and consequences of this phenomenon more fully. Perhaps as few as 3 percent of the electorate were passionately concerned with revaluation. But for this group, it was a matter of life and death, and they traveled across Germany, attending demonstrations and political rallies attacking the immorality of the Weimar system. By undermining the legitimacy of the democratic state, this tiny fraction helped put in play the mass interest group politics that has torn apart modern, democratic societies. The power of single-issue minorities to make their moral outrage felt may have a devastating impact on even far stronger regimes than the Weimar Republic.

WILLIAM C. MCNEIL
Barnard College

THOMAS KURZ. *"Blutmai": Sozialdemokraten und Kommunisten im Brennpunkt der Berliner Ereignisse von 1929.* Foreword by HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1988. Pp. 177. DM 24.

This book recalls the events of and immediately following May 1, 1929, in Berlin, when police killed 33 persons and wounded 198 others in suppressing street demonstrations mounted in spite of government prohibitions. "Bloody May," as Thomas Kurz emphasizes, overnight became the German Communists' stellar example of the equation of social democracy with "social fascism," to which the Comintern had given prominence since late 1928. Conversely, for the German Socialist party (SPD), whose members occupied command positions over the Berlin and Prussian police, the May unrest reinforced beliefs that Communist policies were irresponsible and Communist support was drawn from an anarchic *Lumpenproletariat.* It has

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become commonplace to conclude that the gunfire and bloodshed intensified the antagonism between the two parties of the German Left with fatal consequences for their ability to resist Nazism. Kurz sets out to test this thesis.

Building on research by Eve Rosenhaft and Chris Bowlby, Kurz brings a new clarity to the events in May by limiting the influence of party conflict on the outbreak of violence. His careful reconstruction shows the actual clashes to have been primarily police riots in poor districts whose inhabitants included disorderly and criminal elements. The fighting, with its drastically one-sided casualty toll, pitted the "ins" of society against the "outs," and it was confined, as street maps illustrate, to a few blocks in the Wedding and Neukölln sections. Political loyalties played only a minor immediate role.

Locating the rivalry between Social Democrats and Communists at a remove from the violence of *Blutmai*, Kurz is able to reexamine the conjunction of politics with the events. The results are mixed. In his view the key Social Democratic officials, the Prussian interior minister Albert Grzesinski and the Berlin police president Karl Zörgiebel, in their eagerness to repress Communist agitation, reflected a general SPD attitude that led them to give the security forces free rein on May 1. Yet Kurz does not say enough about the ideological orientations and, more significantly, the personalities of the two chief actors to dispel possible doubts about their representativeness; other party figures were less intent on confrontation. As for the Communists, Kurz convincingly portrays the May clashes as an intoxicant for their leaders, which reinforced their commitment to the Comintern's new revolutionary general line. Less persuasive is his suggestion that the police's actions contributed to the acceptance of the social fascism thesis among ordinary Communist party members and voters; Kurz's press and party sources cannot confirm this judgment, while the statistics he cites concerning the instability in Communist allegiance in 1930–33 render questionable the lasting political impact of *Blutmai*. Kurz, then, effectively demythologizes May 1 in Berlin, but he provides only a beginning in defining a socially grounded explanatory framework for the divisions of the Left in the late Weimar republic.

DAN S. WHITE
State University of New York, Albany

LARRY EUGENE JONES. *German Liberalism and the Dissolution of the Weimar Party System, 1918–1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 660. $42.50.

German liberalism's repeated political failures have given rise to numerous books, but until now there has been no comprehensive study of liberals in the Weimar Republic. This volume, which brings to culmination nearly twenty years of research in dozens of archives in both West and East Germany, goes a long way toward remedying that deficiency.

In his introduction, Larry Eugene Jones takes issue with what he sees as teleological interpretations that attribute the defeats of liberalism and the triumphs of authoritarianism and totalitarianism in Germany to discrepancies since the mid-nineteenth century between that country's rapid economic modernization and a retarded political and social development. He endorses the view that the bourgeoisie's lack of political success during the Kaiserreich did not keep it from making appreciable economic and social gains. He also rejects the contention that a "supposedly illiberal character of German social and intellectual life" (p. 2) doomed liberalism to failure. Dissenting from James J. Sheehan's gloomy assessment of liberalism's prospects on the eve of the First World War, Jones contends that, thanks to the efforts of Friedrich Naumann and other reformers, liberalism had since the turn of the century undergone a revival of major proportions and great promise. Indeed, he characterizes the Weimar Republic as the "culmination of a democratic and liberal revival that had been underway since the beginning of the twentieth century" (p. 12).

Although Jones cites the need "to strike a delicate balance between the concepts of continuity and contingency" in explaining what led Germany to the catastrophe of 1933, he rather summarily dismisses the importance of continuity in favor of contingency. The hopes of Weimar liberals "turned to bitter ashes," he concludes, not because of "tradition" but because of "the sheer weight of the problems with which they had to contend" (p. 480). Among the most crippling of these he counts the defeat in the First World War, which led many Germans to associate the new republic with weakness and national humiliation; the victors' stubborn insistence on punishing the republic for the empire's war; and the socially dislocating effects of the hyperinflation of the republic's early years followed by the grinding economic depression of its final phase. Of these, Jones singles out the inflation, along with the draconic currency reform that ended it, as most injurious to the liberals and their followers in the electorate.

In the main body of the book, Jones recounts, with a wealth of closely documented detail, the external and internal vicissitudes of the two liberal parties of Weimar, the German Democratic party (DDP) and the German People's party (DVP). He sees the perpetuation of liberal division in 1918, despite the opportunity for unification provided by the revolution, as a major handicap but one that was not dictated by the weight of tradition or by insuperable obstacles. Instead, he agrees with those who have attributed the formation of two estranged, competing parties to the decision of the DDP's idealistic founders to exclude the able and energetic founder of the DVP, Gustav Stresemann, from what promised otherwise to be a new united liberal party, a decision made because of Stresemann's

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advocacy of annexationist policies during the war. Jones explains the decline of the two parties—whose share of the electorate fell from a combined 23 percent in 1919 to less than 2 percent in 1933—in terms of the numerous national issues that pit them against each other, divided them internally, and discredited them in the eyes of a growing portion of the public. Particularly informative is his analysis of the socioeconomic dimensions of middle-class politics in Weimar and their crippling effects on advocates of liberal solutions. Well in advance of the republic's final demise, by the winter of 1931–32, with the DDP supplanted by the ill-conceived German State party, with the DVP slipping rapidly to the right after Stresemann's death, and with the two parties deeply divided on the policies of Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, liberalism had, according to Jones, "exhausted itself as a viable force in German political life" (p. 435).

Jones's book has its limitations. Not all readers will be convinced by his largely apodictic discounting of long-term factors and cultural traditions that militated against liberalism or by his undocumented claim that the liberals entered Weimar on a wave of popular resurgence. Nor will everyone be satisfied with the minimal attention accorded to the articulation of liberal principles by Germans other than party politicians and to the differences that set laissez-faire liberals against those liberals inclined to invoke the state for social reform. Jones's inattention to the ambivalence toward popular rule displayed by some of the most prominent intellectuals in the DDP, including Friedrich Meinecke and Max Weber, during the drafting of the republic's constitution, will lead other readers to question that party's entitlement to the democratic credentials he bestows on it. So will the DDP's part in designing the presidency of the republic to serve as a *Kaiser-Ersatz* with a fateful potential for authoritarianism. Those who seek statistical analyses of the socioeconomic composition of the liberal parties' portion of the electorate will come away disappointed by the author's reliance on impressionistic observations, and those who wonder about the effect of the republic's system of proportional representation on the fortunes of those parties, a question that is not addressed, will be similarly dissatisfied. Some readers will also find it unfortunate that Jones sought—in keeping with the second half of his title—to broaden the scope of his inquiry, but also dilute it, by including scrutiny of some of the nonliberal splinter parties of late Weimar.

Despite its limitations, this encyclopedic book promises to serve for a long time as a standard source of information on the ill-fated liberal politicians of Germany's first republic.

H. A. TURNER
Yale University

ROBERT M. CITINO. *The Evolution of Blitzkrieg Tactics: Germany Defends Itself against Poland, 1918–1933*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 61.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1987. Pp. xiv, 209. $32.95.

This book focuses less on the development of mobile-warfare doctrine in Weimar Germany than on the responsibility of securing Germany's eastern frontier against a reborn Poland. Making extensive use of U.S. military intelligence reports, Robert M. Citino argues that from its beginnings the Reichswehr was confident of its ability to ward off attacks from the East. This belief reflected a growing awareness of Polish weakness. German intelligence evaluations confirmed material and organizational shortcomings that made the Polish army, with its poorly trained troops and politicized officer corps, a clumsy bludgeon in contrast to the finely tempered rapier that was the Reichswehr.

The maneuvers of 1928, 1930, and 1932 showed that Germany had the finest army, man for man, on the Continent. They also stressed mobility and flexibility, incorporating increased use of partially motorized forces and increased focus on plans for deep-penetration operations against enemy flanks and rear areas. Citino argues with some justice, but only in passing, that this period established the matrix of lightning war: all that the Wehrmacht needed to do was substitute tanks for horses. By 1933 Germany's eastern problem seemed militarily well in hand.

Citino has written a useful case study, developing military points discussed more generally by Gaines Post and Michael Geyer. His most obvious contribution is the argument that, on an operational level, Germany's eastern situation was by no means as militarily hopeless as critics of the Treaty of Versailles insisted. The value of Citino's supporting evidence is, however, limited because it is presented in a vacuum. Citino overlooks, for example, the contingency of a multifront war, yet successful implementation of the defense schemes presented in these pages depended on Poland being the Reich's only adversary. Citino also fails to address the fact that the Reichswehr was constrained to make the best of its treaty-imposed situation. In an eastern context this fostered the assumption of an obliging enemy, one making all of the right mistakes at all of the right times. What might have happened, for example, if the Poles, once defeated, came again, seeking to exhaust the Reichswehr by mass?

That Citino does not consider such wider questions reflects in part the general nature of German military thought and war planning. Both tended, like this monograph, to be confined to tactical and operational levels. The task of the armed forces was to fight wars and win victories. Establishing the conditions of the wars and securing the fruits of the victories were the duties of the statesmen. The dichotomy is usually presented in the context of an aggressive Prussian and imperial legacy. Citino's work shows that this mentality was reinforced as well by the defensive considerations of the Weimar era.

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Colorado College

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RONALD SMELSER. *Robert Ley: Hitler's Labor Front Leader.* New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. viii, 330. $29.95.

This book is a carefully researched and well-written study of Robert Ley, one of the top five leaders of the Nazi regime. Ley, despite being a man of great power and a member of Adolf Hitler's immediate entourage during the Third Reich, has not received the detailed scholarly treatment that his notorious career warrants. After World War II, a number of former Nazi leaders, many of whom had been bitter opponents of Ley, sought to denigrate his importance and portray him essentially as a harmless windbag and drunkard. Although Ronald Smelser confirms that Ley was indeed corrupt, an alcoholic, and a philanderer, Smelser also argues convincingly that Ley was "an important prototype of a certain Nazi" (p. 3). His fanaticism, idealism, and slavish devotion to Hitler and Nazism made him an ideal "old fighter," but his venality and failings in judgment and management of power and his inability to gauge means to ends helped "cripple the effectiveness of the [Nazi] regime and eventually [led] it to its destruction" (p. 3).

Several factors early in his life molded Ley's personality. His father lost the family's fortune, which left Ley with a lifelong insecurity about his social position and an ambition never to fall back into the social abyss. Then came the trauma of World War I; in the fighting on the Western front, Ley experienced chronic stress, a brain injury, surgery, and imprisonment by the French. After the war, he received a doctorate in chemistry and went to work for I. G. Farben. In 1924 he joined the radical and violent Nazi party. It offered him the promise of achievement, security, and insulation from the social decline that even a secure bourgeois existence could not prevent in the chaotic, disrupted Weimar republic.

A strong utopian idealism in Ley and the millenarian aspect of Nazism also attracted him to the party. Smelser demonstrates that Ley viewed Hitler not only as an authority figure but ultimately as a messiah, who replaced Ley's missing and discredited father. Ley adopted completely the ideology that Hitler would create a new "kingdom" on earth, the racial community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), and destroy the eternal enemy, the Jew. Ley's gutter anti-Semitism as a Nazi orator, organizer, and brawler in the Rhineland rivaled even that of Julius Streicher.

Ley rose steadily in the party hierarchy, from Gauleiter to Reich Organization leader. By the time the Nazis seized power in 1933, Ley had become head of the German Labor Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront* [DAF]), one of the party's most important affiliates. Through the DAF, Ley sought to implement his vision of a totalitarian welfare state with cradle-to-grave socialism for those who qualified as members of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. He intended for the DAF to "take care of" (*betreuen*) the German people, end the divisive differences between caste and class, and produce a disciplined, hard-working community that would permit Germany to triumph in the apocalyptic struggle against the Jews (p. 99). For that Ley built a gigantic bureaucracy that kept German workers under control through a combination of surveillance, discipline, and services. Those services included Strength through Joy (*Kraft durch Freude*), the notorious leisure program.

Although, as Smelser shows, the DAF achieved some success in wage policy and vocational training, Ley's mammoth empire fell victim to its own widespread corruption and criminality, its leader's excessive ambition, and its acrimonious rivalries with government and other party agencies. In this regard, Smelser demonstrates once again the value of biography for the study of the organizational and institutional history of the Third Reich. He has used assiduously the major archival sources and secondary works on the DAF, the party, and relevant government ministries. What is less clear, however, is his contribution to social history and to an explanation of the extent to which the Nazi regime succeeded in integrating the German worker into society.

DONALD M. MCKALE
Clemson University

ALFRED C. MIERZEJEWSKI. *The Collapse of the German War Economy, 1944–1945: Allied Air Power and the German National Railway.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 285. $35.95.

Very few of the new books on World War II present such vital and significant reappraisals of long-accepted evaluations of the course of events as does this painstaking study of the influence of Allied bombing on German war production and the effectiveness of the German national railroad. Immediately after the war, a major effort to determine the consequences of Allied bombing was carried out by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. The overall impression was that, in spite of much physical damage to cities and industry, bombing had neither broken civil morale nor greatly reduced German war production. Now Alfred C. Mierzejewski provides an appraisal of Allied bombing effectiveness based on the records of those German officials who sought to deal with its consequences. Although he does not deny the significance of Allied bombing on German synthetic oil production, Mierzejewski presents a major vindication of Allied attacks on the German railroad marshaling yards.

Mierzejewski has re-created a dramatic picture of the desperate efforts of the dynamic trio—Albert Speer, his "crisis manager" Hans Kehrl, and Albert Ganzenmüller, the head of the German national railway—to deal with the damage wrought by daylight bombing (largely by the U.S. Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces) of the marshaling yards of the German railroads and the waterway transportation routes that supplemented the railroads. The story lends new credence to Speer's reputation as a management genius, although it does

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not contribute to vindication of his character. Speer created a centralized planning system that allowed German industry not only to survive the thousands of tons of bombs dumped on its cities and factories but also to expand its production of armaments until late in 1944, at which time the Allied bombing caused irreparable damage to the transportation of coal to fuel Germany's industrial regime.

The view provided of the Allied planning of the bombing offensive is less favorable than Mierzejewski's assessment of the Allies' German opponents. Too many committees dealt with the subject of bombing objectives and operated on the basis of incomplete and often poorly analyzed intelligence information. Interagency and personal rivalries affected the determination of military objectives. Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, who headed the bombing forces as Dwight Eisenhower's deputy, was the major protagonist of the strategic bombing of the railroad marshaling yards. Ultra intercepts gave a clear indication of the problems that the Germans confronted. But the intercepts were not so interpreted by the intelligence experts. As 1944 came to a close, the German railroads had enough locomotives and railroad cars but not enough coal to fuel the engines and no way to solve the enormous confusion in the German marshaling yards. Fuller and earlier employment of Tedder's concept might have brought an earlier diminution of German armament production and might have posed additional problems in the execution of Hitler's operation Wacht am Rhein.

The book is well written and excellently produced. The only drawback is the plethora of abbreviations, which requires often-repeated reference to the lengthy list provided.

EARL R. BECK
Florida State University

JAMES F. TENT. *The Free University of Berlin: A Political History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 507. $37.50.

Proliferation by acrimonious fission was one of the major causes of the spread of universities in the high Middle Ages, but the (mostly theological) disputes leading to such fission have usually yielded to more calculating motives for founding new universities in this century. The Free University of Berlin is therefore rare as a new university that owes its origins to an ideologically fueled secession from an older institution. The rebellion of some students and faculty against increasing Communist influence at the famous Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in the Soviet sector of Berlin ended in the establishment of a self-consciously "free" alternative in the American sector in 1948.

Forty years later, James F. Tent has produced, at the invitation of the Dahlem institution, a major historical evaluation of the Free University. That an American historian should be asked to undertake this task may seem unusual at first glance, but the history of the university has been intimately tied to the United States, and, considering the crises and acrimony that surrounded the university through the 1960s and 1970s and caused often-emotional national debate, a foreigner (though no stranger to the issues) can bring fewer prejudices to the task.

Tent also wisely limits his treatment. Instead of narrating the often-numbing catalogue of personnel changes in various institutes that too often passes as university jubilee history in Germany, the author has placed the relationship of the university to its larger society and its own internal tensions about its purpose at the center of his story, although the study is considerably more than a "political history."

Tent is keenly aware of the ironies and contradictions inherent in the history of the "Berlin Model," which was founded principally on the initiative of students tired of conflicts with the authorities in East Berlin, who were dominated by the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED). The "Berlin Model" they created, overcoming successively the skepticism of the Western Allied occupation authorities, the hesitations of West Berlin political leaders, and a daunting lack of facilities and money in a war-ravaged city, established the first German university in which students had a voice. The drift of the Free University into conformity with the more conventional structure of the "restored" (that is, largely unreformed) West German universities during the 1950s, along with many other factors that Tent carefully discusses, produced the beginnings of a memorable student rebellion in the mid-1960s. What began as a demand for a return to more student input ended after a half-decade of tumult with well-organized student splinter groups threatening the freedom of teaching and learning with agitprop techniques that had not even been seen at the East Berlin university.

The straightforward and well-written narrative brings to life and often personalizes the dramatic confrontation of the "generation of 1968" (and its somewhat *sui generis* Berlin variant) with the university and the larger German society, the polarization of the fronts, and the survival and recovery of the university in the 1980s (although this decade receives the least attention). Tent not only is remarkably objective but also manages to find something understanding or sympathetic to say about almost all of the actors.

One also obtains as a backdrop to change and confrontation the outline of the growth and development (including the excruciating growing pains) of an institution that went from a few hundred to nearly fifty thousand students in a few years while adjusting to four different constitutions. The workings (and failures) of *Drittelparität* (giving students and staff as much voting power in all levels of decision making as senior professors had) caused problems all over Germany that were particularly keen in Berlin, the home of this reform.

Tent's achievement is remarkable, especially considering the relatively short time he had to research and

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write this work. The time-consuming processes of oral history are included, in addition to the consultation of a formidable amount of original documents. The reproduction here of long descriptions and quotations from that material no doubt has much value, making this a good reference work. One might regret that such thorough textual citation precluded more emphasis on the scholarly and scientific achievements of the university, but the choice is certainly understandable.

This work is not only valuable as a history of the Free University. It is also, in its way, the best and most up-to-date microstudy in English of the development of the West German university system after World War II, particularly in the period beginning in the mid-1960s. The book should thus appeal to anyone interested in postwar European education and reform, as well as those interested in German political and cultural history. If there is a central theme in Tent's book, it is the danger of losing the consensus and civilized ground rules that make academic freedom and internal debate possible. Without them, as the history of the Free University shows, academic life becomes difficult (and at times impossible); worse, control slips from the sphere of academic autonomy into the iron grip of politicians and the manipulators of public opinion.

CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND
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CHARLES S. MAIER. *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 227. $22.50.

Painful anniversaries such as Adolf Hitler's hundredth birthday indicate that the shadows of the German past are not about to pass away. In 1986 and 1987, resentment against the burden of this troubled legacy fueled a fierce quarrel among historians about the singularity of the Holocaust and the problems of national identity. The efforts of Andreas Hillgruber, Ernst Nolte, and Michael Stürmer to remove the Nazi stain provoked the social philosopher Jürgen Habermas to sound the alarm against the revival of apologetic nationalism. Bemused by such *furor teutonicus*, American observers have wondered about the *Historikerstreit*'s "serious consequences, both for historiography and for civic culture" (p. ix).

In this book, Charles S. Maier presents a magisterial synopsis of the convoluted German debate. Although friendly toward the leading critics of the Bielefeld school, the author seeks to be fair to the neoconservatives in addressing the ambiguous historical questions in their own right. At the same time he offers measured reflections on the current political implications of this "major intellectual debate in postwar German history" (p. 5). Providing a running commentary on every Central European historical controversy during the past century, the book also explores "the limits of history, its reliance on analogy and comparison, and its relation to memory and to rational identity" (p. ix).

Clearly organized, the book largely succeeds in illuminating the controversial texts and confusing subtexts of the debate on German history. Maier correctly interprets the passionate quarrel among historians and publicists as a culmination of earlier scholarly debates about the meaning of the Third Reich and as a struggle over control of cultural politics in the Federal Republic. Courageously, he discusses the thorny issue of the comparability of the Holocaust, admitting that the number of Soviet victims (20 million) was higher than the number of victims of Nazi crimes (7 to 8 million) but nonetheless insisting on the need for distinctions. In the debate about "historicization," Maier accepts the risks of placing the Nazis within, rather than beyond, history, and, in his discussion of the *Sonderweg*, he cautions against single historical paradigms, be they structural, psychological, or geographical. Based on discussions about the Berlin and Bonn historical museums, he sympathetically reviews the difficulties of making history serve national identity. In its sensitivity to philosophical and political overtones, this book offers a rich and sophisticated reading of the historians' quarrel as an exemplar of the dangers of postmodern historiography.

In spite of its judicious tone, the work poses a few problems of its own. There are some minor infelicities such as the Americanized spelling of Kristallnacht with a "y" (p. 29) or the miscitation of the title of the racist *Journal of Historical Review* (p. 64). More debilitating is the academic overkill, a high mandarin style that cannot resist displaying its erudition, bringing in allusions whether they are germane or not (for example, the Lamprecht *Methodenstreit* mentioned on page 142). Although many judgments can only be applauded (such as the warning against dismissing the notion of fascism [p. 89]), other interpretations are forced and contribute little (such as the depiction of "structured decisionism" as German style [p. 156]). The fourth chapter on the peculiarity of German history with special comments on cultural anthropology, political sociology, and neo-Machiavellianism (pp. 118–20) reflects more directly on Cambridge discussions than on the *Historikerstreit*. Although Olympian detachment allows many insights into the nature of the German debate, it occasionally blurs important details such as the lack of engagement by proponents of everyday history (*Alltagsgeschichte*) or feminist scholars in the controversy. The intensity of emotional and political claims makes it sometimes difficult for the book to resolve convincingly the tension between metahistorical and historical arguments.

In its broader ramifications, the *Historikerstreit* not only involves the German historical guild but also challenges historians in general. Although it would be more comforting to have historical knowledge fixed once and for all, it is contingent on changing sources, methods, and interpretations. Depending on their commitments, scholars can either cling to a particular

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static vision of the past or try ceaselessly to refine their understanding by documentary discoveries, innovative approaches, and novel ideas. Even in the emotionally and politically controversial Third Reich, the postmodern impetus for historicization may eventually prove overpowering. Such revision need not be frightening, if it yields fresh insights and proceeds in a critical and humane spirit.

KONRAD H. JARAUSCH
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SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife.* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 106th Series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 330. $39.50.

Although many historians discuss the *longue durée*, few have taken on the formidable and important task of conducting research across the centuries. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., has assembled a large sample of wills, 660 before 1500 and 1,118 from that date to 1800, in order to investigate changing attitudes toward charity, religion, and property in Siena. He found three major break points—the summer plague of 1363, the Trent visitations of 1575–76, and the changes Grand Duke Francesco Stefano made in the laws in the middle of the eighteenth century. Cohn makes a convincing case that the second severe bout of bubonic plague caused a change in the direction of Sienese charity away from mendicant spirituality toward A. Tenenti's sense of Renaissance people preoccupied with a love of life and obsessed with death. The reforms of Trent brought a new style of religious sensibility to Siena. More masses for the dead, a greater role for Mary and patron saints, and, in some, a taste for ostentatious funerals, all mark the local effects of Tridentine ideas. Francesco Stefano's "enlightened" decrees on mortmain and entail decisively shaped the ways that people could legally bequeath their property to their heirs or the church.

Cohn's findings rest on a cogent statistical analysis of the wills and careful readings of contemporary figures such as Petrarch and San Bernardino. The more verbose and personal style of the wills in the early modern period in part compensates for the dearth of comparable thinkers. Cohn's case for the changes, however, depends more on the strengths and weaknesses of the wills as evidence than on literary works or comparisons to other cities and states. By using the total number of bequests and not just the number of wills, Cohn greatly increased the size of his sample, but sometimes this procedure appears problematic. For example, Cohn argues that the plague of 1363 resulted in a temporary decline in the percent of bequests for masses but that these legacies, as a part of all pious giving, returned to near previous levels and by 1500 were nearly double the pre-plague level (pp. 62–63). Bequests for masses as a portion of all pious giving appear to support this interpretation, but the actual numbers of people asking for masses tell a different story. A table (p. 62) reveals that sixty-seven people left 106 bequests for masses between 1326 and 1347, while, between 1476 and 1500, ninety-nine people made only 67 bequests. Cohn does not consider whether some people made more than one such bequest or if masses were included in the price of a funeral. These problems aside, perhaps a more plausible explanation is that by 1500 some people left no money at all for masses and that masses were much more expensive in the fifteenth century. After 1363 the number of bequests for masses was always fewer than the number of testators; before 1363, only in 1348 did that occur. Cohn's emphasis on changes in the proportions of types of pious giving requires a closer look at changes in costs and at why the number of bequests in wills might have changed over time.

This book's impressive range of subjects will engage historians in many fields, but some omissions should be noted. Cohn does not address the difficult subject of nontestamentary giving to charity, the church, and the family. Notarial documents and other sources contain many records of such giving, and an analysis of changes in the style of charity should take into account more than the last act. The creation of a valid will was a legal process requiring the presence of a notary, but Cohn does not examine the legal constraints on testaments or the problem of notaries or family members influencing the choices of testators. Only for the eighteenth century does Cohn refer to these issues. The first bequest in Siena for the Crusades occurred in 1279; the earliest notice of an illegitimate child in a will was in 1418. These facts indicate that wills by themselves may not be the best sources.

STEVEN EPSTEIN
University of Colorado

GARY IANZITI. *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas: Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Milan.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 254. $59.00.

This is a study of the humanist historical commentary, a form of writing that developed in the second half of the fifteenth century in the princely courts of Italy. Earlier fifteenth-century humanists tended to write about cities and institutions of the distant past. A shift occurred at mid-century as some humanists began to write contemporary history, that is, accounts of events occurring within the past twenty years or so. Such historiography focused on the career of a single figure, usually a ruler. Moral concerns gave way to political ones. Finally, the new historiography had strong links to princely chanceries, because a humanist secretary might write to justify and defend his prince or the dynasty.

After briefly reviewing previous humanist historiography and the transitional role of Flavio Biondo, Gary Ianziti studies the writing of history in mid-fifteenth-

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century Milan, where the *condottiere* Francesco Sforza had seized power in 1450. The heart of Ianziti's book is an analysis of two Milanese commentary histories, Lodrisio Crivelli's *De vita rebusque gestis Francisci Sfortiae* (1463–66) and Giovanni Simonetta's *De rebus gestis Francisci Sfortiae commentarii* (1473–76). Each was written by a humanist with close court connections; indeed, Simonetta was a key figure in the chancery.

Ianziti carefully explains the genesis of the works and the historians' working methods. For the raw material of their histories, Crivelli and Simonetta relied on vernacular summaries of events, replete with transcriptions from documents, which might have been prepared by others. They then shaped that material into Latin humanistic historiography. These historians focused on the "politico-historical fact" (p. 40) rather than legal or moral questions. They elevated a single figure, Sforza, to the center of the narrative and chronicled his political and military deeds from 1420 to 1466. Caesar's *Commentaries* provided the ancient historical model, a new departure for humanist historiography. Like Caesar, Crivelli and Simonetta adopted a realistic approach: they accurately described the political and military deeds of a tough, cruel, and wily prince. But Crivelli and Simonetta also justified and tried to legitimize Sforza's deeds. They argued that Sforza acted for the common good when he seized power and that the previous regime had governed ineptly. Ianziti correctly terms that side of the humanist commentary history "propagandistic" (p. 14) because it attempted to persuade public opinion elsewhere in Italy to view the Sforza regime in a favorable light.

A disturbing paradox emerges. The humanist court historian wrote realistic history, in the sense that he accurately described power struggles and wars. But he also consciously falsified the record in order to justify the rule of a new prince. The court historians ignored Cicero's dictum, constantly quoted by the humanists, that history is "the light of truth" (*De Oratore*, II, 9, 36). Humanist commentary historiography was a product of its time that led directly to Machiavelli's analysis of politics.

The author explains all that in a convincing fashion. Ianziti undertakes a certain amount of detective work in order to reconstruct the working methods and consequences of commentary historiography. His book is well documented and carefully proofread. Ianziti writes clearly and directly on a subject largely ignored until now. This book is a valuable addition to the study of Renaissance humanist historiography.

PAUL F. GRENDLER
University of Toronto

CHARLES R. MACK. *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City*. Photographs by MARY S. HAMMOND. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1987. Pp. 250. $39.95.

Charles R. Mack presents the history of Pope Pius II's effort (1459–64) to remodel his native village, Corsignano, in central Italy. In four short chapters, the author discusses what has long been recognized as "a very model of Renaissance urban thought and a testimonial to architectural taste in the Age of Humanism" (p. 10). Because of new archival and topographical research, Mack intends to "offer the first 'complete' history of Pienza's Renaissance renewal in English" (p. 12). In chapter 1, he introduces the tiny central Italian town "as Aeneas Piccolomini must have known it during his youth." In chapter 2, he turns to Bernardo Rossellino's primary architectural and urban changes, especially the papal residence and the church. In chapter 3, he addresses the additional buildings planned and partially constructed by the papal entourage. Finally, in chapter 4, he discusses the aesthetic and urban significance of the campaign. Forty-eight excellent black-and-white photographs by Mary S. Hammond appear throughout the text, and one map of the central Italian region and one plan of Pienza with building and street index are included. Two valuable appendixes follow that contain fifteenth-century descriptions of Pienza in Latin, with an English translation by Catherine Castner, and ninety documents from the Archivio di Stato in Rome that relate to the architectural campaign.

Pius's own well-known *Commentaries* provide the author with a continuous, contemporary account of the project. This work as well as the other sources in the appendixes provide a rich documentary basis for the text. On this foundation the author builds his own stylistic analysis, which draws on both traditional architectural evaluation and considerable new archaeological and documentary evidence from the research on Pienza by Nicholas Adams. Much of this part of the text will baffle the nonspecialist who may not be able to distinguish one architectural feature from another and who may not care that a narrow corridor once bisected the Palazzo Ammannati. Nevertheless, the total evidence collected is impressive, and the photographs have been used judiciously to convince even general readers that the author's observations are justified.

For those interested in the way a small refurbished hometown might satisfy the ego of one of the church's earliest humanist popes, the author provides in his last chapter a particularly fine plea for the case of Pienza. Here, he argues, one finds the strict ideal plan of neither the Renaissance theorist nor the twentieth-century urban designer but a blend of idea and natural progression. He suggests, however, that Pienza truly brings alive the unrealized plans that Nicholas V had for Rome through Leon Battista Alberti, who worked for both popes.

One of the most unusual aspects of Pienza's archival and topographical discoveries to receive considerable attention recently from historians is the information about the twelve row houses Pius had built for displaced persons in the historic city center. Architects preparing current restoration projects that displace citizens should read this section thoughtfully.

Mack's book provides a summary of current research

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about one of the most important urban sites of the Italian Renaissance. As such it provides a useful compendium of information hertofore scattered in sources inaccessible to an English-speaking audience.

GAIL L. GEIGER
University of Wisconsin, Madison

RENATA AGO. *Un feudo esemplare: Immobilismo padronale e astuzia contadina nel Lazio del '700.* (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"; Collana del Dipartimento di Studi storici dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea, number 3.) Fasano: Schena. 1988. Pp. 157. L. 24,000.

First settled in 1664, the village of Monteromano was a fief of the hospital of Santo Spirito of Rome. Using administrative sources, Renata Ago attempts to understand this fief in terms of the interests of its proprietors and its peasants. She aims to do "justice" (p. 15) to their *astuzia*—"the capacity demonstrated by some to make themselves movers of change and to be not always and only victims of exogenous and foreign processes of ownership" (p. 18).

The governors (*commendatori*) of Santo Spirito had previously tried to establish a *latifondo* in the manner of other Roman landlords, with whom they shared both a need to secure a labor force and a feudal cast of mind. Monteromano was to be a model that would avoid previous mistakes: villagers would not be allowed to form a commune; long-term emphyteutic leases would be granted sparingly; and peasants would be tied to the hospital's grain policies. Ago argues that more than economic calculation drove the institutional administration. A free market in grain would have put more cash into the vassals' hands, but Santo Spirito's governors would have had less control over them.

For their part, the peasants, thrust into a situation where patrimony was almost nonexistent and the unit of labor transcended the household, had to rely on their *astuzia* to get by. Subletting land and stock raising were crucial sources of income, and by those means peasants achieved equilibrium in the productive system—a problem that the *signore* had left in their hands. Instead of lazy, ignorant, reactive *contadini*, Ago finds clever businessmen, and she recounts several successful examples. Villagers were also successful in dealing with those who held power over them. Access to power meant dealing with the stewards and governors, not with other villagers, for the stewards and governors controlled land, credit, and the image that the *signore* could have of any individual peasant.

Ago's book fails fully to persuade. The elite's cultural code perpetrated, she maintains, a consistent "dissociation" (p. 147) between cultural stereotypes and actual practices. The *astuzia* of the *contadini* lay in using this elite cultural code "as a reservoir of persuasive arguments whenever they had to deal with the central authority" (p. 148). The problem is her assumption that the discrepancies between ideal and reality could or should have emerged to reshape perceptions. But, where she sees a contradiction between the elite's image of peasant family enterprise and the practices of hiring outside labor, the elite obviously did not. Where she sees very different cultural codes of honor and sexual morality between the ecclesiastical proprietors and their peasants, we may face instead a situational accommodation of ideals that were not substantially different. Although granting that stereotypes can persist at many removes from reality, can we accept that they can persist without some experiential corroboration? Ago examines successful peasants but not those who failed, nor does she really examine the full content and logic of the cultural stereotypes that she decries. In making the *contadini* astute, she has turned the elite into stereotypes instead.

THOMAS KUEHN
Clemson University

DONATELLA BALANI. *Il vicario tra città e stato: L'Ordine pubblico e l'annona nella Torino del Settecento.* (Biblioteca di storia italiana recente, new series, number 21.) Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1987. Pp. ix, 282. L. 40,000.

The title of this book is not likely to create a stir among historians in the United States: local administrative history is outside the mainstream, even among historians of Italy. In fact, Donatella Balani has written a much broader and richer history than the title suggests. In part, that is because she has chosen her subject well: the vicar was almost omnipresent in eighteenth-century Turin. He was charged with guaranteeing the execution of the law and was given special competence for public order and the food supply. Pacification entailed supervision of marginal and potentially unruly elements such as foreigners and beggars. The vicar had to suppress gambling, enforce sumptuary laws, contain prostitution, clean up theaters, and supervise convents. Public hygiene and sanitation, enforcement of construction and urban planning codes, regulation of markets, and prevention of commercial fraud fell under his jurisdiction. Through careful examination of vicarial operations in all of those sectors and through meticulous research into the conditions of Turin itself, Balani manages to write both a history of Piedmontese governance and a social history of the city.

In the first two chapters, Balani traces the jurisdiction of the vicariate and the officials who served it. Given the pivotal position of the vicariate, her account is a fine case study for examination of the commonplaces of the early modern state. The potential tension between central authority and local particularism was, she reveals, fully realized. The dukes of Savoy appointed the vicar of Turin, but the municipal government drew up the list of candidates. Both sides aspired to full control. Dukes attempted legislative uniformity for the realm and aspired to place technicians in

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positions of real power, but local elites retained a broad capacity to exploit periodic central weakness and to blunt the initiatives of the capital. Both sides tried to bend the vicar to their will, while the vicar in pursuit of autonomy had to compete both with the dukes' governors and with the city council's judges. Implementation of grand policy was vitiated by practical difficulties that dictated a piecemeal, sporadic approach to reform. Progress toward a rationalized, centralized state power was uneven and often reversed, and such progress was characterized by negotiation and accommodation rather than by an inexorable erosion of municipal particularism.

In the final chapters on public order and the food supply, Balani examines both changes in vicarial policies and the actual social, demographic, and economic events in the city. Turin, like many cities in Europe, experienced explosive growth during the eighteenth century. Economic downturns were frequent and nasty. The nobility coexisted uneasily with an ascendant bourgeoisie; both groups feared what seemed to be growing legions of the poor, immigrants, the unemployed, and criminals. Again vicars were in the middle of efforts to deal with urgent problems, both real and perceived. The history of the vicariate, then, is the history of shifting official definitions of social dangers and the history of a social policy that was relatively humane and enlightened but frequently ineffectual.

This book, although grounded in exhaustive archival research, is something more than a case study. The footnotes provide constant comparison with broader developments throughout Europe. Balani demonstrates that the government of Piedmont was particularly sensitive to the French situation and often modeled its reforms on outside precedents. There is an implicit look forward to the Risorgimento, when Piedmontese policies were models for the Italian peninsula. An apparently narrow administrative history thus fulfills its potential for illuminating a very broad range of concerns.

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STEPHEN WILSON. *Feuding, Conflict, and Banditry in Nineteenth-Century Corsica*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 565. $79.50.

This excellent study of feuding and associated forms of popular conflict and violence in nineteenth-century Corsica will long remain the standard work on the subject. It is based on exhaustive research in Corsican archives, skillful mining of contemporary folkloric sources, published memoirs, the writings of prominent French visitors to the island, notably Gustave Flaubert, Prosper Mérimée, Guy de Maupassant, and Charles Maurras, and effective use of an immense number of secondary works. These were supplemented by important insights acquired through systematic reading in scholarly disciplines other than history. Indeed, the conception of this book grew out of the author's efforts in the 1970s "to teach social history by applying the insights and concepts of social anthropology to European societies of the past" (p. ix). This approach accounts for the solid theoretical and interdisciplinary framework on which the finished book is constructed. It also explains its broadly comparative context; Stephen Wilson ranges widely through time and space for comparable examples of the phenomena that he presents in his analysis of social violence in Corsica.

His theme throughout is conflict and feuding: over material resources and issues of honor, within families, and among communities. The general picture of Corsica that emerges is one of a fragmented society caught up in endemic and debilitating patterns of violence. The accent is especially on violence against persons as measured by exceptionally high rates of homicide in Corsica compared to most other modern Western societies, at least outside the Mediterranean. In fact, murder—typically committed for reasons that are shocking for their apparent banality—appears to have been the leitmotif of social relations in Corsica during the first half of the nineteenth century. But the particular merit of this study is that Wilson demonstrates that the basis of social conflict, feuding, and homicide in Corsica during those years was anything but banal. Such behavior, however much it may have been formally expressed in honorific terms, was in fact integrally connected to intense competition over access to or control of extremely scarce material resources.

From this perspective the crucial, central argument is made that feuding was not a matter of anomic and unrestrained violence; feuding functioned "precisely [as] a regulator of conflict, a system of primitive law and restitutive justice, providing sanctions against antisocial behavior in the absence of a strong central authority" (p. 416). Even banditry is plausibly viewed as a complement to feuding and probably could not have existed apart from it. Thus, at least in Corsica, banditry had little to do with social protest as E. J. Hobsbawm has argued. Finally, it is paradoxically concluded that feuding operated on the island as a deterrent to violence, even though from time to time it had to be brought into action in order to play such a role.

It is the second major argument of this book that feuding in Corsica was exacerbated by the island's incorporation into the modern French state after 1768. The traditional internal balancing mechanisms of Corsica's formerly isolated society were disrupted in the process. Consequently, the power of sanctions to prevent or contain violence was undermined. This development meant that feuding began to increase about 1810, peaked in the 1830s and 1840s, and declined after mid-century as juridical and political conflict gradually replaced violent forms of conflict. Accordingly, an important general theme of the book is the impact that an encroaching modern state has on a traditional rural society.

In truth, it is impossible in this small space to do

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justice to a work so full of fascinating details about the complex social life of nineteenth-century Corsica. The structure of the family, the conventions of marriage, the role of women, attitudes toward death and the dead, the nature of patron-client relationships, the religious sanctions that underpinned feuding, the nature of electoral competition, the eagerness of Corsicans to seek posts in the apparatus of the French state—all of these are given intelligent and colorful treatment in this superbly written monograph. Specialists in virtually every field of social inquiry will read it with enormous profit and as much pleasure.

JACK E. REECE
University of Pennsylvania

SPENCER M. DI SCALA. *Renewing Italian Socialism: Nenni to Craxi*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 336. $35.00.

Spencer M. Di Scala is rapidly becoming the premier historian of Italian socialism in the English-speaking world. His earlier work on Filippo Turati masterfully examined the perennial socialist dilemma, that is, revolution or reform? Now, in his new book, he carries his analysis of the socialist dilemma from the dark years of fascism to the reign of Bettino Craxi as the first socialist premier in Italian history.

Since Italian politics is, and has been, highly personalized, it is not surprising that Di Scala anchors his study in an examination of the role of the major personalities in the Socialist party. Thus, the first half of the book explains the role of Pietro Nenni who tried unsuccessfully to work with the Communists and then attempted, also unsuccessfully, to establish the Socialist party as a third force between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. Di Scala, however, emphasizes that, whatever his failures, Nenni never abandoned his first principle, which was the preservation of democracy in Italy. Hence, Nenni struggled against the suicidal tendencies of the left-wing socialists, and he tried to keep the reformists from abandoning socialist ideology completely, while he arranged the first center-left government in the history of the republic.

Once inside the government, however, the socialists could not pressure the Christian Democrats to implement needed reforms. Thus, by the late 1960s, the socialists appeared ineffective just at the time when social tensions in Italy reached the breaking point. As a result, the Communist party took firm control of the debate over Italy's social and political agenda. As Di Scala points out, once again, just when the Italian Socialist party (PSI) seemed finished as a major force in Italian politics, it rebounded. Under the decisive leadership of Craxi, the party began an assault against both the Communists and the Christian Democrats. More particularly, Craxi set out to destroy Enrico Berlinguer's "historic compromise," and, by the beginning of the 1980s, he had done so.

Di Scala asserts unconvincingly that Craxi's polemic against Berlinguer was not red-baiting but rather an attempt to carve out a political and ideological space for the PSI. Certainly Craxi did succeed in establishing a political position for the party. He did so well, in fact, that, on August 4, 1983, he became prime minister and kept his government in power longer than any in the history of the republic. As the author effectively demonstrates, Craxi is the consummate politician. Between 1980 and 1987, he succeeded in destroying the bipolar system that had subordinated the PSI to the Christian Democrats and the Communists, and he proved that he could win voters away from the Communists. Although Di Scala denies it, the price Craxi paid for his success was, sadly, the sacrifice of socialist principles.

This is an important book but, unfortunately, a difficult one to read. Di Scala's work should reach a wide audience, but most persons probably will not read it through. The author deserved an editor who could smooth the transitions, eliminate all of the one-sentence paragraphs, soften the anticommunist tone, and reduce the amount of detail.

CHARLES L. BERTRAND
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TOMMASO FANFANI. *Scelte politiche e fatti economici in Italia nel quarantennio repubblicano*. Turin: G. Giappichelli. 1987. Pp. 275. L. 22,000.

Tommaso Fanfani presents to his readers a survey of Italian economic history from the end of World War II to the early 1980s. He deals primarily with the policies and programs of the national government. Coverage of private business and what happened to it is ancillary to the emphasis on public policies. He gives little attention to the role of lower-level governments, local and regional, even in the decade of the 1970s when the regions had their powers enhanced. Similarly, the European Common Market does not receive any extended coverage. It is given some credit for the growth of Italian exports after 1958, and the Common Agricultural Program gets brief mention in the discussion of Italian agriculture.

In the postwar period, Italy has been transformed, economically, socially, culturally. A substantially rural society in 1946 (close to 50 percent of the labor force was in agriculture), it is now a postindustrial society, highly urbanized, with a majority of the labor force engaged in tertiary occupations. Once a poor country, Italy has become relatively well-to-do, the fifth economic power of the world. Once a heavily populated country exporting labor, it is now a country that has achieved population zero and that imports labor from the Third World.

Fanfani presents the highlights of this transformation. His book is a survey of economic developments that does not go into an analysis of the various policies and programs. He avoids discussion of contentious issues and particularly critical judgments. Although

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Fanfani provides a good introduction to what happened in the period, he stays away from questions of what might have been done differently.

Because Fanfani is a Christian Democrat and his party has dominated the successive governments of postwar Italy, he presents a generally favorable picture of the party's handling of economic affairs. When he notes that something or some program did not accomplish what was expected, he says so in a most restrained way. For example, he mentions the decline in the efficiency of public services; someone else might use the words "disastrous state" to describe those services. He gives a generally favorable judgment of the programs for the development of southern Italy, although he recognizes their limitations and hints at damage from political corruption. He correctly differentiates various regions of the south but incorrectly concludes that the gap between southern Italy and the rest of the country has narrowed. Because his treatment ends in the early 1980s, he does not go into the new boom that began in 1984, which has widened the gap between south and north.

Fanfani barely mentions other parties and political leaders. Christian Democracy and its leaders get almost all of his attention. Although they certainly played the main role, others, whether in alliance or in opposition, were more important than Fanfani implies by his neglect of them. Fanfani gives more credit to official statistics on unemployment than they deserve. Other economists and sociologists recognize that large numbers of persons are working in the underground economy who are officially listed as unemployed.

The book can be recommended as a useful survey of postwar economic development. For those who wish to go further, other sources will be needed. The striking changes in Italy are visible to all, but the analysis and interpretation of them are matters of argument. There are those who think Italy's progress came in spite of the government. Fanfani implicitly rejects that position. So do I. But he does not take the time or space to raise the question and explicitly rebut the charge.

NORMAN KOGAN
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MARIA BOGUCKA and HENRYK SAMSONOWICZ. *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* [The History of Towns and Town Dwellers in Poland before the Partitions]. Wrocław: Ossolineum. 1986. Pp. 673. 900 Zł.

These two eminent urban historians have provided the first comprehensive history of cities and burghers in prepartition Poland since Jan Ptaśnik's 1934 classic (*Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce*). They base their synthesis on the substantial productivity of postwar Polish historiography. Although both authors share responsibility for the entire book, the scholarly record suggests that Henryk Samsonowicz initiated part 1 (to 1500), and Maria Bogucka initiated part 2 (1500–1800). Their account does not fundamentally transform our understanding of Polish urban history. It makes a major contribution, however, by adding solid documentation and filling numerous holes, some of them gaping, particularly in economic and legal history. Not surprisingly, some problems remain to be addressed.

In general, the authors report that cities first formed in the ninth and tenth centuries and increased rapidly in number over the next centuries. By the thirteenth century, improvised Polish city law became more formal and was somewhat altered by the introduction of "German" law, so that the Polish cities of early modern times resembled other Western and Central European cities in appearance, number, and size (despite the lack of very large cities) as well as in their autonomous political and economic structures.

Polish cities deteriorated in the sixteenth century and declined well into the eighteenth century, when the partitions interrupted a brief reform movement. During this time, nobles successfully undercut urban autonomy and political status in order to gain higher profits from the grain trade. The disastrous wars and invasions between 1648 and 1715 vastly accelerated the downward spiral. Nevertheless, overall urbanization grew slowly, largely as a result of the establishment of less independent "private" cities by nobles.

There are some differences between the two parts of the book. Part 1 shows a more innovative approach and raises questions of definition about the nature of the urban experience in a comparative context. References to French and German historiography predominate, although some English-language studies are also mentioned. The influence of the Annales school is particularly evident in a chapter on "city culture." The authors introduce much archival material. Part 2 is more conventional, although no less valuable.

A book like this one that sums up the contributions of a generation of scholars also sums up its failings. The authors' approach is traditionally concentrated on the narrowly defined city, established by charter, often existing behind walls. Although briefly discussed (pp. 499–505), the incorporated and unincorporated units of the suburbs remain a side issue, even though they were central to the city's economic and social functioning in early modern times. Without a broad definition of the urban unit based on economic and geographical criteria, it is impossible to understand the operation of these miniature metropolises or the continued development of urban networks throughout the period when most cities visibly declined.

This limited definition of the city contributes to the inadequate discussion of the Jews who, the authors note, constituted about one-half of the urban population by the eighteenth century (75 percent and more in eastern regions). Jews have been less visible to Polish urban historians than their significance warrants because they were excluded from some major cities and required to live in suburban areas or more distant parts where they rarely enjoyed burgher privileges. Never-

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theless, ample material has appeared in a variety of languages, including Polish, on Jewish economic activities, institutions and beliefs to have enabled the authors to expand their treatment of the subject (pp. 469–75 and scattered references elsewhere).

The book is well printed on good paper, which has not always been possible to procure in Poland in recent years. The large edition (20,000 copies) speaks well for both Polish publishing and readership. A sixty-page bibliography makes a useful contribution to scholarship, and the book includes a number of attractive black-and-white plates providing maps, pictures of buildings, and illustrations of urban life.

DANIEL STONE
University of Winnipeg

JÓZEF CHLEBOWCZYK. *Między dyktatem, realiami, a prawem do samostanowienia: Prawo do samookreślenia i problem granic we wschodniej Europe Środkowej w pierwsej wojnie światowej oraz po jej zakończeniu* [Between Dictatorship, Reality, and the Right to Self-Determination: The Right to Self-Determination and the Problem of Frontiers in East Central Europe during the First World War and after its End]. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1988. Pp. 613. 680 Zł.

Józef Chlebowczyk (1924–1985) was born and reared in a Polish community in Czechoslovakia and devoted many years of his life to studying the development of national consciousness and nationalism in East Central Europe, with particular attention to the peoples of the linguistic-cultural borderlands of which he was a product. He was a sometime chairman of the Polish-Czechoslovak Historical Commission and worked for good relations between the two peoples. He wrote studies in the history of Cieszyn (Teschen, Těšín), Silesia, and lived in the Polish part of the town of Cieszyn from 1952 until his death.

The book in which Chlebowczyk established his methodology and analyzed the development of national consciousness in East Central Europe from the late eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century was published in English translation under the title *On Small and Young Nations in Europe* (1983); unfortunately, it did not receive the attention it deserved in the West. The book under review is the second part of what the author intended to be a three-part work, but his untimely death prevented the completion of this project.

Chlebowczyk was undoubtedly the leading specialist on the nationality question in East Central Europe. His last book, published after his death (1985), in which he deals with the nationalities and their programs, as well as with the relevant policies of Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome (though only marginally with those of London, Paris, and Washington), opens with a discussion of the tremendous impact of the Russian revolution of 1905–07 on the national consciousness of the peoples of western Russia. Above all, he emphasizes the fact that the industrial workers of Russian Poland emerged for the first time as a nationally conscious, political force. He then devotes the bulk of his study to the evolution of attitudes, programs, and policies through November 1918, using a vast array of published sources in Polish, German, Russian, English, and Czech.

There is no comparable work dealing with the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire and those of the western Russian borderlands. The posthumously published two-volume study written by Wiktor Sukiennicki and edited by Maciej Siekierski, *East Central Europe during World War I* (1984), is devoted to the peoples of the western lands of the Russian empire, especially the Poles, as well as to the policies of the great powers. Finally, Raymond Pearson's *National Minorities of Eastern Europe, 1848–1945* (1983) is rather superficial and sometimes misleading.

Chlebowczyk uses Marxist criteria for analyzing the development of national consciousness, but he also criticizes Marx and Engels for their ignorant stereotyping of the peoples of East Central Europe and Lenin for his "instrumental" use of the nationalities question—a criticism he also applies effectively to the Central and Entente powers. In fact, the author employs a symbiosis of Marxist and standard historical analysis, while condemning Marxist determinism. Finally, he also condemns historical judgments expressed by contemporaries under the sway of national passions (preface, pp. 5–6).

Chlebowczyk's magisterial work is a mine of information on the attitudes, programs, and policies of both the nationalities and the Central and Entente powers, as these evolved under the impact of war. While reminding us that the vast majority of the subject peoples expressed loyalty and even enthusiasm for their alien governments at the outbreak of World War I, he rightly points out that these attitudes stemmed not from satisfaction with the existing regimes—except for Austrian Poland—but from the negative stereotype of Russia in German and Austro-Hungarian lands. Likewise, on the Entente side, Social Democratic support of the war stemmed from the negative stereotype of Germany in the Russian lands—particularly in Russian Poland—and, of course, in France, while British opinion turned against Germany after the invasion of Belgium. The author also reminds us that the Croat people's loyalty to Austria stemmed from the fear of Italian expansion at their expense.

The author is impressively impartial in his treatment of all of the nationalities, pointing out where their demands were justified and where they were irrational and excessive. The only exception to this rule is his unqualified condemnation of Józef Piłsudski's "expansionist" policy in the East. He cites two of Piłsudski's cynical statements: the first, in 1919, to the effect that he could not be an imperialist or a federalist until he could speak with a gun in his hand and the second, several years later, that he did not see any possibility of federation because the Poles came into these lands with

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arms in hand, which was contrary to federalism, and because the peoples did not want federation anyway (p. 490). But whatever Piłsudski said and thought in 1919 or later, the author should have mentioned that he advocated a federal solution for Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Ukraine as far back as 1894 and that the opposition of Poles, Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians to his projects in 1919–20 affected his later views. The author also goes too far in ascribing a thirst for power to Piłsudski and his key supporters in the prewar years, when the idealism he ascribes to the young also applied to them (pp. 67–68). Finally, although his treatment of the policies of Great Britain and the United States is clearly peripheral, it sometimes needs revision in the light of primary sources.

It is to be hoped that the Polish Historical Library will publish a translation of Chlebowczyk's second work on the nationalities of East Central Europe, as it did the first, and that both will enjoy the Western recognition they so eminently deserve.

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DUNCAN M. PERRY. *The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movements, 1893–1903*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 257. $29.75.

This handsome book will benefit both specialists in the history of the modern Balkans and readers generally interested in the political dynamics of nationalism. Its subject matter precludes a definitive work ever being written because of the obvious unavailability of sources, pervasive bias in the literature, and the range of languages required for a comprehensive treatment. Against the backdrop of those realities, Duncan M. Perry has produced an informative and attractive monograph that is a welcome addition to the growing body of North American historiography on Balkan affairs.

After an introductory chapter entitled "The Ottoman Setting," the author presents in three chapters a detailed narrative of the emergence, development, and activities of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO) and its parallel and rival organizations in Bulgaria. The narrative takes the reader through the ill-fated Ilinden-Preobrazhenski uprising of 1903. The book closes with two analytical chapters examining the means and methods of the MRO (membership, armament, organization, system of justice, and so forth) as well as issues ranging from the role of ancillary organizations to terrorism as a political instrument.

The strength of the book rests in its rich factual content. Perry has carefully retrieved material from a variety of primary sources and secondary works and presents it in an objective fashion. He had access to archives in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as well as Vienna and Washington.

Perry draws clear portraits of many of the leading figures of the MRO and recounts, in a lucid manner, their aspirations, organizational initiatives, actions and provocations (usually woefully planned), factional strife, and eventual disappointment. A sufficient amount of attention is also paid to politics in Bulgaria and to the international and diplomatic considerations that were inextricably linked to the effort to liberate Macedonia from Ottoman rule. A fuller and more definitive study would require greater attention to Greek and Serbian involvement and a more sophisticated appreciation of Ottoman organization and thinking (or the lack thereof).

The analytical content of this study is not so satisfying. One problem is in the organization: Perry's discussions of causes and explanations are too far removed from the passages where the reader is anxious to know why this or that event occurred. That organizational flaw is compounded in the two analytical chapters, in which there is a great deal of overlap and repetition and in which the subject matter is not effectively differentiated.

Those structural weaknesses may help to account for what is at best vagueness in Perry's treatment of the more fundamental issues wrapped up in the Macedonian question. Even terrorism, the issue held forth as the central theme of the book, falls victim. Why Macedonian activists and others resorted to certain acts of indiscriminate violence remains unclear; indeed, little commentary is offered on how, at least in the activists' minds, such acts as attempted bombings and assassinations differed from the bulk of the armed actions against Ottoman rule in which guerrilla-like bands (*cheti*) carried out attacks against officialdom. Other large issues are similarly left unresolved: the failure of the activists to understand, and thus to take better advantage of, the economic, fiscal, and social plight of the Macedonian peasantry; the role of conflicting nationalist visions; the tragic consequences for Balkan peoples of the imperialism of the great powers.

There is, however, very much to admire in this book. In a literate and attractive way (including many illustrations), it faithfully brings to the English-language reader a wealth of information on the ideals and the corruption, the heroes and the villains, and the intrigues and the exploits of a period that has so shaped Western perceptions of Balkan politics. In doing so, Perry has managed as well to maintain an admirable objectivity, which, given the subject matter and much of the historiography, represents no mean feat.

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E. A. RYBINA. *Inozemnye dvory v Novgorode XII-XVII vv.* [Foreign Commercial Houses in Novgorod from the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Centuries.] Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1986. Pp. 173. 90 k.

E. A. Rybina has written an interesting study of the Hanseatic Gotland Yard and German Yard (known

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also as St. Peterhof) in Novgorod from the early twelfth through the seventeenth centuries. These Yards or Commercial Houses were settlements for foreign merchants trading in Russia. Some discussion is given to the early fifteenth-century Pskov and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tver' and Swedish Yards (apparently efforts to establish Danish and English trading stations in the reign of Ivan the Terrible proved fruitless), but the emphasis of the book concerns the changing administration of the Gotland and German Yards.

Rybina places the founding of the Gotland Yard in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, although chronicle references to Gotland and the church of St. Olaf do not occur until 1130 and 1152. Her work is particularly valuable in outlining the numerous conflicts between Novgorod and the Hansa towns, such as the seizure of Novgorodian goods in Gotland in 1188. The resolution of the tensions led to the creation of the German Yard in 1192.

The founding of the German Yard ushered in a new period in the history of the Hansa "factory." By the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the first of the charter regulations or bylaws (*Schra*) were formulated. They called for the election of elders and stipulated the trading privileges enjoyed by the Hansa merchants. In 1259 or 1260, Aleksandr Nevskii completed a treaty with the Gotland and German merchants regulating weights and measures and the adjudication of conflicts between Novgorodians and Germans. Hansa trading privileges were again confirmed in a treaty of 1269, which, when taken together with the *Ustav o mostekh* (Charter on Bridges) of 1265–67, provided the basis for the future operations of the "factory."

In 1295 a second redaction of the *Schra* was made detailing fines for criminal offenses and obligating foreign merchants to trade in Novgorod only twice a year (in the winter and summer). From the end of the thirteenth century to 1361, the Gotland and German Yards were jointly administered by Lübeck and Visby, but after 1361 the Livonian towns took an increasingly active role in the yards. As Novgorod's commercial importance to the Hanseatic League grew (the league's first general assembly occurred in 1356 in Lübeck), the *Schra* were expanded in 1325 and again in 1370–71. The fourth charter is included in an appendix in both German and Russian. The charter pays particular attention to the privileges of the church of St. Peterhof, which housed and administered the commercial transactions of the yards; the election of merchant elders (*starosty*) for the factory; and the regulations concerning the relations between Russians and foreign traders. Rybina then examines the continuing conflicts between Novgorod and the Livonian towns; the Niburov peace, which signaled the expanding role of Livonia in Novgorod's foreign trade and culminated in the joint administration of the factory by Riga, Revel, and Dorpat in 1442.

Rybina's work is a valuable study of the complex political relations between Novgorod and the Hanseatic towns and correlates political and military conflicts to the redactions of the *Schra*, but the book adds little to what is already known about the economy and internal politics of Novgorod.

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JAMES CRACRAFT. *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. xxvi, 372; 75 plates. $45.00.

"The Petrine revolution in Russian architecture" is a phenomenon obscure in Western historiography. Somewhat better known are its chief protagonist—Peter I "the Great" (1682–1725), the first emperor of Russia—and his major architectural creation, St. Petersburg, which became the new capital of the empire. James Cracraft's book, as he informs us at the outset, is part of a larger study of the Russian cultural revolution under Peter the Great. Cracraft's main aim is to sketch in broad outlines the historical circumstances under which the architectural revolution in question originated, to chart its actual course, and, finally, to examine its subsequent impact on Russia as an emerging modern nation.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first two are concerned with pre-Petrine Russian heritage, the firmly rooted medieval tradition, and its perception in the eyes of visiting Westerners. The third chapter analyzes the nature of the crisis that set the stage for the revolution. Its main catalysts were, according to Cracraft, the demonstrable lack of military sophistication and the equally demonstrable lack of technical knowledge needed to remedy the situation. The importation of the first Western experts and books pried open tightly sealed flood gates and facilitated an unprecedented tidal wave of Western influence. Those events are the subject of chapter 4 in which Cracraft assesses them in a complex historiographical perspective. Chapter 5 examines the genesis of the architectural revolution in the light of a conflation of what was labeled *khorosheia arkhitektura* (good architecture, that is, technically competent building) and *novaia moda* (the new style, that is, the Westernized taste in architecture). Chapters 6 and 7 are devoted to analysis of St. Petersburg, the intended showpiece of the Petrine architectural revolution. These two chapters trace its early history mostly as reported by Western eyewitnesses. The eighth chapter offers a concluding assessment of Peter the Great's legacy through the scrutiny of the activities of his successors on the imperial throne of Russia. The most significant among these was Catherine II (1762–1796), who established the state-run Academy and conducted the great *pereplanirovka* (literally, replanning), which effected the fate of hundreds of Russian cities and thousands of villages. Her policies, according to Cracraft, reflected a "convergence of

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power and taste" and left the most lasting imprint on the man-made environment of Russia (p. 249).

Cracraft's book is a carefully researched and well-crafted study but one that does invite some general criticisms. In the first place, one would like to scrutinize the meaning of the concept of architectural revolution. By definition, "revolution" implies a relatively sudden and complete change of some type of established order (political, social, cultural). Architecture, as a technical as well as a cultural and social phenomenon, is not readily prone to such abrupt changes. Peter I may have had an architectural revolution of sorts in mind, although there seems to be no contemporary articulation of such a concept. It was not until the reign of Catherine II, by Cracraft's own reckoning, that the architectural revolution of Peter the Great began to bear fruit. As in so many earlier historical instances of planned architectural revolutions, this one may also have proven too costly and too slow to its mastermind. St. Petersburg—as was the case with Constantinople of Constantine the Great and Versailles of Louis XIV—may have been a by-product of "revolutionary" frustrations and impatience. It provided Peter I with the most expedient fulfillment of his aspirations in a manner totally free of traditional constraints. Peter's architectural revolution was a grander vision in the minds of largely Western beholders whose cultural lack of appreciation of pre-Petrine Russia makes them somewhat suspect judges. The magnitude of change, as impressive as it must have been, was obviously measured by relative standards. Without underestimating the significance of Peter the Great's achievement, or Cracraft's assessment of it, we must question the validity of the notion of architectural revolution in this context and possibly even in a general sense.

Cracraft analyzes the great shift in Russian architecture under Peter I by examining carefully its various components—the technological change, the change in taste, the impact of patronage, the role of imported architects, craftsmen, and laborers, the role of education, the role of architectural publications, and so on. The change in Russian architectural taste during the seventeenth century is the subject of a whole chapter entitled "Moscow Baroque." This largely cosmetic phenomenon is seen by Cracraft as setting the stage for the Petrine revolution, when the baroque style became a wholesale commodity in Russia. The notion of baroque style as it applies to Petrine Russia, however, is anything but pure. In the eyes of a sophisticated contemporary visitor to Russia, Count Francesco Algarotti, a native of Venice, the seemingly random juxtaposition of stylistic variants was jarring. Writing about St. Petersburg, he proclaimed, "There reigns in this capital a kind of bastard architecture, one which partakes of the Italian, the French, and the Dutch" (p. 229). His criticism, obviously conditioned by his keen sense of regional if not local style, rejected outright the notion of eclectic taste. Eclecticism—a term that Cracraft curiously avoids—would seem to be not only an apt way of describing the stylistic development in Petrine Russia but also an appropriate way of thinking about stylistic modes within imperial cultural contexts in general.

In conclusion, Cracraft's book, much like Peter the Great's architectural revolution, was conceived on a more ambitious scale than could meaningfully be handled. Although not written, by the author's own admission, as a history of architecture, it provides a broad and sound foundation from which more specialized studies may develop.

SLOBODAN ĆURČIĆ
Princeton University

MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry.* (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. 263. $35.00.

Contemporary scholarship emphasizes the emergence of nationalism and socialism as the dominant ideological trends among Jews in the late Russian empire. Yet, even as these new responses to the so-called Jewish Question were elaborated, a program of liberal tenets derived from the Haskalah, or the Jewish enlightenment movement, persisted. Michael Stanislawski's biography of Judah Leib Gordon not only surveys the career of an extraordinarily principled *maskil,* or proponent of the Haskalah, but also traces the relationship of this old ideology to the new.

Stanislawski characterizes the ideas of Gordon, and various other *maskilim,* as idiosyncratic. This is an insight worth noting. All Russian *maskilim* agreed that Jewish religious life required reform, that the Jews should become good subjects of the tsar, and that they should in some way remain Jews. Beyond these general principles, there was a striking absence of a detailed, common program. The liberal prospectus has usually been reduced to the cliché "be a man in the street and a Jew at home." In a wide-ranging gloss on Gordon's poetical restatement of this theme, Stanislawski reveals the existence of more diverse and sophisticated approaches than are usually associated with the "naive" *maskilim.*

Gordon's own life illustrates this diversity. He was the outstanding Hebrew poet of his generation, yet he fought a relentless campaign against contemporary Zionist theories. A persistent advocate of "russification," he defended the knowledge of Hebrew as a prerequisite for sharing in Judaism's cultural and religious riches and as a necessity for those who wished to be authentically Jewish. He urged emancipated Jews to participate in the creation of a common European culture, bringing as their contribution the treasures enshrined in Hebrew, such as the Talmud and the Midrash, cultural baggage that more secularly inclined Jewish reformers were often prepared to abandon.

For Gordon, the key to the creation of good Jewish citizens was the reform of Jewish religious life. Exile had led to the creation of errant superstitions and absurd beliefs that compromised the sanctity and pu-

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rity of Judaism, while rendering Jews unfit for citizenship in a modern state. The leaders of contemporary Judaism were obscurantists whose power over the Jewish community had to be broken. This consideration explains Gordon's unwavering opposition to early forms of Zionism. Gordon himself envisioned the future resettlement of the Land of Israel as the capstone of a Jewish national rebirth. Unlike the Zionists who preached resettlement itself as the key to resolving the Jewish Question, however, Gordon insisted that only a reformed Jewry could effectively repopulate Zion, a view that turned many friends into deadly enemies.

Stanislawski's emphasis on Gordon's work within the confines of the Jewish community presents his relationship to the gentile world as overly remote, given that Gordon was a publicist in four languages, a prominent man of letters, and the public spokesman for the Jewish community of St. Petersburg. In part this remoteness may be a reflection of Gordon's own personality. Typically, when Gordon was mistakenly arrested and exiled on a political charge in 1879, he blamed traditionalist opponents within the Jewish community rather than the capriciousness of the Russian state. Gordon continually subordinated the external struggle for civil rights to the internal battle for religious reform, asserting in 1876 that Jews could be liberated externally only after they had reformed themselves according to the prescriptions of the Haskalah. (When the liberal St. Petersburg newspaper *Golos* made the analogous argument that unenlightened Jews must not be given expanded civil rights, lest they use them to exploit the peasantry, the editors were widely accused of anti-Semitism.)

Gordon, like other *maskilim*, was aware of the imprecision of terms such as "russification" or "acculturation" (*sblizhenie*), yet he persisted in using them in his Russian writings, thus participating in the dialogue of misapprehension that characterized the dealings of *maskilim* with Russian liberals, which ultimately led to the disillusionment of Russian liberals with the prospects for Jewish reform and their drift toward Judeophobia. These are issues crucial to placing the Russian Haskalah in a wider context that Stanislawski might have profitably pursued.

This quibble aside, Stanislawski's biography of Gordon together with his earlier work *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews* (1983) constitute indispensable resources for reconstructing the world view of the Russian Haskalah.

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KAREL DURMAN. *The Time of the Thunderer: Mikhail Katkov, Russian Nationalist Extremism, and the Failure of the Bismarckian System, 1871–1887*. (East European Monographs, number 237.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. ix, 609. $60.00.

KAREL DURMAN. *Lost Illusions: Russian Policies towards Bulgaria in 1877–1887*. (Uppsala Studies on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, number 1.) Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm. 1988. Pp. 184. 142 KR.

Karel Durman has written an important work, *The Time of the Thunderer*, which in scope extends both chronologically and topically beyond what is indicated by the title. Indeed, part 1 of the three-part monograph deals not only with the role of Mikhail Katkov in relation to Russian foreign, military, and, to a lesser extent, domestic policy but also with the position of other key figures in the period from 1856 through 1871. He correctly notes that Katkov cannot be written off simply as an opportunist but rather must be viewed as an integral nationalist, especially after the Polish uprising of 1863.

Throughout a good part of the book, Durman devotes considerable space to the details of Russian expansion into the Caucasus and Central Asia, relying heavily on secondary works. These sections could have been shortened greatly without losing the theme of "Russian imperialism" that the author wishes to convey. Furthermore, many of the chapters deal only peripherally with Katkov's role in Russian foreign policy and, thus, appear somewhat superfluous. Morever, much of the work is devoted to the Bulgarian episodes as a part of the Eastern Question, although here Katkov's role in relation to Russian foreign policy and the Bismarckian system is clearly portrayed.

Durman's primary thesis is that the history of the "Katkovite party's" bid for a "true national policy" between 1856 and 1887 evolved in cycles, "shock" (1870–71, 1878–80, 1885–87) and "stalemate" followed by periods of strength when they looked for "new options" (1856–62, 1871–75, 1880–81) (pp. 451–52). The "heydays" were the years 1863–70, 1876–78, and 1881–87, the last including the final stalemate and Katkov's death in 1887 (p. 452). Durman's thesis is well argued with both facts and logic, which he uses to describe each period. Thus, there he cannot be faulted. The crucial question is did the book warrant publication nine years after the appearance of George F. Kennan's *Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875–1890* (1979). I am convinced it did. Even without access to the Archives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Durman, relying heavily on German and British archival sources as well as on Katkov's editorials in the Moscow *Gazette*, challenges Kennan's evaluation of Katkov in a highly convincing manner (p. 584, n. 14). "Katkovshchina" and its impact far outlived Katkov, the Thunderer of Strastnyi Boulevard.

Finally, the work is enhanced by a solid bibliography and index, but it is seriously marred by many typographical errors and the absence of maps.

Durman's *Lost Illusions* is a short monograph of a revisionist nature aimed at exploding the "myth" of Russo-Bulgarian friendship in the nineteenth century. The book reflects either indifference or hostility between the two peoples in general, at least from the

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reign of Ivan IV until the death of Katkov in 1887. Historiographically, Durman's primary targets are the Soviet historian Sergei D. Skazkin (*Konets avstro-russko-germanskogo soiuza*, vol. 1 [1928]) and the American historian Charles Jelavich (*Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism* [1958]), whom Durman accuses of perpetuating the myth. Many of Durman's analyses in *The Time of the Thunderer* are repeated in *Lost Illusions*, especially those on the period from 1877 through 1887 relating to the Bulgarian question. He skillfully blends the importance of diplomacy, military measures, internal politics, and public opinion in both Bulgaria and Russia. This approach makes for a relatively convincing thesis, especially for the prime decade in question.

Yet Durman's book should be read together with the works by Jelavich and Skazkin for a more balanced picture of Russo-Bulgarian relations in this crucial time. Durman's *Lost Illusions* is enhanced by footnotes (instead of endnotes as in *The Time of the Thunderer*), a sound bibliography, and an index. Durman's primary sources include documents from German and British archives but not Soviet.

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V. V. SHELOKHAEV. *Partiia oktiabristov v period pervoi rossiiskoi revoliutsii* [The Octobrist Party in the Period of the First Russian Revolution]. Moscow: Nauka. 1987. Pp. 157. 1 r. 20 k.

According to V. V. Shelokhaev, Soviet historians still have much to do to clarify the nature of nonrevolutionary parties in the prehistory of the Russian revolution. I cannot for the life of me imagine why, since, to judge by the author's footnotes, the essential work was done on the spot by V. I. Lenin himself.

V. V. Shelokhaev's theme is taken from Lenin: "The Octobrists were the direct class organization of certain strata of large landowners and the big commercial-industrial bourgeoisie" (pp. 5–6), or, in a stronger formulation, "the Octobrists were spokesmen for the interests of the strata of the big agricultural and commercial-industrial bourgeoisie in the epoch of primitive accumulation" (p. 135).

The original work here is concentrated in one area: cataloging the Octobrists' local branches and estimating their membership. Shelokhaev claims to have identified seventy-two chapters with more than fifty thousand members, but he makes no attempt to demonstrate that the landowners among them were "modernizers." He also provides the best compilation to date of the social and economic status of members of the Octobrists' central committees (Moscow and Leningrad) in 1905–07, without proving that they really represented any constituency. Indeed, he cites evidence that Octobrists in the capitals were totally out of touch with the "periphery" (pp. 38, 82). It may be easier to characterize urban Octobrists, but the precise nature of those whose interests were basically agricultural remains elusive.

Admitting that provincial archival funds and the local press still need to be systematically examined, the author relies instead on "the works of V. I. Lenin, documents and materials of the Congresses of the RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Labor party], which contain objective information on various aspects of the Octobrists' activities" (p. 20). Shelokhaev has examined archives in the United States and has read the works of foreign scholars, but the exposure seems to have had little impact on his thinking. (I should acknowledge here that my article "Leaders and Followers?" in *The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905–1914* [1979], edited by Leopold Haimson, is classified by Shelokhaev among the "flagrant falsifications" of bourgeois historians.)

It is no news to say that the Octobrists represented the "solid," propertied classes of society—they boasted of it. The argument in Soviet historiography is whether the landowners among the Octobrists' constituents were nascently capitalistic and therefore potentially liberal or whether, as E. D. Chermensky argued (*Burzhuaziia i tsarizm* [1970]), they were traditional landowners whose politics were simply reactionary.

There is circumstantial evidence that they had no articulate program beyond reflexive fear of revolt and that their ideas about their role in the state were rooted in pre-1905 gentry institutions. The leading Octobrists in the Duma were an anomaly among their peers, and from the beginning of the Third Duma they deliberately cut themselves off from the electorate in order to maneuver more successfully in the parliamentary area.

A Soviet scholar, A. M. Anfimov, has concluded that economic change in the countryside, such as it was, was too recent and too slow for a class of capitalistic gentry to have evolved in most areas of European Russia (*Krupnoe pomeshchiche khoziaistvo* [1969], p. 288). Anfimov's work is ignored by Shelokhaev.

Clearly, the Octobrists were not a party in the same sense as the Kadets and the Social Democrats or even, possibly, the right-wing Nationalists of the later dumas. Their leadership tried to avoid discussing the program of the Union of 17 October—unlike the leftists, for whom programs were articles of faith, minutely debated and applied as a creed-like test.

His hindsight ideologically honed, Shelokhaev makes the Octobrists' political ineptitude appear as the deep and sinister machinations of an organized class, desperate enemies of the onrushing revolution. Arguing that the Union's program was a precise statement of the interests of the Octobrists' constituents, he cites exactly the same evidence (pp. 81–82) that I have used to demonstrate the opposite. When Guchkov declares piously that the Union's program is a "symbol," the irony is entirely lost on Shelokhaev.

As alternatives to this orthodox tract, and for superior work on the same archival sources, I recommend

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the essays in *The Politics of Rural Russia* and other works by Robert Edelman and Roberta Manning.

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NURIT SCHLEIFMAN. *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–14.* New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. xvii, 222. $29.95.

This interesting and compact study of tsarist police agents in the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) explores one of the most important issues in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement: the extent to which terrorism was the result of police provocation and spying rather than of radical strategies and tactics designed to topple the imperial government. Nurit Schleifman argues that the SRs in particular fell prey to undercover agents because of their party's romantic attachment to terrorism and insufficient concern about the rules of conspiracy. The recklessness of SR terrorism carried all kinds of people in its wake, from revolutionaries to impetuous youth, from convicted killers to police spies. Once active in the Battle Organization and its terrorist affiliates, spies and radicals alike became heroic figures. Just as the police were obsessed by terrorism, so were the radicals blind to the realities of violent struggle with the government.

Schleifman divides her study into three discrete sections. First, she examines the development of the Okhrana (Special Agency) within the police apparatus as a whole. She points out that careerism and rivalry among the officers of the Okhrana and the Corps of Gendarmes undermined the effectiveness of their combined efforts, although she fails to provide evidence of cases in which the Okhrana and gendarmes made use of their respective agents "to scuttle each other's achievements" (p. 11). Schleifman also describes how the police recruited agents among radical circles and analyzes the special susceptibility of Jewish radicals to the Okhrana's sophisticated techniques. The success of the relatively small number of agents in the SR party is demonstrated by her data, which show that, by 1907, some fifteen thousand SRs—one-third of the party's membership—had been arrested or exiled.

The second part of the book discusses the radicals' response to undercover police activity. According to Schleifman, only the devastating information that the head of the Battle Organization, Evno Azef, was working for the Okhrana finally forced SR leaders to think about the issue of police infiltration as an integral part of the failure of their party. Azef was so well known in radical circles and so important to the efforts of the Battle Organization that the revelation of his activities called "into question the moral bases of all its [the party's] operations" (p. 93). The final section of the book—the most original in my view—traces the repercussions of the Azef case in and outside the movement. Schleifman argues that Vladimir Burtsev's determined prosecutions of police agents, Azef included, were less the result of his insistence on seeing that justice was done than they were a calculated tactic to advance his own political program. It is ironic, Schleifman notes, that Burtsev's dogged exposure of police agents did more damage to the movement than the information the agents provided to the police. As a result, Vera Figner identified Burtsev as "the angel of death bearing the scythe, even worse than the angel of death . . . a black phantom with long, twisted fingers" (p. 192). Provocation signaled the ethical breakdown of the SRs; political rivalries fed on the distrust sowed by the existence of police agents. Schleifman convincingly demonstrates that in the end Burtsev's revelations paralyzed the SR party and hastened its downfall.

Unfortunately, Schleifman has not been served well by her editors. The theoretical sections of the book, in particular, are plagued by unnecessarily dense prose. And, without a bibliography, the reader cannot determine whether Schleifman has consulted the appropriate secondary literature on Russian terrorism. For example, her notes provide no indication that she has used the interesting American dissertations on the SRs and the police by Allison Blakely, Richard Eiter, Frederic S. Zuckerman, and Michael Melancon, among others. These scholars, like Schleifman, based their studies on thorough research in the Okhrana and Nicolaevsky archives at the Hoover Institution and the archives of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in Amsterdam. Was Azef really a double agent, as claimed by Schleifman and by Boris Nicolaevsky in his classic 1934 study of the affair? Or was Azef simply the most effective Okhrana agent in its history? With broader reading, Schleifman could have provided the most up-to-date explanations of these still-unresolved questions, as well as of many others in the murky history of provocateurs in this period. Nonetheless, she has made an important contribution, one that will be standard reading for anyone interested in the history of the SRs and the Russian revolutionary movement.

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ISABEL A. TIRADO. *Young Guard! The Communist Youth League, Petrograd, 1917–1920.* (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 9.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xii, 264. $39.95.

Isabel A. Tirado's study of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) in Petrograd evaluates the symbiosis between the Communist party and the Komsomol during the Russian Civil War. The author focuses on how a broad, loose coalition of radical youths formed in 1917 became transformed into "a politically exclusive, bureaucratic, hierarchical institution" (p. 2) by the time the Civil War drew to a close. Ascribing considerable importance to the Komsomol's inability to evolve autonomously, Tirado argues that an understanding of the league's formative experience is necessary to ac-

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count for its bureaucratization in the late 1920s and 1930s.

Divided into two parts, the book traces the origins of the Communist youth organization in 1917–1918 and then its consolidation by 1920. The author begins her study with a discussion of the organizational efforts of Petrograd's youth during 1917, concentrating on *Trud i svet* (Labor and Light) and *Sotsialisticheskii souiz rabochei molodezhi* (Socialist League of Young Workers). Throughout part 1, Tirado shows how each stage in the radicalization of the revolution corresponded to the evolution of the youth movement.

The four chapters composing part 2 treat the Komsomol's changing social composition, educational activities, economic work, and relationship to the Communist party. Here Tirado emphasizes how the Civil War molded the character of the organization and how its original concern over the working youth's economic and cultural development gave way to providing military and ideological support for the embattled Soviet state. This transformation, already strongly evident at the First National Congress (October–November 1918), defined the league's purpose as the political education of the country's youth.

Not surprisingly, the Komsomol soon served as a recruiting ground for the Red Army. This activity enhanced its value to the party but also denied the youth league a stable leadership. Moreover, frequent mobilizations changed the social composition of the Komsomol, and, by 1920, students and white-collar workers had preempted those with a working-class background. Echoing discussions that rocked the party and the trade unions regarding economic reconstruction after the Civil War, a heated debate threatened the organization from the moment it elected to give prominence to political education. The program of Vladimir Dunaevskii, an influential member of the Komsomol leadership who clamored for improvements in working and living conditions, was defeated at the Third Komsomol Congress in October 1920. In reconfirming its role as an educational institution, the Komsomol became a main source of reserves for the party.

Although the author's reasoning is sound, I find this lightly disguised dissertation unsatisfactory on several counts. Tirado did not exhaust sources available only in the Soviet Union, and as a result her narrative is episodic. Her shifting focus between events in Petrograd and those at the national level is confusing. We learn little about the success of Komsomol activities in Petrograd or about such issues as the role of gender. Tirado suggests that the Komsomol emerged as a critical institution of consensus building for the new society, but her teleological representations do not adequately explain why.

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RICHARD SAKWA. *Soviet Communists in Power: A Study of Moscow during the Civil War, 1918–21*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. xxi, 342. $55.00.

As the literature on the early Soviet state grows, scholars have begun to devote increasing attention to sectoral and local studies. Richard Sakwa's book treats Moscow as a case study in the development of War Communism. Sakwa makes a coherent and persuasive case for his view that the policies of War Communism owed as much to doctrines and predispositions of the Bolshevik movement as to the immediate exigencies of civil war. His theoretical premise is that Leninism had inherited from Marxism an attitude of hostility toward civil society as an institutional sphere mediating between the particularities of private life and the generalizing control over society by the state and that, as a result, the circumstances of war and revolution reinforced inherent coercive and antidemocratic tendencies within Bolshevism. At the same time Sakwa traces the unresolved ideological and organizational tensions in the early Bolshevik state, where latent values of democracy and equality gained expression in successive reform movements and where competition among the quasi-autonomous bureaucracies of the young state provoked constant efforts at restructuring so as to streamline and rationalize organizational arrangements. Sakwa regards War Communism as providing both the doctrinal and the institutional prerequisites of Stalinist totalitarianism but at the same time shows that it was itself far too provisional, too fluid, to constitute a system in the sense that Stalinism represented a system. It ended, after all, in collapse as the contradictions accumulated and could no longer be contained by the fragile structures built in such haste under the duress of war.

Using Moscow as his sample case, Sakwa combines topical with chronological coverage of the development of the major institutional spheres of War Communism: economic production and distribution, labor, the party, and the soviets. He offers detailed treatments of the Workers' Opposition and democratic opposition movements and argues, again convincingly, that the trade union controversy sparked by L. D. Trotsky's radical and unpopular drive to comprehend all trade union activity under the direct control of the state had the effect of undermining the position of the democratic opposition in the party. Because the New Economic Policy (NEP) was enacted as an emergency response to widespread popular unrest, party leaders believed that the transition to NEP required a further tightening of the party's internal centralization and its dictatorial powers over society, a program the Moscow party committee termed "*perestroika*." Interestingly, the link between NEP's liberalization in the economy and the additional measures to stifle political opposition, not a new point in Western discussions, was recently raised by the radical democratizer Boris Kurashvili in a round-table discussion published in *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* (1988), where Kurashvili makes the pro-

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vocative claim that "the more there is a listing to the right, the stronger the need to preserve authoritarian elements in the political regime" (p. 11).

Sakwa's case materials are drawn from a number of primary sources, above all, newspapers, as well as from the archives of a major industrial plant. His interest, however, is not primarily in Moscow: Moscow in this book is treated as War Communism writ small. Yet, although Moscow obviously dominated the considerably truncated territory of Soviet Russia, the city cannot be equated with the territory in all respects. One regrets, therefore, that the question of Moscow's representativeness does not receive some attention. Sakwa tends to slip between observations about Soviet Russia in general and Moscow in particular without considering the extent to which Moscow may have been distinctive because of its size or status, its economic and demographic structure, or other factors. By the same token, the influence Moscow itself might have had on policies adopted by the center cannot be assessed on the basis of Sakwa's study. The validity of the case must be taken on faith.

All in all, however, Sakwa makes a valuable contribution both in the new historical detail he offers about Moscow and in the thesis he develops about the nature of War Communism.

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VLADIMIR ANDRLE. *Workers in Stalin's Russia: Industrialization and Social Change in a Planned Economy*. New York: St. Martin's or Harvester, Wheatsheaf, England. 1988. Pp. xii, 243. $39.95.

Vladimir Andrle uses a sociological framework to examine themes on industrial labor and management relations under party-state pressure. He focuses on industrial relations as they evolved during campaigns directed at managers and workers. He argues that workers were adapting to the demands of industrial organization, as has been discussed by Hiroaki Kuromiya in *Stalin's Industrial Revolution: Politics and Workers, 1928–1932* (1988) and by Lewis Siegelbaum in "Production Collectives and Communes and the 'Imperatives' of Soviet Industrialization, 1929–1931" (*Slavic Review*, 1986). Workers learned to manipulate the managers making demands on them and coworkers—those too eager for quick, individual rewards regardless of costs to workers as a whole.

Andrle draws on national party, state, and trade union newspapers and journals, a few memoirs (particularly those of Ivan Gudov, a Stakhanovite), and materials written by American engineers. He interprets those sources within a framework of Western European and American sociological analysis of industrial behavior.

The heart of the book is in the last chapters. In "The Politics of Industrialization Management," Andrle discusses the problems associated with "taut planning" (pp. 70–72) and inexperienced management. Managers caught between high expectations and poor achievement levels had to be flexible and even inventive in handling materials, labor, and bureaucratic politics. The workers, he demonstrates, were also determined to protect themselves. In "Shopfloor Intervention," Andrle investigates both the resistance of workers to the demands made on them and the techniques managers adopted to keep them working. Managers pretended to enforce official, draconian rules—rules that were impossible to enforce while still maintaining the required levels of production, on the basis of which the managers were themselves being judged. In "Stakhanovite Politics," Andrle discusses the struggle of the Stakhanovites to win the right to earn more than everyone else and to obtain the organizational support of management for that right. He links the politics of party leaders promoting mass mobilization campaigns with the attacks on bureaucratization and the purges of 1937–38.

Andrle's use of concepts drawn from sociological studies of workplaces around the world is a welcome feature of his book. It would have been useful, however, to have an explanation of why the particular foreign factories he examines were appropriate for comparison. Andrle finds evidence of workers collectives in Soviet media reports. Because the media were controlled by the central party-state, however, it is quite possible, even likely, that those incidents were singly chosen to prove a point or to authorize a new campaign, and it cannot be proven that the Soviet workplace fit the Western model. Moreover, Andrle relies heavily on the writings of American engineers, who were commenting from the perspective of a different environment of labor-management relations. The comments of Soviet engineers could have provided the necessary balance. The memoir of Gudov is the source of much of the evidence for the final chapters, but can it be claimed that he is representative of the average worker?

This study disregards the historical context of the struggle between workers and management. But the level of demands on the industrial sector and on the productivity of workers and managers is fundamentally related to the context of annual harvests, production targets, and the changing composition of the party and the work force. Andrle too seldom links those factors to the response of labor and management to political initiatives from above. His book is, nevertheless, original in its approach to the study of Soviet workers, and it raises interesting questions rooted in comparative history. Andrle also adds to the growing number of new hypotheses explaining the purges of the 1930s.

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DIMITRY V. POSPIELOVSKY. *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice and the Believer*. Volume 1, *A History*

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of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies; volume 2, *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions*; volume 3, *Soviet Studies on the Church and the Believer's Response to Atheism*. New York: St. Martin's. 1987–88. Pp. xvii, 189; xix, 275; xxxii, 325. Cloth the set $115.00, paper the set $46.85.

Dimitry V. Pospielovsky is the author of what I consider the best history of the Russian Orthodox church written since the Russian revolution. If it is possible so soon to call a work definitive, his two-volume *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917–1982* (1984) deserves that accolade. These three volumes are the remainder of his research project; unfortunately, they do not measure up to the first two.

Volume 1 deals with atheist propaganda and state policy. It is not very successful, for the author makes little reference to the church's response, which very often conditioned the state's approach. Volume 2 is on surer ground; in it Pospielovsky deplores the various persecutions that the believers suffered. In volume 3 he dabbles, not very convincingly, in theoretical matters.

There are manifold problems in this work. One is structure. To be sure, the subject is complex, but the author's approach does not work well. In addition, the prose is dense, all sense of proportion is missing, and the editing is somewhat haphazard.

More crucial is the scope: this work is just too ambitious, too comprehensive. There is a certain arrogance, a pretension to renaissance universality of knowledge all too common among intellectuals. This is especially evident in volume 3: chapter 7 pretends to review nearly all of philosophy and is sophomoric; chapter 8 does the same for literature, achieving rather less than the college outline series; and from there on the book degenerates into more or less a "lives of the saints."

That this comprehensiveness is combined with severe limitations courts disaster. For example, Pospielovsky should know better than to confuse the True Orthodox Christians, who are mostly loyal Orthodox who have gone underground because the state has deprived them of churches, with the Old Believers, who are not (vol. 2, p. 107, 115–16). He denigrates (vol. 3, p. 34) a Soviet "author [who] takes the writings of Ivan Prokhanov, a founder and leader of Russian Evangelists-Pentecostals. Obviously ignorant of the difference between the Pentecostal Evangelism [*sic*] and Baptism, our Soviet author calls him a Baptist preacher." (Pospielovsky is wrong: Prokhanov was an Evangelical Christian, and in 1944 the Evangelical Christians became a part of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, or Baptists; the Pentecostals are Christians of Evangelical Faith.)

The work is permeated with an attitude of suffused indignation. Sources he likes he uses uncritically (for example, in volume 1, pages 34–36, he draws on a most suspicious "secret report" of Lenin), and seldom if ever does he question a *samizdat* claim. When it suits his purposes he will use figures that he knows are inflated (for example, he cites the state's absurd claim that in 1959 there were twenty-two thousand Russian Orthodox churches, so that he can say that by 1964 the state had closed fifteen thousand). And, although I have no evidence to support me, I get very uncomfortable with the Furov document (volume 1).

Much of this work is obviously a data dump, cleaning out the unused cards in the research file, uncritically and undigested. Nobody has read all of Soviet atheism (nobody would want to); each of us has covered only a rather arbitrary selection. But Pospielovsky treats his research as though it really were comprehensive, and thus he elevates minor straw men he has read into major movers and shakers and does battle with them quite unnecessarily, oblivious to some of their more weighty peers (for example, vol. 1, chap. 2). Volume 3 contains a largish selection of hostile mini-reviews, modestly useful. And his use of statistics is uneven and untrained.

But the work does have its strengths. It is rich in details, and I know of no more convenient place to find some of them. The statistical data on atheist publications (vol. 1, pp. 101–05) are wonderful. The appendixes are a rich, eminently accessible resource, and the indexing is well done.

In summary, although this work falls far short of his 1984 magnum opus, I would conclude without much hesitation that this book belongs on the shelf alongside his earlier study. Use of this volume will require some care, but, on the whole, it does make a contribution.

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NEAR EAST

IRA M. LAPIDUS. *A History of Islamic Societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxi, 1002. $42.50.

A publisher's preface on page xxxi of this volume declares, "*The Cambridge History of Islam* was published in two volumes in 1970. For their *A History of Islamic Societies*, the Press Syndicate commissioned Professor Ira Lapidus to prepare a single-volume history for a broader readership as a supplement to this series. His is a unique enterprise, a monumental work with the status of a Cambridge History, but by one hand and integrated by one coherent vision." Since the reputation for authority of the Cambridge histories is derived, in part, precisely from their being collected works by leading specialists, what does it mean for a work not called a Cambridge history to be obscurely accorded that "status"?

The answer lies in Lapidus's review of *The Cambridge History of Islam* published in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* in 1971. "Though rich in detail and knowledge, many [chapters] fail for lack of a sense of significant as opposed to trivial detail, or for lack of skill in organizing, narrating, or summarizing. Some historical chapters are no more than reign-by-reign chroni-

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cles. Some chapters on culture are catalogues of names and works, without that balance between the total picture and the small details, or that coherent form or logical sequence, or that effective summarizing which makes it possible for the general reader to comprehend a subject. . . . History is taken to be the chronological sequence of political events, while economy, society, religion, and culture are treated as independent topics . . . [T]his idea of history no longer corresponds to our interest in the total experience and the human qualities and possibilities of particular civilizations. Above all, it is a conception false to Islam which is in essence a civilization in which political, social, religious, and cultural life are profoundly intertwined and interrelated. The meaning of Islam has eluded the *Cambridge History of Islam*" (IJMES, 2 [1971]: 379).

From that critical review has emerged, almost two decades later, a thousand-page tome covering fourteen centuries of Islam stretching from Senegal to the Philippines—a daunting pudding, indeed, and one whose proof is not just in the reading but in the 1971 recipe. Has Lapidus remedied the defects he rightly identified in the two-volume parent work? In a formal sense, yes. Political, economic, social, religious, and cultural dimensions of Islam are treated together. There are summaries, introductions, and conclusions to keep the reader on track. And there is a unifying vision centered on the emergence of a civilizational template in the early centuries of Islam and its subsequent application to parts of the world that became Islamic later.

These formal virtues have not been achieved without cost, however. The book is in three parts—"The Origins of Islamic Civilization: The Middle East from c. 600 to c. 1200"; "Worldwide Diffusion of Islamic Societies from the Tenth to the Nineteenth Century"; "The Modern Transformation: Muslim Peoples in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries"—and it takes no imagination to see that its next incarnation will be in three paperback volumes for classroom use. Accordingly, each part begins with a substantial introduction and ends with a summarizing conclusion. All well and good, except that the introductions to parts 2 and 3 repeat what is said in the preceding conclusions. Lapidus apologizes for this excessive repetition (p. xxv), yet over a quarter of the text is devoted to introductions, conclusions, and summaries or to maps, tables, figures, and photographs.

Despite its hefty size and small print, therefore, the volume is actually too brief in its substantive exposition to fulfill its author's goal. Fourteen centuries and forty or so national histories are surveyed in fewer than seven hundred pages. To do this and elaborate a unified theme and incorporate aspects of culture, economics, and so forth, Lapidus had to omit much.

Part 1, for example, is different from the other parts in being almost devoid of political history and chronology. Lapidus, a medievalist, probably wanted to save space for elaborating his vision of how Islam developed as a civilization. Other medievalists are likely to feel comfortable with this vision, but, stripped of its political framework and most of its specific events, the story of medieval Islam loses vitality. The recurrent impression is that the author describes what happened without explaining why or producing substantiation.

Part 3 goes to the other extreme. The Abbasid caliph al-Mu'tamid, Sultan Alp Arslan, and the entire Aqqoyunlu dynasty were left out of the medieval section, but the modern section treats the reader to details of Sudanese party formation and Tatar cultural revival that are usually found in specialized works.

Part 2 suggests a reason for this inconsistency. Medieval Islam, for Lapidus, generated a powerful socioreligious template that affected all subsequent Muslim societies *mutatis mutandis*. One simply has to observe the variations on a constant theme of rulers, ulama, and Sufis to show Islam's civilizational unity. Regrettably, this is more often a given than a substantiated thesis, and Islam's flexible template comes to resemble a Procrustean bed of terms that, one way or another, are applicable anywhere in the Islamic world.

Ironically, given the objective of crafting a single unified work, the virtues of Lapidus's enterprise will probably be more evident when it comes out in three volumes. The unifying theme that structures the work as a whole is neither persuasive nor properly argued, but each part by itself should find a welcome audience.

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GERHARD PODSKALSKY. *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821): Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1988. Pp. xiv, 439. DM 194.

The Ottoman empire's attitude toward religious minorities and the circumstances under which they developed their intellectual and cultural lives have been controversial subjects. Until recently non-Orthodox theologians viewed the Greek church under Turkish rule as static, concerned more with the preservation of tradition and custom than with theology and religious thought. On rare occasions some observers of events in the Ottoman empire, such as Thomas Fleuriau of France and Paul Ricaut of Britain, praised the vitality of the Greek church under the Ottomans because it included among its members many neomartyrs, people committed to their Christian ideology and ready to sacrifice their lives for their principles and beliefs.

Our knowledge about the Greeks and their church under Turkish rule has been reassessed and increased appreciably in modern times. Many more monographs and specialized studies need to be written, however, before a definitive synthesis can be achieved. As far as current scholarship is concerned, the present volume is a major contribution toward a reevaluation of Greek theological and religious thought under Ottoman Turkish domination. It is a careful and balanced study likely to be studied for years to come. Because of its

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hermeneutic nature, it will raise critical questions, and one may disagree with some points of interpretation, but the book stands on its own merits, which include excellent research, a historical and critical approach, the study of many sources, and the scrutiny of current literature. It confirms several historical, philosophical, and religious studies that indicate not only that Greek thought, both philosophical and theological, continued to develop with little interruption after the fall of Constantinople but also that Greek thought deserves our respect and serious study.

Gerhard Podskalsky bridges the gap between the Byzantine and modern periods of Greek religious and theological scholarship by examining the development of the Greek religious mind from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the outbreak of the Greek war of independence in 1821. In two major parts, he examines, first, historical circumstances and conditions and, second, the theological developments and issues as they evolved in four phases (1453–1581, the brief adjustment period between 1581 and 1629, 1629–1727, and 1727–1821). The evolution of Greek society under Turkish rule; the concepts inherited from later Byzantium, such as Palamite or mystical theology; new schools; and the importance of the press as an element in the development of religious thought constitute the most important themes of the first part. The years between 1581 and 1629 are described as a period of adjustment and of a search for an equilibrium between the Christian East and the Christian West, while the years between 1629 and 1727 found Greek Orthodoxy caught amid the tensions of occidental religious polemics.

The antagonisms and polemics between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in Western Europe were destined to affect Greek Orthodoxy. Its theologians were forced by these challenges to look with sympathy either toward the Reformation movement or toward more traditional Roman Catholicism. The outcome, however, was that the Greek Orthodox were prompted to redefine, reinterpret, and develop their own theology to the extent that intellectuals such as Maximos Margounios, Theophilos Koridalleus, and Meletios Pegas contributed to the emergence of an intellectual renaissance, a Greek enlightenment. The correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession, the *Homologia* (Confession of Faith) of the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris of Constantinople (who became the tragic victim of both Western European political and religious intrigues and domestic jealousies and factionalism), and the doctrinal disputes over the nature of the Eucharist reveal some of the major events and issues of the time. Podskalsky devotes considerable space to these issues and writes with intellectual sincerity and an irenic spirit. His analysis stimulates reflection and should appeal to those engaged in the ecumenical movement (even if they disagree with his conclusions), to historians, and to scholars of related disciplines.

Furthermore, this book fills a real need because there is little scholarship on the subject in languages other than modern Greek. Greek scholars have been studying for decades what they consider the darkest period of their post-Byzantine history, but their work is not well known among those who do not read Greek. To be sure, G. P. Henderson's *Revival of Greek Thought, 1620–1830* (1970), George A. Maloney's *History of the Orthodox Theology since 1443* (1976), and S. Runciman's *Great Church in Captivity* (1968) are important works in English, but they are restricted in scope. All three confirm that the centuries between the collapse of the Byzantine empire and the rise of modern Greece were not as barren intellectually for the Greek church as some would have us believe.

Podskalsky possesses an impressive familiarity with the Greek language and scholarship, and his volume reaffirms, augments, and supersedes all previous studies that have attempted to examine Greek intellectual pursuits during Ottoman rule. The bibliography leaves little to be desired, and the detailed index is very helpful in identifying both important names and themes in this major and valuable tome.

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS
Stockton State College

WILLIAM M. WELCH, JR. *No Country for a Gentleman: British Rule in Egypt, 1883–1907*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 25.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xii, 164. $35.95.

This book is an extensively researched but puzzling work. The catchy yet unfortunate title perhaps reflects the study's lack of focus. Ostensibly, William M. Welch, Jr., sets out to describe the attitudes of British civil servants in Egypt during the consul-generalship of Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer. In fact, the work is a mélange of psychohistory and almost stream-of-consciousness rambling about British civil servants and their reactions to life in Egypt.

Welch relies on a wide variety of primary material available in British archives, particularly at St. Antony's College, Oxford, and the Public Record Office. Although Welch taught at the American University in Cairo, he cites no Arabic sources. The voluminous collection of Arabic newspapers published during the era and held by Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, could have shed light on Egyptian responses to individual British officials, behaviors, and attitudes.

More important, Welch fails to organize the materials in any coherent fashion. The book is not arranged chronologically, nor are single chapters devoted to individual civil servants or to specific attitudes held by British imperialists at the time. For example, the narrative jumps from Cromer's response to mundane administrative tasks, to Ronald Storrs as an unhappy young civil servant, to William Willocks as a gadfly engineer in the Public Works Department, to Douglas Dunlop as the dour adviser to the Ministry of Public Instruction. Both Willocks and Dunlop spent most of

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their professional careers in Egypt; a fuller account of their attitudes toward Egyptians and the role of the British in Egypt would have provided a more readable and, crucially, a more telling analysis of both British attitudes and the impact of the British presence in Egypt. Interestingly, Dunlop's refusal to increase educational facilities has been deemed one of the greatest failures of British administration in Egypt. Yet Welch fails to deal with either the source of Dunlop's belief in the inferiority of Egyptian students or the reasons why Dunlop's clearly substandard educational approach was maintained for decades.

Scholars of modern Egypt will find this book too impressionistic and superficial to be of much use. On the other hand, students and casual readers may well find the disjointed narrative disconcerting and the densely written text too arcane or difficult to be instructive or pleasurable reading.

JANICE J. TERRY
Eastern Michigan University

SELMA BOTMAN. *The Rise of Egyptian Communism, 1939–1970.* (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East.) Syracuse N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 188. $29.00.

This book is an interesting but ultimately flawed attempt to describe the saga of a minuscule coterie of bourgeois intellectuals on the margins of the Egyptian elite who championed the idea that only communism was capable of producing a transformation of Egyptian society along radical lines. Selma Botman contends that, despite their failures and divisions as well as the recurring doctrinal inconsistencies and tactical errors that plagued the movement throughout its checkered history, the Egyptian Communists made a significant contribution to the evolution of radical political thinking in general. She argues, moreover, that the Communist onslaught against the social and economic conditions that prevailed in Egypt under the monarchy helped undermine King Faruq's regime and pave the way to the military coup that brought Gamal Abdal Nasser to power in 1952. These are exaggerated claims that are not borne out by Botman's own account of the course of events. They do not detract, however, from the value of a book that succeeds in lifting the veil on a relatively obscure chapter in modern Egyptian history and that restores the ideas and actions of a fascinating group of committed activists within the context of their times.

The Egyptian Communists were not Egyptians but, for the most part, Levantines from Cairo and Alexandria. Almost all of them were Jews, scions of well-to-do families, educated in the French lycées of the *Mission laïque,* where their radical and radical-socialist teachers exposed them to the ideas of Alain and Anatole France. Following the European pattern, they gravitated further to the Left, launched Marxist discussion groups, founded bookshops and magazines, and made a concerted effort to reach out to the urban poor. Not unlike the French intellectuals who, in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, tried to mobilize the workers through the movement of the Universités Populaires, the Egyptian Communists believed that they had found a receptive audience in the popular masses sensitized into political action by the Wafdist upheaval of the 1920s. It is not surprising that it was the imperative need to resist the spread of European fascism that gave the Marxists whatever doctrinal coherence they possessed in the 1930s. By the end of World War II, it was again on the French model that Henri Curiel, the dominant figure within Marxist ranks, made an attempt to regroup his forces around the slogan of a common front against colonial imperialism and laid the basis for a viable Egyptian party. With the end of the war, the mainstream grouping that finally emerged out of all of the various Marxist factions in the 1950s and 1960s (and appropriated the name of the Egyptian Communist party) was an instrument of the Colonial Bureau of the French Communist party, then at the height of its power, recruiting its cadres from Egyptian students who flocked to Paris to pursue their studies. After his expulsion from Egypt in 1950, Curiel left his mother's villa in Cairo to the Algerian government-in-exile and in 1978 was assassinated in mysterious circumstances in France.

The book makes it abundantly clear that the Egyptian Communists remained from start to finish on the periphery of Egyptian politics. They were shunned by the Wafd, rejected by the Free Officers, who cowed them into silence, and never made any serious inroads in the trade union movement, let alone among the rural masses. The author is not sufficiently critical of the relevance of their Eurocentric ideology to Egyptian conditions. Nor does she take into account the parallel development of working-class institutions as described by Joel Beinin and Zacchary Lockman in *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class* (1987), although Beinin's and Lockman's respective dissertations are duly noted in the bibliography. What Botman has done is write a moving epitaph for a band of true believers at odds with their times. They are portrayed as a quarrelsome lot, constantly bickering and splintering into factions. It would seem that, in the end, the only thing that brought them together was the conviction that the Marxist ideology they espoused provided the only way out of their alienation from a country to which they could never belong.

ALAIN SILVERA
Bryn Mawr College

AFRICA

IGOR KOPYTOFF, editor. *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 288. $35.00.

Igor Kopytoff and nine collaborators have made a significant contribution to our conceptualization of

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African history. Kopytoff sets out his thesis in an introductory essay of eighty-four pages. He also introduces the nine case studies by other scholars that form the rest of the book. Their subjects range from the Kpelle people of modern Liberia to the Goba of the upper Zambezi valley. The volume is rich with insights into numerous aspects of African history and culture. In a short review, I cannot do justice to the book's nuances nor take up the case studies, but I can summarize the core of its contribution to African historiography.

Africa, says Kopytoff, is to be envisaged as a "frontier continent" with a history "of ceaseless flux among populations that, in comparison to other continents, are relatively recent occupants of their present habitat" (p. 7). Drawing on linguistic, archaeological, and cultural data, Koptyoff concludes that before 2500 B.C. the population ancestral to the present population of sub-Saharan Africa was concentrated in the then-fertile Saharan-Sahelian region, where "we must assume that the 'incubation' of the ancestral pan-African culture patterns took place." Then, following the dessication of the Sahara-Sahel belt, "a population tide crept slowly southward" into the savanna and on into the southern part of the continent in the first millennium B.C. As this tidal frontier swept across Africa, the settlers brought with them "a basically similar kit of cultural and ideological resources," which accounts for the "fundamental cultural unity" of the people throughout historic sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 9–10).

But—and here is the core of Kopytoff's thesis—"the African tidal frontier left the continent very sparsely populated." Established societies were surrounded by large tracts of open land, which constituted an internal frontier. In "historic times," the dominant process in sub-Saharan Africa was occupation of this internal frontier by settlers from the established societies. "It was under such frontier conditions that the dynamic of African social and political formation was played out over the past centuries." The internal frontier became "a stage for the emergence of numerous new, small-scale, and independent political formations, most of which eventually faltered but some of which grew into larger polities that provided the nucleus for the emergence of new societies" (pp. 10–11).

The rest of the book is an explication and elaboration of that thesis. In Kopytoff's perspective, most historic African societies arose in frontier situations. He describes the proclivities in African political culture that led to frequent fission of established polities and exodus of settlers into the frontier. People carried models of social order from their metropoles and adapted them to their new contexts without losing contact with their metropoles. The process, he contends, reinforced the large measure of cultural unity throughout sub-Saharan Africa that originated in the Sahara-Sahel belt, including, for example, a strong sense of hierarchy. Kopytoff concludes that "the African societies we know were all born not 'in the beginning' but as part of a continuous and variegated process of interaction and social formation" (p. 78).

On the whole, this fine book succeeds in integrating the most significant particularities of precolonial sub-Saharan African history. It is striking, however, that all of the case studies come from the tropics. Kopytoff contends that the African agriculturalists were settling in "an institutional vacuum" (p. 25) and that the "original populations have scarcely left any traces on the present population" (p. 10). But the agricultural Africans of Kopytoff's study were intruding into a subcontinent that was already populated, albeit sparsely. Both the tidal and the later internal frontier processes were inexorably affected by the resulting interactions. If Kopytoff had included South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana in his purview, he would have been obliged to modify his formulation. There, where agriculture came latest, in the first few centuries A.D., and the evidence of the processes is strongest, the aboriginal hunting and gathering societies have had a demonstrable impact on the genes, the languages, and the cultures of the present populations. Kopytoff might have found a place in his conceptualization of the African frontier for the stress that Howard Lamar and I have placed on a frontier "as a territory or zone of interpenetration between two previously distinct societies" (*The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* [1981], p. 7). But this comment is to modify, not to denigrate, the remarkable accomplishment of Kopytoff and his collaborators.

LEONARD THOMPSON
Yale University

PATRICK MANNING. *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1985*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 215. $42.50.

Here is a handy, convenient, brief, up-to-date history of French-speaking Africa from conquest in the 1880s to the present. Patrick Manning is well read and well travelled, and he brings to the book a genuine feel for the area. The book is particularly strong in providing a description of the social and cultural change that French-speaking Africa has undergone in the last century.

Manning presents us with a conceptual problem by including the former Belgian colonies: Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi. The colonies' dominant white administrative class spoke French, but neither it nor its African subjects felt any particular sense of commonality with the French empire. True, since independence, the French and Belgian colonies have formed the African and Malagasy Union, followed in 1965 by the African and Malagasy Common Organization, which in the name of "francophonie" has met a number of times. The results of those meetings have been disappointing. The myth of a common French-speaking past and future that would include the Belgian colonies was pushed by France, which was eager to

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supplant Belgium in its former territories. It is ironic that this book, which includes strong doses of denunciation of colonialism and neo-imperialism, should unwittingly appear to give support to a neo-imperialist French myth, and one that is quite strong.

As for the former French possessions, they have better reasons to find "francophonie" meaningful, for they were ruled by France and, as a result, shared similar institutions and were subject to a similar value system propagated from Paris. Manning recognizes that in the long run a number of forces seem to be eroding the sense of commonality of a French-speaking Africa as the memory of having been part of the French empire wanes and as the commonality of being part of Africa or, for that matter, the Third World becomes clearer. African leaders today have, in their turn, manipulated the myth of "francophonie," hoping thus to extract from a France worried by the waning of its power and that of the French language extra amounts of economic aid.

Myths are to be explored and exploded by historians. Manning, however, treats some at face value. Thus, with no quotation marks or evaluation, we are told about the instauration of "African socialism" in Senegal and of "scientific socialism" in the Benin and in the People's Republic of the Congo; "authenticity" in Zaire does not appear in quotation marks, although its sham nature is better clarified than that of "scientific socialism." Manning vigorously denounces those who write of Africans as in their infancy, but is it not an overly protective form of paternalism to blame corruption, bloody dictatorships, and economic misrule on the legacy of colonialism?

The editing of the book could have been more careful. French president François Mitterrand's name is misspelled in the text and index. A chapter on culture and religion inexplicably contains a map of southern Cameroon with its railroad system. Descriptions of Ousmane Sembene, Franz Fanon, Mamadou Dia, and others are given several times in different chapters and in very similar wording. The cited publication date of one of my books is wrong. We are told about a "pretty bourgeoisie" in Africa; that is not an aesthetic judgment but rather a typographical error.

WILLIAM B. COHEN
Indiana University, Bloomington

JONATHAN CRUSH. *The Struggle for Swazi Labour, 1890–1920*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 292. $32.50.

Jonathan Crush has produced a stimulating account of the changes engendered in Swazi society by the rise of industrial capitalism and the extension of colonial rule in southern Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though focusing on labor Crush ranges widely in his study of the struggles for workers, examining changes in class and gender relations within Swazi society, assessing the relative importance of regional factors in accounting for differences in migrancy patterns, and plotting the fluctuating relations between the Swazi, mining employers, and colonial authorities. As a result, the book is not only the first study of Swaziland for this particular period but is also essential reading for every student of southern Africa's mineral revolution.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first, building on earlier studies by Hilda Kuper and Philip Bonner, Crush examines the social, economic, and political structure of Swazi society on the eve of the imposition of colonial rule and then briefly surveys the growing commoditization evident in Swazi society during the 1880s and 1890s. He stresses the internal strength of the Swazi polity in accounting for the particular ways in which capitalism penetrated the countryside and colonial domination was established.

In part 2 Crush moves the study into the first decade of the twentieth century and concentrates on the mechanics of migrant labor. There is considerable detail on the role of the aristocracy and the chiefs in recruiting workers, on the connections between trade in agricultural produce and in labor, and on the work conditions to which migrants were subjected. Crush provides a particularly fascinating and original account of the role of "runners," African ex-miners who worked in league with white labor recruiters in scouring the countryside for workers.

In the third part Crush shifts to the 1910s and focuses on the interaction between migrant labor and the alienation of African land to white settlers. Eschewing simple equations of labor demand and land expropriation, he demonstrates that land and labor policies were a complex product of internal and external factors, of commoners as well as aristocrats, of white farmers as well as gold magnates. For all of the complexity, however, Crush also shows Swaziland's fate was to mirror that of the rest of South Africa's countryside, to become a labor reserve for the demands of industrial and merchant capital.

The text is clear and succinct. It is also much enhanced by a fine series of maps, which is to be expected, perhaps, in a work of historical geography.

WILLIAM H. WORGER
Stanford University

COLIN LEGUM. *The Battlefronts of Southern Africa*. New York: Africana Publishing of Holmes and Meier. 1988. Pp. xxix, 451. Cloth $49.50, paper $34.50.

Not coincidentally, Colin Legum is also the editor of *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents* (*ACR*), a yearly reference book that chronicles important events for more than fifty African countries. The southern Africa portion of *ACR* provides a chronology of conflicts, negotiations, and military actions in the region, lengthy quotations from key players, and excerpts from primary documents.

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Legum's new tome is essentially a compilation of essays written for *ACR* from the mid-1970s through 1986 together with a brief introduction written especially for the book. Hence, there is little new in the four-hundred-fifty-page work. The *Battlefront* chapters are unrevised replications of Legum's annual contributions to *ACR*. They are organized in the same chronological fashion as the reference volumes, from 1975–76 to 1985–86. Even the typesetting and page layouts are identical.

Although it may be convenient to own a home reference volume on southern Africa, there are several drawbacks to a book produced in such a manner. It is repetitious. Just as the sequence of *ACR* impinges one year upon the next, the *Battlefront* chapters overlap, each one recapitulating portions of those that preceded it. Each chapter is a chronological package containing bits of information about the state of the region in a given year without the benefit of an overarching framework and analysis. Each topic is reduced to a series of snapshots in time, interspersed with other snapshots, leaving the wider picture obscured.

The lengthy Namibia negotiations, for instance, are scattered throughout the book, broken up by other subjects. Such a format makes it difficult to reconstruct the pattern of the negotiations over the long term, and Legum does not do this for us. A better book would have been organized thematically with information pertaining to each issue consolidated, each chapter contributing to the construction of an argument.

The essays from *ACR* should also have been revised with the benefit of hindsight. Since the essays were first written, a great deal of new information has surfaced. For instance, it is no longer necessary to speculate about the Reagan administration's policy vis-à-vis UNITA, the South African- and U.S.-backed antigovernment guerrillas in Angola. Yet, in Legum's book, such conjectures remain. Although South Africa may have been promoting a policy of regional "détente" in the mid-1970s, by the mid-1980s that strategy had been replaced by economic and military destabilization. Because Legum's book is written from beginning to end in the present tense, as if describing present reality, these disjunctures appear to be unexplained contradictions rather than policies that have changed over time.

The book is further flawed because of Legum's persistence in viewing the southern African crisis from an East-West perspective. It is marred by his heavy-handed anti-Sovietism and his acceptance at face value of South African claims that it destabilizes its neighbors because they lend support to Moscow-backed anti-apartheid guerrillas. In actuality, Pretoria is using tactics of economic destabilization and military terror under the guise of routing out "communist terrorists" to keep its neighbors economically and politically dependent. When even the U.S. Department of State concedes that the Mozambique National Resistance, Pretoria's proxy in Mozambique, is nothing more than a conglomeration of armed bandits who have conducted a holocaust of terror against the local population, it is extraordinary that Legum can write that this group "has succeeded in becoming [a] formidable enemy to President Machel's regime only because it enjoys a measure of support inside the country" (p. 251).

For students and scholars interested in a chronology of events and a listing of players in the region, this book might be useful. But, for those hoping to understand the dynamics of the crisis, Legum's book will only prove frustrating, and the search for answers will remain illusive.

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT
Macalester College

ASIA

JING-SHEN TAO. *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1988. Pp. x, 173. $26.95.

Although China historically was preoccupied with security considerations across its Inner Asian frontiers, it was rare before the coming of the Russians in early modern times for a major dynasty to be confronted with an enemy state in the north that could match it in military strength, political stability, and self-confidence. A notable exception occurred during the Northern Sung period. During the entire 166 years of its existence (960–1126), the dynasty stayed in the shadow of the military superiority of its northern neighbor, the Khitan-Liao empire, and was forced to pay disguised tribute in order to buy peace. Hitherto in modern scholarship, the relationship between the Northern Sung dynasty and the Khitan-Liao empire has not been treated in any coherent, systematic manner. That gap is now ably filled by Jing-shen Tao's book.

The modus vivendi between the Northern Sung and the Khitan-Liao was established by the Treaty of Shan-yüan (1006), which prescribed friendly interaction between the two states on the basis of equality. Tao traces the evolution of that pattern of international relations through appropriate antecedents during the post-Han, T'ang, and Five Dynasties periods to its *locus classicus* in the multistate system of the Eastern Chou period, when no state was able to maintain hegemony over others. Tao is of the opinion that during the Northern Sung period a true multistate system existed in East Asia, for in addition to the Sung and the Khitan, there were the lesser powers of the Tangguts (Hsi-hsia) and the Koreans (Koryo). The multilateral relationship among them added to the dynamics of Sung-Khitan interaction.

Under the framework of peaceful coexistence established by the Treaty of Shan-yüan, the Sung had to pay stipulated amounts of silver and silk annually to the Khitan-Liao, but otherwise the relationship was entirely equal and reciprocal. Embassies were regularly exchanged to express good will and were treated with utmost courtesy. Trade and cultural relationships flourished together with diplomatic relations. That

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framework was severely tested by the rise of the Tanggut power in the 1040s and during the tenure of the reforming minister Wang An-shih in the 1070s, but it survived with minor modifications until both the Northern Sung and the Khitan-Liao were swept away in the 1120s by the rising Jurchen power.

Although the Sung and the Khitan accepted each other as equals, the de jure recognition of the multistate system did not mean that the traditional paradigm of international relations was no longer relevant. The traditional paradigm involved the mandate of heaven, whose legitimate holder, the true son of heaven, had dominion over all of humankind. Both the Sung and the Khitan felt the weight of the traditional paradigm and sought to accommodate political reality to the mandate theory. In discussing their responses to the requirements of the traditional paradigm, Tao goes beyond the limits of diplomatic history into the realm of official ideology, concepts, and images that underlay the formulation of foreign policy.

Simple and unostentatious in style, the book is relatively short (one hundred pages of text, exclusive of notes and bibliography). Nevertheless, despite its unassuming appearance, those of us who have been laboring in the sinological vineyard realize the amount of work Tao must have put into the writing of this book. He has amassed a vast amount of empirical data, has placed them in the right context, and with meticulous scholarship has produced a delightfully readable account of this significant facet of Chinese history.

WINSTON W. LO
Florida State University

JOHN D. YOUNG. *Confucianism and Christianity: The First Encounter*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 182. $12.00.

Intellectually it seems like much more than three decades since Mary C. Wright, in *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism* (1957), concluded that the modernization of China had very little room for Confucianism and since Joseph R. Levenson's trilogy *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate* (1958–1965) relegated Confucianism to the museum. Since then, not only has Confucianism once again become a dynamic force but Christianity has risen like a phoenix from the anti-Christian ashes of modern Chinese history. It is these changing circumstances that form the background to this book. Although the historical ingredients of the first encounter between Confucianism and Christianity were just as present three decades ago as they are today, they remained buried and inaccessible because of an intellectually hostile and unreceptive atmosphere.

John D. Young is an American-trained historian who has been teaching in Hong Kong for the past decade. His dissertation on Chinese converts and critics of the Jesuits (1976) has evolved into an extremely thoughtful book that is receiving belated, but well-deserved, recognition in this journal. The study is a remarkably balanced treatment of the early modern encounter between these two teachings. Unlike Jacques Gernet's *Chine et Christianisme* (1982), which accentuates the Chinese anti-Christian reactions, Young stresses the need to balance different Chinese reactions to Christianity, such as the sympathetic reaction of Hsü Kuang-ch'i, the merely curious reaction of Fang I-chih, and the hostile reaction of Shen Ch'ueh. Young carefully avoids explaining the aborting of the first substantive encounter between Chinese and Western civilizations in terms of xenophobia or the imperviousness of Chinese culture to foreign influences. Rather, he sees the causes in the ethical and metaphysical incompatibility between neo-Confucianism and Christianity (especially in regard to the idea of God), as well as in the Christian moral fiasco of dissension among missionaries over the Rites Controversy (which so disillusioned the K'ang-hsi emperor toward Christianity). Rather than arguing that the Chinese were indifferent to religion, Young claims that neo-Confucianism acted as a rival religious point of view to Christianity.

It is remarkable that Young's sympathetic treatment of Yang Kuang-hsien is matched by a similarly sympathetic treatment of the Jesuit fathers M. Ricci and L. Buglio. Although it is tempting to present Yang as an obsessed, xenophobic, and diehard conservative, Young persuasively portrays him as a highly moral (albeit rigidly uncompromising) neo-Confucian who was an outspoken opponent of both official corruption and the foreign (Christian) threat to his Confucian faith (p. 96). Young's analysis of Buglio's response to Yang's famous attack on Christianity, *Pu-te-i*, notes but passes beyond the more obvious criticism that the Jesuit grossly exaggerated the moral efficaciousness of Christianity in ridding Europe of conflict. (Buglio claimed that, in the two thousand years since Europe had turned to Christianity, there had been great peace!) Young offers the deeper insight that Buglio's exaggerated claim is more significant as a sign of how Christianity in China had been Sinicized. Instead of duplicating the European concern with personal salvation, Buglio was appealing to the Chinese concern with a religion's ability to promote a peaceful world order (pp. 104–05).

The book is not always convincing. The author's claim that the Jesuits' attack on neo-Confucianism was inevitable is contradicted by Jesuits, such as J. de Prémare, who sought reconciliation with neo-Confucianism. But flaws aside, the logical implications of the arguments in this book are enormous. If, as Young argues, the Confucian literati rejected Christianity because they embraced neo-Confucianism as a religious teaching, then Ricci's attempt to interpret "original Confucianism" (*hsien-ju*) as a religious teaching and his effort to link it with Christianity as a basis for Sino-European accommodation was not as contrived as many have claimed. In fact, Young's book opens the

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door for a reappraisal of the first substantive meeting between Chinese and European civilizations.

D. E. MUNGELLO
Coe College

JESSIE GREGORY LUTZ. *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28*. (The Church and the World, number 3; The West and the Wider World, number 2.) Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Roads. 1988. Pp. 410. $48.85.

This is a solid and well-executed piece of scholarship. It is the best analysis available on the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s in China. It also has the added feature of, in effect, using the student movement and the educational rights campaign of the mid-1920s as a case study of how a discrete issue (making mission schools more Chinese in control and content) was highlighted in and subsumed by the larger, heavily politicized movement of anti-imperialism that dominated the period.

Jessie Gregory Lutz does an excellent job of showing how the initial high point of the anti-Christian movement, in 1920–22, was in fact part and parcel of the May Fourth, or New Culture, movement with its stress on intellectual and cultural issues and its presumption of "skeptical secularism" (p. 27). Students (she calls the May Fourth and post–May Fourth student generations "New Youth") criticized the social role of religion in general and Christianity in particular, partly because of the new fascination of some of them with Marxism, through which they saw Christianity as part of world capitalism and its role in China. There was a brief flurry of impassioned denunciations of Christianity and of mission education in 1922, but these denunciations did not go beyond the May Fourth student techniques of broadsides, proclamations, and articles in student journals, that is, they remained within the student intellectual class itself.

Lutz pinpoints well the resurgence of the anti-Christian issue in the very different context of 1924–25, after the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang had established a united front and after they, as well as many intellectual leaders, had identified anti-imperialism as the key issue that could be turned into political power by constructing a mass movement on it. The recovery of "educational rights" (forcing mission schools to register with the government, making religious instruction voluntary, and installing native Chinese leadership) became the rallying cry of the activist students but as part of the larger political movement to rid China of foreign domination.

In 1925–27, incidents and tensions at mission colleges and middle schools rose until many of the student demands for change were actually realized in principle. But by 1927 this story was overshadowed by the Northern Expedition and the jockeying for broader political power between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang as they fought the warlords and alarmed most foreigners. To some extent, the anti-Christian and educational rights issue was by this time being manipulated by these larger forces. The tension between intellectuals and the political parties that want to use their skills is, of course, an old story in China.

Lutz does a good job of tracing the divided and uncertain responses of the foreign and Chinese Christians and shows nicely the rising tension between missionary interests and Chinese Christian leaders. The foreigners were unaware of the depth of the dilemma of their Chinese colleagues, who often agreed with many of the criticisms of missionary schools and the whole missionary movement.

The research for this volume is very comprehensive; in particular, Lutz used a great variety of Chinese periodicals of the period, some of them fairly obscure and underused by other scholars. She also used Western archives effectively. Some of the chapters have appeared in earlier published versions, but the volume holds together quite well. The conclusion is a bit diffuse, however. The notes are conscientiously detailed, there is a long glossary of Chinese terms, and the index is serviceable. Typographical mistakes are very few. The relatively new series in which this volume appears is well served by this work, and Lutz is to be congratulated.

DANIEL H. BAYS
University of Kansas

DIAN H. MURRAY. *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790–1810*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 243. $32.50.

Like all major contributions to the history of maritime China, this book will be of interest both to historians of the maritime world and its rapidly changing interconnections in early modern times and to historians of early modern China, who are increasingly aware of the amazing variety and complex interactions of phenomena in China's many regions. This particular study also has aspects of special interest to historians of Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Macao. Its documentary base is strikingly strong and diverse: Chinese printed sources, official and unofficial, and archival documents from Taipei and Peking as well as Portuguese and English manuscript and print material, including two marvelous eyewitness accounts by Englishmen who spent months as captives on Chinese pirate fleets.

Dian H. Murray describes the growth of piracy on the western coast of Kwangtung, near the Vietnamese border, from a background of constant low-level shifts among fishing, smuggling, and piracy centered on the port of Chiang-p'ing (Giang Binh in Vietnamese) to a massive coalition of forces that invaded the Pearl River delta south of Canton and absorbed the attention of leading officials and generals in the area for a number of years. The outbreak of the Tay-son rebellion in Vietnam in the 1770s gave the pirates their first big boost. The Tay-son leaders gave the pirates commis-

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sions and secure bases in Vietnam, used them against Vietnamese enemies, and profited from their raids on the Chinese coast, while disturbances elsewhere in northern and southern China kept the Ch'ing rulers from taking any substantial action against the pirates.

By 1802 the defeat of the Tay-son by the rising Nguyen forces deprived the pirates of their Vietnamese bases, and they were saved from disintegration only by the emergence of some gifted leaders who forged a new confederation of pirate groups that was loose but sufficient to stop internecine warfare. In 1805 the Ch'ing mounted a coherent, major effort against the pirates under the distinguished Manchu official Na-yen-ch'eng. In his strategy, reviving *pao-chia* control systems and inducing defections by offers of military ranks and monetary rewards were at least as important as military actions. Na-yen-ch'eng finally was dismissed and exiled to Central Asia for offering excessive rewards to pirate commanders. The pirates continued to expand, moving into the Canton delta, but began to lose battles to local defense groups, which were occasionally aided by the Portuguese and the British. One leader after another defected to the Ch'ing until the core commanders surrendered in 1810. It would seem that the pirates had simply overreached themselves in moving into the delta, where a dense and prosperous commercial population stood to lose a great deal if it did not defend itself against their raids.

Murray's description of the organizational changes among the pirates and the stages of their rise and fall is plausible, richly detailed, and ripe for comparison with other times and places in the maritime Chinese world. Women also played some important roles in the Cheng power structure during the transition from the Ming to the Ch'ing dynasty, although never in as open and colorful a fashion as Cheng I Sao in Murray's story. The prevalence of homosexual relations between leaders and subordinates has not been noticed in other episodes; perhaps we need to look at our sources again. Murray notes little evidence of the use of naval power to protect trade and exclude competitors that was so prevalent in the seventeenth century.

It is hard to criticize Murray's analysis of those core changes, based as it is on wide reading in archival and other scattered sources. Errors and muddled expositions on peripheral questions cause the reader some misgivings about her reliability, but most historians are more error prone when away from their most thoroughly mastered events and documents. At least one error or oversight is important for her central themes. She states that there is no evidence in pirate proclamations or in their depositions after their surrenders of anti-Ch'ing goals, but the use of a non-Ch'ing reign period to date the pirates' original charter of agreement was a basic act of defiance of Ch'ing sovereignty.

JOHN E. WILLS, JR.
University of Southern California

PHIL BILLINGSLEY. *Bandits in Republican China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 375. $42.50.

In this pioneer work, Phil Billingsley analyzes what he calls the "dark shadow" of the history of republican China, that is, banditry and bandits and the close relationship between their sociopolitical environment and consciousness. Each of these two sets of concerns takes up four chapters; all eight are closely argued and readable. The geographic setting is northern China, especially the Hubei-Henan-Anhui corner (Eyuwan), with frequent references to Manchuria and Shaanxi. The period is the chaotic interregnum from 1911 to 1937. The introduction and conclusion put the chapters in a wider historical and sociological framework and draw out their general significance. The body of this admirable monograph is supplemented by four short appendixes—A and B are exceedingly useful, C woefully incomplete, and D illuminating and at the same time entertaining.

I would, nevertheless, hesitate to apply the knowledge and interpretation of this study to other parts of China of the same period. Billingsley does not say whether in Eyuwan and other ecologically similar regions along the Yellow River the productivity of soil and the population it sustained were actually increasing or decreasing. The impression one obtains from this and other books is that they were declining, in sharp contrast with the newly opened Manchuria and the rapidly commercialized highlands to the south. To cite only one piece of evidence, the commander in chief of the Red Army in Eyuwan was amazed to see the fertile and luxuriant Daba Range of mountains when he and his men penetrated into northern Sichuan on Christmas Day 1932. Under premodern conditions, all highlands bred banditry, but not all of them were bad lands. The worse-off bred worse-off bandits, while the better-off bred better-off bandits. Those active along the Yellow and Huai river valleys were the poor cousins.

Without the slightest intention to carp, I would take issue with Billingsley on his approach to the relationship between bandits and Communists. He contends that, in order to have conducted an effective land revolution, the Communists must have had a Red Army strong enough to shield it. My understanding is that a piece of highland could be divided into slopes, which were easier for the Communists to defend, and valley floors, which were easier for the government's armed forces to attack. On the slopes, landownership was diffused among owner-cultivators. If landlords' land existed, it was forests. Land redistribution there was largely meaningless and unnecessary. In the valleys, there indeed were landlords who possessed big estates. Land redistribution was meaningful not just for the sake of the livelihood of the tillers but also for sustaining a sizeable Red Army. Land redistribution rallied the people around the army to make the party's hold on the base area strong, not the other way around. Billingsley's discussion of the bandits and Communists is based entirely on English sources and secondary

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works unaffected by the information explosions on the history of the Chinese Communist party in the 1950s and 1980s. Apart from the misinformation therein, they provide at best only a sketchy picture of the making of a rural soviet.

JEROME CH'EN
York University, Toronto

PRASENJIT DUARA. *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1988. Pp. viii. 326. $37.50.

Prasenjit Duara finds that rural north China between 1900 and 1942 experienced a failed state-induced modernization. In trying to alter and replace the cultural nexus of power, state modernizers inadvertently subverted traditional bases of power, thereby easing the conquest of state power by Mao Zedong's Communist-led rural armies.

The modernizers sought to increase state revenues needed for development. But the early twentieth-century state brokers who won or bought the right to collect taxes were so predatory that they created a cultural crisis, which rendered illegitimate any forces attached to an extractive state that disregarded the taxpaying capacity of villages. In expanding the revenue take, entrepreneurial brokerage brought suffering, not modernization, to rural communities.

This financial squeeze weakened mutual assistance within the lineage. Lineage ceremony shriveled. Intralineage generosity dropped. Binding festivals were abandoned because of costs. Consequently, the cultural nexus of lineage, cult, temple, and ritual came unglued, and, with that ungluing, vital services tied to that nexus, such as flood control, dispute mediation, and crop watching, disintegrated. This large social disarticulation created space for a new articulation of purpose and power. Because violence and plunder spread, as did the costs of protection, the socialist-oriented forces led by Mao won as a force and source of order and equity.

Duara makes substantial scholarly contributions in establishing his major thesis on how modernizing reforms required, yet destroyed, legitimate local leaders, and his broad-ranging social history brilliantly chronicles how lineage structured village politics and how the breakdown of the dynastic revenue system led to complex forms of taxation. But many of his secondary hypotheses are not persuasive. Duara understates the impact of the world market and of shocks to the domestic market. The loss of trade with the northeastern provinces occupied and integrated by Japan reduced the wealth that might have been available for modernization.

The book also is not persuasive in its claim that the financial grip of moneylending landlords in poorer villages increased. I believe the book is wrong on the centrality of the old elite to a political tie to culture. Tradition has continued even as the traditional elite has not, because newly risen groups from the poor have bound culture to politics. Theses on the causes and periods of local violence are also highly contradictory (pp. 175, 177, 196, 207, 212). Finally, Duara exaggerates the stupidity of modernizers and slights the force of patriotism.

Despite these reservations, Duara's work is insightfully sensitive, richly textured, and cautiously nuanced. Duara persuasively details how larger landowners illegally escaped taxes, thus burdening the poor. Power became bullying. A vacuum of legitimate authority was created. And politics, as nature, abhors vacuums. The landed elites, in their narrow greed to escape the burdens of modernization, did themselves in.

All complaints about this scholarly volume seem petty when measured against the stupendous achievement of the two major theses the work powerfully establishes, namely, that "the relationship between landlord and tenant did not constitute a major contradiction" and that "alleviating the tax burden was the most pressing demand of the masses" (p. 252). In fact and in theory, this book is a major contribution to clarifying central issues of modern Chinese history. It establishes Duara as a historian of true stature and significance, and it sets a new agenda of research for other historians.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

RALPH CROIZIER. *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906–1951*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 224. $35.00.

Does art have much to do with revolution? Historians of the Chinese revolution, embroiled as we are in studies of massive wars and famines, violent politics, and cataclysmic social change involving hundreds of millions of people, may be inclined to approach this book with some skepticism. I hope that most are also inclined to hear Ralph Croizier out. For one thing, he has long shown a knack for illuminating the Chinese revolution from unusual angles. For another, he has a story to tell in this book that is interesting and valuable on its own terms, apart from its bearing on the larger issues of modern Chinese history, and he tells the story well, bringing to life some remarkable human beings and showing us something deeply moving in their lives and—with the aid of good photographs, reproductions, and color plates—their art. And, finally, his claims about the ties between art and revolution in modern China are modestly stated, carefully limited, and skillfully pointed toward some of the central problems that have bedeviled historians of the Chinese revolution. A skeptical reader may relax. One does not encounter in this book any wild stabs at placing art in the vanguard of the Chinese revolution. Croizier is in

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control of his sources and his judgment. He develops his themes systematically, offers his insights freely but not excessively, and dispenses some modest wisdom from a balanced perspective. I find it to be exemplary history.

The story of the Lingnan painters, in Croizier's view, has two major themes. One, the link between art and politics, divides into lesser themes. Perhaps the most prominent are the parallels between the history of the Guomindang and that of the Lingnan school. Having grown up in the same region as Sun Yatsen and many other early Guomindang revolutionaries, the Cantonese artists who founded the Lingnan school went to Japan as young men and there joined the radical organization out of which the Guomindang later grew. Like Sun, Chiang Kai-shek, and many others, they were deeply and permanently marked by their years in Japan. Indeed, Croizier suggests, it was their Japanese training more than any other factor that made the Lingnan painters a distinct school. Beyond this, while in Japan they became patriots and committed revolutionary activists as well as radicals in art. Arriving there as young Guangdong provincials in both the artistic and political spheres, they left Japan having gained a certain cosmopolitanism. After all, what they absorbed there were Japanese adaptations of Western influences (and even some reworked Chinese principles) and not purely Japanese ideas and styles. Croizier stresses that the Lingnan painters, much like the Guomindang, remained Meiji-type (pre-1912) revolutionaries, in the sense that they did not embrace the radicalism of the New Culture and May Fourth (1919) movements. Similarly, after 1927 they held increasingly to traditional Chinese styles and tended to move in a conservative direction resembling the Guomindang's, even as their explicit ties to the party loosened. Pressed too far these parallels may wobble a bit, but Croizier is judicious in using them to illuminate both Guomindang history and the fortunes of the Lingnan school.

The second major theme stressed in the book is the relationship between nation and province. Guangdong, it is argued here, "has in some important ways remained peripheral to China—a permanent frontier" (p. 7). Croizier, like most other historians of China, is deeply interested in the question of relations between center and periphery in that vast and diverse country. But he frames the issue differently from most: "For these Cantonese artists, revolution presented a chance to overcome provincialism, to make the periphery central, not by going from the province to the center . . . but by going outside the country to Japan for the new skills that could rejuvenate Chinese art and create a new national painting" (p. 169). Croizier sees the artists' experience in Japan as part of a longer historical process involving the development of outside influences as "the driving force in modern Chinese history" and, it may be added, a development that is only now coming to fruition with Guangdong's new role in China's modernization.

These are complex and controversial themes as are many others touched on in this book. It deserves to have a wide audience.

MICHAEL GASSTER
Rutgers University

KATE WILDMAN NAKAI. *Shogunal Politics: Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 134.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1988. Pp. xxii, 427. $23.00.

At last we have Kate Wildman Nakai's exhaustive study of Arai Hakuseki, adviser to two Tokugawa shoguns during the years 1709–16. Nakai explores the interconnection between Confucian thought and political action, organizing her material topically, moving from practical political issues to problems of political philosophy.

More specifically, Nakai opens with a survey of Tokugawa political developments through Hakuseki's day and an examination of his origins and institutional status as Confucian adviser to the shogun. Successive chapters explore his relationship to political contemporaries, his perspectives and character, and his role in addressing fiscal and administrative problems of the day. Several chapters then examine his attempts to enhance shogunal authority by redefining the theoretical relationship of shogun and emperor.

Nakai's task required her to master three quite dissimilar genres of history. She had to grasp the nitty gritty of political process and the particulars of specific fiscal and administrative issues. She had to address the subtleties of Confucian thought and tortuous intellectual sparring over convoluted and, at times, disingenuous issues. And, finally, she had to write intellectual biography. One suspects that she attempted so much because Hakuseki, despite his extraordinary fame, was neither a strikingly profound scholar nor a man whose ideas yielded lasting policies. Nor does the surviving record, most of which covers his life after age fifty, allow the construction of a comprehensive biography. Nevertheless, by examining in remarkable detail and with great judiciousness the particulars of both the issues at hand and Hakuseki's thought regarding them, Nakai has enriched the extant corpus of the three genres her work encompasses.

To help readers understand the logic of Hakuseki's formulations and her own assessment of them, Nakai chose to reconstruct both their intellectual backgrounds and their political contexts. The result is a deeply grounded but unwieldy and highly discursive study in which a reader can easily lose sight of the author's purpose.

Other, more qualified reviewers may wish to assess Nakai's interpretation of Hakuseki's ideas. Here a few comments about her treatment of the polity seem in order. She felt constrained to frame her political analysis in reductionist terms of a bipolar model in which

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state centralizers struggle against anticentralizers (or are they decentralizers?), but the body of her work confirms one's suspicions that the model is inadequate and even misleading. Her wonderfully careful and detailed handling of specifics reveals the complexity and ambiguity of *Bakufu* politics in all of its richness: the institutional turf fights whose elements were determined by the issues at hand, the struggles for control that pitted newcomers (most notably the shogun Tsunayoshi and his followers and later Yoshimune and his followers) against current power holders, the administrative initiatives that were supported by transient coalitions seeking to address immediate issues, and the quandaries of men maneuvering among diverse interests, struggling to adapt state structures to changing times and trying to govern despite jurisdictional constraints and the inadequacies of lines of control.

In her conclusion Nakai seeks to emphasize the historical significance of Hakuseki's efforts, both those that succeeded and those that failed. Some readers will surely find their credulity strained by the effort, however, because it produces some tortured logic and because the picture of Hakuseki that emerges from the body of the work is that of a gifted, ambitious, and articulate man who aspired to shape affairs but ultimately failed. In that regard, he reminds one of Katsu Kaishū, another talented and ambitious man of modest origins who attempted to influence the *Bakufu* during the 1860s and who, despite a fund of good ideas, managed to achieve little more than to complicate political discussions and make enough enemies to thwart his efforts. Overstating the importance of one's hero is, however, an occupational hazard of biography. It is the reader's task to strike a better balance, and in this demanding book Nakai has given us the requisite information to do so.

CONRAD TOTMAN
Yale University

KATSU KOKICHI. *Musui's Story: The Autobiography of a Tokugawa Samurai.* Translation and Foreword by TERUKO CRAIG. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 178. $19.95.

This book is the autobiography of Katsu Kokichi (1802–50), a *Bakufu* retainer of lower-middle rank. Although his father and brothers served as district administrators for the *Bakufu* and his son, Katsu Kaishū, played a major political role in the last decade of the *Bakufu*'s existence, Kokichi never held an official post. The black sheep of the family, he spent his life on the fringes of respectable society, supplementing his hereditary stipend by appraising and dealing in swords, organizing a protection racket in the brothel district, and acting as a fixer and broker on behalf of various sorts of people.

Written in 1843, after Kokichi had been ordered into house arrest (not for the first time) by his superiors, the book relates in a colloquial style and with obvious relish the sequence of scrapes and escapades that punctuated Kokichi's life. In evaluating the historical veracity of the account, the reader may well question whether Kokichi does not at times get carried away in the course of recounting his exploits. There is no verification for some of the more memorable details of his story. For instance, in describing his efforts to resolve the financial problems of his landlord, a high-ranking *Bakufu* retainer whose extravagant life style had left him hopelessly in debt, Kokichi asserts that he extracted money from the peasants on his landlord's fief by threatening to commit suicide (*seppuku*), going so far as to set the stage for this "farce" by dressing himself in the requisite white kimono (obtained, on a half-day's notice, from a local shop [pp. 135–36]). It makes a good story, but did it really happen that way?

Similarly, in cases where there is corroborative evidence, it can be seen that Kokichi sometimes leaves out details that, if included, might result in a rather different overall picture. For example, relating an earlier effort to resolve his landlord's financial problems, Kokichi declares, "I summoned the peasants on his fiefs in Musashi and Sagami and over five or six days persuaded them to put up four hundred *ryō* . . . On top of all this I had the living expenses provided by his fiefs raised from two hundred *ryō* to three hundred" (p. 94). Detailed records on the peasants' side, however, reveal that even the increased "living expenses" secured by Kokichi represented a severe reduction in the landlord's putative income from his fief, a reduction imposed on him by the peasants in an effort to straighten out his bankrupt finances. Moreover, the four hundred *ryō* were to be repaid to the peasants, with interest, by being deducted from the landlord's future tax income. (This information together with other valuable background details may be found in Ōguchi Yūjirō, "*Musui dokugen* no kyozō to jitsuzō" ["*Musui's Story*: Image and Reality"], in Katsube Mitake and Inoue Isao, eds., *Edo no bakumatsu* [The Late Edo Period], 1986.)

A full-scale study of samurai life in the late Edo period using this autobiography as a key source would necessarily have to consider the "other side" of Kokichi's story. Nevertheless, there are many merits to presenting Kokichi's account on its own terms, as the present readable and lively translation does. Although Kokichi may exaggerate at times, he also provides a wealth of circumstantial details about life in the late Tokugawa period. Moreover, his disarmingly cheerful confession of how he bent and broke the rules offers a welcome antidote to the textbook picture of Tokugawa Japan as a rigidly regulated and controlled society. Teruko Craig is to be highly commended for making *Musui's Story* available to the Western reader.

KATE WILDMAN NAKAI
Sophia University, Tokyo

SHINYA SUGIYAMA. *Japan's Industrialization in the World Economy, 1859–1899: Export Trade and Overseas Compe-*

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tition. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1988. Pp. 304. $70.00.

Sugiyama Shinya received his doctorate from the University of London in 1981, working under the tutelage of William Beasley, England's foremost authority on Japanese history. This book, a revised version of Sugiyama's London thesis, employs the fastidious documentary research techniques that characterize Beasley's work to provide a detailed account of Japan's integration into the late nineteenth-century international economy. The study focuses on the years between 1859, when Japan's commercial treaty system with the West initiated operations, and 1899, when the system of extraterritoriality ended. Two early chapters set the scene with broad, analytical accounts of the world economy during this four-decade period and of Japan's role in it. Subsequent chapters examine how three major commodities—silk, tea, and coal—were produced in Japan and sold on international markets.

In contrast with today's luxury automobiles and consumer electronics, raw materials and processed agricultural goods were the dominant exports from Japan in the late nineteenth century. As a consequence, Japan's initial performance in international markets was not the mere product of government direction and control. Rather, export potential was attributable to the persisting vitality of an indigenous proto-industrial economy; it was rooted mainly in rural Japan and animated by an entrepreneurial spirit that flourished in many small enterprises. In one of his more provocative arguments, Sugiyama contends that the treaty port trade system paradoxically shielded this domestic economy from foreign penetration. The system imposed such disabilities on Western commercial firms that they had to rely on Japanese intermediaries to acquire goods for export markets and to sell commodities on the import market. Thus, from the outset, it seems, Western firms have been ill-informed about the structure of the domestic market in Japan and the tastes of Japanese consumers.

Japanese participation in export markets did, however, stimulate many other changes. It promoted growth in the geographic scope, institutional scale, and technological capabilities of the indigenous economy, and it led to a restructuring of organizational relationships among domestic producers, sellers, and buyers. Moreover, volatility in supply and demand, quality, and price forced all market participants, Japanese and foreign alike, to adapt constantly to changing external conditions. Over the long run, Japanese trade firms seem to have made these adaptations more successfully than Western firms, acquiring progressively more control over Japanese trade in the bargain. When extraterritoriality was abolished in 1899, therefore, Western firms based in Japan had little reason to rue its demise. They had already been perhaps irreparably crippled by the self-defeating attempts at domination by the Western powers, or so the author implies.

Sugiyama's study is a helpful corrective to the frenzied popular accounts of Japan's current role in international affairs. It forcefully reminds us how tentative and precarious Japan's entry into the world economy actually was, and it informs us of the way in which, through experimentation, failure, diligence, talent, luck, and persistence, Japan began to traverse the long, arduous path toward its present economic ascendance.

GARY D. ALLINSON
University of Virginia

MARK R. PEATTIE. *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885–1945*. (Pacific Islands Monograph Series, number 4.) Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 382.

Following on the heels of recent reappraisals of European colonialism, the historiography of Japan's colonial empire currently is undergoing something of a boomlet. In this work, Mark R. Peattie adds an important link to the chain of studies on this only modern non-Western colonial power as he narrates "a history of the appearance, activities, and ultimate expulsion of the Japanese from Micronesia" (p. xv).

Quite discernible in his study are those goals for Micronesia that were used in previously secured colonies, namely, military strategy, emigration, economic development, and political integration. All of those figured prominently in a developing program for the Pacific islands as part of Japan's cherished drive southward to the tropics.

Three distinct phases are chronicled in this book. The first encompasses the theme of territorial acquisition over thirty years of desultory commercial penetration by a variety of colorful entrepreneurs and adventurers and covers the period from 1885 to World War I, including the wartime ouster of the German colonial regime, Japan's furtive wartime diplomacy, and subsequent securing of Micronesia as a Class C mandate from the League of Nations. Peattie's analysis of the international politics of this Pacific mandate, although brief, is edifying. He concludes that the U.S. attempt to limit Japan's control failed, and "for all practical purposes the islands were now to be administered as Japanese possessions, not [under] . . . temporary guardianship by the international community" (p. 57).

The absorbing second phase in the monograph takes on an ethnographic quality. Peattie lifts the veil of obscurity from developments fostered by the Japanese in the islands' culture and society in the 1920s and 1930s. We learn of the colonial administration, of sponsored Okinawan and Korean immigrations, and of changes in the life style of the docile and cooperative Micronesians. Such exotic-sounding colonial towns as Koror, Dublon, Garapan, and Jabor, among others, took on a Japanese flavor under the heavy weight of commerce and immigration. Amid iridescent images of these beautiful islands, one notes, however, that the

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sunny way of life reminiscent of British colonial centers—at least for the colonial masters and a very few others—was absent in Japan's Micronesia. Here there were no taipans or rajahs as everyone, rulers and ruled alike, labored long and hard. Moreover, as the interwar years wore on, Micronesians faced the harsh realities of a subservient people destined for integration into the Japanese empire. In the Japanese pursuit of profit, the labor of Micronesians, like the exports of copra and phosphates, became an integral part of making paradise pay (p. 117, 150–52).

In the 1930s civilian and economic orientations gave way increasingly to military considerations. In the third segment, Peattie describes the tempo of militarization and its disastrous consequences. Such events as Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 and its role in the breakdown of the naval arms limitation system signaled to many in the West that Japan was clandestinely fortifying the islands. Peattie clearly refutes this misconception of the decade. But, by 1940, Micronesia was indeed "an integral part of a 'national defense state,' an advance base for Japanese naval and military power south across the equator" (p. 229). The outcome of this conversion is detailed in a lengthy final chapter on the ferocious wartime fighting on these islands. A short, fascinating epilogue on current Japanese-Micronesian relations follows.

Two aspects of this study serve as valuable contributions to understanding. First, within the growing scholarship on Japanese colonialism, this book is the only integrated Western history of the colony, which was so vastly different from the other continental and Asian areas under Japan's dominion. Second, Peattie's scholarship here serves as an antidote to previous Western interpretations of Japan's intentions in the Pacific in the years until the fearful 1940s.

Inaccuracies seem inevitable when so much time and space are considered. Peattie has some difficulty with references to Matsuoka Yosuke and Hirota Koki, two of Japan's prewar foreign ministers (see pp. 243–44), and with a name or two in the bibliography. But these errors are minor. I wondered, however, why so much detail was given over to the battle histories in the final chapter. Although the battles were obviously important, there seems to be a need to bridge the war years and the present with an explanation of the legacy of the colonial experience. Be that as it may, Peattie's monograph is well written and very informative.

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YUR-BOK LEE. *West Goes East: Paul Georg von Möllendorff and Great Power Imperialism in Late Yi Korea.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1988. Pp. x, 295. $29.00.

For a large portion of this book, Yur-bok Lee conveys the impression that he is attempting to resuscitate the reputation of Paul Georg von Möllendorff, a German in the employ of the Sino-Foreign Chinese Maritime Customs, who was sent by Li Hung-chang to Korea in 1882 to establish a customs agency and act as diplomatic adviser to the Korean king, Kojong. Li sent Möllendorff to Korea just after Li had dispatched Chinese troops to put down a rebellion and consolidate China's control by direct intervention in Korean affairs.

By the end of the book, however, it is obvious that Lee's real purpose is to refurbish the reputation of King Kojong—hitherto maligned by some authors for his weakness, ineptitude, and lack of patriotic sentiment—by extolling his attempts to make Korea independent of foreign interference and begin a modernization program. Lee does not see the Japanese as the chief obstacle to Korean independence because he accepts the opinion of Hilary Conroy (*The Japanese Seizure of Korea* [1960]) that Japan abandoned its aggressive intentions toward Korea after 1884 and did not resume them until a few weeks prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Instead, Lee builds on the work of Key-hiuk Kim (*The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order* [1980]), who has argued that, after 1882, China shifted its policy toward Korea from tributary suzerainty to outright imperialism in the Western manner.

Möllendorff was supposed to protect Chinese interests in Korea, but he identified with the interests of the Koreans and sought to find a reliable foreign ally to protect Korea against China, let alone the Western powers and Japan. Because the United States was unwilling to become involved in Korean affairs, Möllendorff obtained King Kojong's permission to conduct clandestine negotiations to offer Russia an ice-free port in return for Russian guarantee of Korean independence, but the Russians were never truly interested in the proposal. When Möllendorff's secret negotiations were revealed to the public in June 1885, Li Hung-chang recalled him from Korea.

Although Lee admires Möllendorff's altruistic effort on behalf of Korean independence, he also acknowledges that reliance on a Russian protectorate was potentially as threatening to Korean independence as Chinese suzerainty. He excuses the judgment of both Möllendorff and Kojong only because Möllendorff thought Korea's weakness so profound that it necessitated some foreign agent of salvation, and Kojong was the captive of his own traditional tributary mentality. This observation is profound but also damning of Lee's thesis that Kojong was an able leader of independence, unfortunately misled by his foreign advisers.

Lee neglects the story of Kojong's failure to modernize the country and build national strength because the king left the administration of his plans in the hands of the corrupt and self-serving members of his queen's family. Furthermore, after 1895, he even elicited the protest of nationalists because he was willing to sell out national resources to foreigners for lease payments.

Using counterfactual analysis, a device he resorts to far too frequently in this book, Lee has postulated that, if the Chinese had only desisted from their interfer-

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ence in Korean affairs and constructively aided Korea's independence, Korea would have been better off and the Sino-Japanese War would not have occurred. In fact, however, the Chinese were trying to preserve their suzerainty over Korea in the face of their own military weakness. Furthermore, the Sino-Japanese War did not occur because of the failure of China's Korea policy, as Lee has charged, but because of the decision by the Japanese government to force China into a war that would eliminate it from the Korean peninsula once and for all.

Despite Kojong's half-hearted modernization and independence programs, he was truly a creature of the dependent mentality of the traditional tributary system.

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GERALD CANNON HICKEY. *Kingdom in the Morning Mist: Mayréna in the Highlands of Vietnam.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1988. Pp. xxxi, 221. $22.95.

Gerald Cannon Hickey's work is a successfully handcrafted quilt made up of many small bits and pieces of colorful historical material. I was struck by the number of footnotes that include the statement "the following paragraph is based on this source." Checks of some of the passages mentioned in these footnotes show that Hickey either paraphrases other writers or, in fewer instances, principally where French texts are concerned, simply translates them. Passages thus paraphrased or translated constitute the patches that the author sews together to present a most fascinating and troubling story about a seemingly ordinary Frenchman, Charles David, who was born in Toulon on January 31, 1842, and who was, in fact, an ingenious and resourceful con artist also known as David Mayréna. He participated, without particular incident, in the first French incursion against Cochinchina, South Vietnam, in 1863. Only a few years later did a fraudulent personality emerge. We are not told how he managed it, but Mayréna persuaded the ministry of war to grant him a medal for valorous actions undertaken during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, when the testimonies of many of his comrades-in-arms suggested that he had deserted the army in the heat of battle. Mayréna settled down in Paris as a banker but declared bankruptcy a few years later following a charge of embezzlement. He then left for the Dutch Indies in 1883 from whence he was deported for misconduct. That escapade did not prevent him from claiming later on that he had helped the sultan of Acheh in Sumatra fight against the Dutch during his stay there and from using that claim to persuade a Parisian financier to fund his return expedition to Sumatra in search of that island's fabled gold and a certain precious tropical-forest product. Mayréna never made it to Acheh; he landed instead in Saigon in May 1885. There he talked the colonial authorities into sponsoring his voyage of exploration into Vietnam's remote and mountainous interior, which is the homeland of its many ethnic minorities. In a matter of days, Mayréna signed treaties placing some of the ethnic groups under the protection of France. But imperceptibly he modified the words of the treaties so that his name was substituted for that of France. He thereupon proclaimed himself king, the realm being the kingdom of the morning mist, the topic of the book. This kingdom was indeed a most ephemeral one; it did not last more than a few days and existed principally on paper and in the mind of its king. Still, Mayréna went so far as to borrow money from some of his supporters when he came down from the mountains to enable him to order uniforms for the fictitious army and to mint decorations to confer on meritorious subjects. He also referred to himself, without a blink, as His Majesty Marie the First, King of the Sedangs, the name of one of the ethnic groups. His scam was swiftly arrested because the French colonial authorities in Indochina, invoking successorship to the Vietnamese authorities who had always considered the highlands as vassal or tributary states, soon laid exclusive and absolute claim to the entire mountainous interior. Marie the First, after his return to France, was never allowed to come back to Indochina to reassert his claims over his kingdom. He went, instead, to the island of Tioman, off the east coast of Malaysia, where he ended his life rather prosaically, either bitten by a snake or poisoned by a companion, bereft of resources, friends, relatives, or subjects.

The biography of the king of the Sedangs is but a vehicle for the author to write the story of the highland people of Vietnam during the early years of French colonization when it was easy for adventurous and unscrupulous crooks like Mayréna to transform the hospitality of indigenous people into political submission. This book contributes nothing new to the knowledge of Vietnam's anthropological make-up nor to issues with which the author is very familiar. It is simply an entertaining, where not troubling, account that brings to the English-reading audience material long since known to the French world.

TRUONG BUU LAM
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CHEAH BOON KHENG. *The Peasant Robbers of Kedah, 1900–1929: Historical and Folk Perceptions.* (East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 151. $26.00.

Eric Hobsbawm has been an influential pioneer in the study of groups, such as "social bandits," traditionally neglected by scholarship, those Robin Hood figures celebrated in folklore and peasant consciousness. In recent years many specialists in European history and other fields have taken up the cause of "history from the bottom up," in the process revealing much about

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the activities, achievements, movements, institutions, and values of common people. Inspired by the work of Hobsbawm as well as that of James Scott and Peter Burke, Cheah Boon Kheng concentrates on various bandits of peasant origin who operated in the economically impoverished, sparsely populated, and lightly policed northern districts of Malaya's Kedah state, which was adjacent to the Siamese border, during the early part of this century. Cheah's thin but well-researched volume also places him firmly among a small group of sophisticated young Malaysian scholars whose work reflects a growing methodological and theoretical maturity. Cheah skillfully draws his material from the sparse documentary record (mostly police reports) as well as from extensive interviews with Kedah villagers and other informants who retained personal memories of the bandits or of their legends.

The book analyzes both Kedah banditry and the specific careers of several of the leading practitioners, the most notable of whom was Panglima Nayan. According to popular literature and a rich and sympathetic folk tradition, Nayan seems to have been something of a Malaysian Pretty Boy Floyd whose criminal career flourished from 1914 until his murder in 1920. Most Kedah bandits specialized in cattle rustling, robbery of more affluent residents, and payroll interception; some also indulged occasionally in kidnapping, assault, and murder. Cheah shares his detective work with the reader, carefully analyzing the sources and showing where they do not confirm folk perceptions or his speculations. He marshals convincing evidence that many peasants viewed Nayan as a folk hero; by contrast some of the other bandits and their gangs were widely perceived to be thugs and brigands rather than allies of the poor and dispossessed. Cheah discovered little data to support the folk perception that Nayan and the others were indeed champions of social justice, sharing their ill-gotten gains with the downtrodden. Ultimately he agrees with Hobsbawm that what the bandits did was less important than what the peasants believed them to have done.

Cheah presents a sketchy but perceptive discussion of Kedah myth making and the creation of an oral tradition of protest. The author believes that, because the oral traditions are difficult to verify, they must have been invented by peasants as a nonviolent protest against the wealthy and powerful. His conclusions raise some important points about patron-client relations and class conflict, but Cheah should have developed these arguments more fully in his study. He somewhat neglects both the broader socioeconomic context of exploitation and the geographical environment of mountains and forests. And he does not seem to appreciate fully the "no man's land" nature of the borderland; the dacoit-infested English-Scottish borderland might have provided some interesting comparative data. The analysis is also weak on the role and definition of ethnicity. Many of the bandits apparently belonged to the unpopular Thai-speaking Muslim minority (Sam Sams) rather than to the dominant Malay community, and several of the gangs included Chinese and Siamese members, but little attention is devoted to interethnic relations in the local plural society. These criticisms aside, Cheah's stimulating book makes a valuable contribution to the growing but still insufficient literature on Malaysian social and working-class history.

CRAIG A. LOCKARD
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UMA CHAKRAVARTI. *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 238. $27.50.

Despite considerable interest in the social aspects of Buddhism at present, there is hardly any comprehensive study that deals with the various categories of early Buddhist society. This work is primarily an attempt to show that early Buddhism grew up in a period of economic expansion, political consolidation, and emergence of new socioeconomic categories. The work also focuses on the relationship between early Buddhism and certain social groups.

While discussing the sources, Uma Chakravarti points out one of the major problems connected with the study of Buddhism, namely stratification of the texts written in the Pali language. She rightly states that earlier studies on Buddhist society lack a proper perspective of time because of their treatment of Buddhist texts as a homogeneous unit. In this respect the present study follows the most recent research in the field. Epigraphic evidence ranging from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 has also been used to substantiate conclusions on social stratification drawn from early Pali literature.

This study starts with an assessment of the political, economic, social, and religious environment of early Buddhism. The tremendous expansion of agriculture and, consequently, of the economy as a whole in this period was a major factor in the new phenomenon of urbanization. The growing complexity of the economy led to the emergence of a more stratified society, and, consequently, the sharp distinction between the categories of wealthy and poor people created social tension. The *gahapati*, which originally meant householder and which is full of significance for the understanding of early Buddhist society, was given a wider definition by the Buddhists in order to designate the social category representing the domain of economy. An entire chapter is devoted to all facets of the role of *gahapati* in the society.

While dealing with the problem of stratification, Chakravarti emphasizes, for the first time, the Buddhist point of view by giving more importance to Buddhist texts. It has been asserted that the inclusion of the *gahapati* in the system of stratification is the strength of the Buddhist scheme. Chakravarti's conclusion may be stated as follows: Buddha's own recognition of the significance of economic function as being

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basic to any society, despite his advocacy of renunciation leading to salvation, clearly indicated his specific contribution to ideas on social status.

The most significant contribution of this work is the study of the social background of the *bhikkhus* (monks) and *upāsakas* (lay followers). Chakravarti analyzes all of the names mentioned in early Pali canon where social and economic backgrounds are indicated. This extensive statistical analysis shows that early Buddhism drew most of its support from the *ucca kulas* (high families) of *khattiyas*, *brāhmaṇas*, and *gahapatis*. The author has critically examined, wherever possible, prevailing theories and has drawn her own conclusions on the basis of evidence found in original texts written in the Pali language.

Finally, regarding the comprehensive and useful bibliography at the end of the book, I would welcome inclusion of Y. Krishan's "Buddhism and the Caste System" (*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* [1986]: 71–83).

KALYAN KUMAR SARKAR
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MICHAEL H. FISHER. *A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, the British, and the Mughals*. Riverdale, Md.: Riverdale. 1987. Pp. viii, 284. $35.00.

In this book, Michael H. Fisher traces the history of Awadh from the early eighteenth century to its annexation by the British in 1856. Awadh was a classic example of what often happened to Indian states in the period between the collapse of the Mughul empire and the establishment of British paramountcy. For half a century (ca. 1725–ca. 1775), the rulers of Awadh, Mughul governors of the province, and, from time to time, imperial *vazirs* maintained effective control over an extensive tract stretching west from the Gogra to the upper Ganges and for a time even extending into the Ganges-Jumna Duab. For forty years thereafter, they struggled (generally ineffectively) to keep the British at arms' length. Then, during the last forty years of their rule, they became pathetic dependents of a Raj that delayed outright annexation largely because its leaders could not decide how and when to act.

In recent years, the fortunes of Awadh and its rulers have attracted considerable scholarly interest. There is, for example, Muzaffar Alam's *Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707–1748* (1986) and Richard B. Barnett's *North India between Empires: Awadh, the Mughuls and the British, 1720–1801* (1980) for the earlier periods; for the half-century preceding annexation, there is Rosie Llewellyn-Jones's *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow* (1985) and Rudrangshu Mukherjee's *Awadh in Revolt, 1857–1858* (1984). For post-Mutiny Awadh, there is, most recently, Veena T. Oldenburg's *Making of Colonial Lucknow* (1984), not to mention earlier studies of Thomas R. Metcalf and Jagdish Raj.

Well-versed in the primary sources as well as in the secondary literature, Fisher has set himself the ambitious goal of telling an old story anew but this time from the perspective of the Nawabi court (the Awadh rulers were known as Nawab-Vazirs) with its idiosyncratic brand of Indo-Islamic culture derived from traditions of service to the Mughul court and from the fact that Awadh was the only Shi'i state in the subcontinent. Fisher not only endeavors to understand the problems of the Awadh administration and its external entanglements as seen through the eyes of its successive rulers but also goes further, prying behind and beneath the throne to uncover the disparate and competing interests of hierarchies of kinsmen and courtiers, officials and palace servants, all with their links to the people of Lucknow, the capital. Students of the period will find exceptionally useful Fisher's account of some of the leading service families (not all invariably Muslim) and of the ways in which they manipulated a system in which bureaucratic and court functions were seldom clearly differentiated. He does not have much to say regarding the landowners and cultivators in the Awadh countryside, the majority of them Hindu, nor is he much concerned to probe the motives and activities of the British, themes that have been the subject of earlier studies. Where he does break new ground is in his emphasis on the continuing diplomatic and emotional ties that bound the Nawab-Vazirs to the Mughul court in Delhi (especially until Ghazi al-Din Haydar's "coronation" of 1819), a factor hitherto largely overlooked.

Within the Awadh Durbar (the combined court and government), there was a continuous conflict of interest among rival individuals, families, and groups, some with ties to outside elements such as the British. Herein, in part, lies the source of Fisher's "clash of cultures": not simply Indian versus British, urban Muslim versus rural Hindu, or even urban Muslim versus urban Hindu but a complex, shifting, and highly ambiguous interplay of competing elements, which Fisher sees not merely as a manifestation of political rivalries but also as a significant process of cultural interaction seen in very broad terms. Not that he writes as much as might be expected of the literary and artistic life of the city (Lucknow), which he describes as the home of "the most sophisticated schools of high culture of the period" (p. 21). Perhaps all that is reserved for another volume. In any case, this is a splendid addition to Awadh studies, thoroughly researched, judiciously argued, and elegantly written.

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STEPHEN ALAN RITTENBERG. *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns: The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic. 1988. Pp. xii, 286.

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This study was originally submitted as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1977. The much-refined and improved version has finally been published a decade later. Such is the slow pace of scholarly publication in the United States. The book, however, has suffered no damage in that slow process; in fact, Stephen Alan Rittenberg has used the interim period to enrich its scholarship, acquire translations from Pashto and Urdu sources, and thoroughly document the narrative and statistical data. The book makes an exceptional contribution to the understanding of the regional politics of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), which are based on Pakhtun ethnicity, not religion (p. 4). That statement is the key to Rittenberg's analysis of the NWFP's history from 1929 to 1947, when Pakistan came into existence.

Comprising the five settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, the NWFP was never homogeneous: in 1931 Pakhtuns accounted for 37.32 percent of the population, non-Pakhtun Muslims 54.52 percent, and non-Muslims the remaining 8.16 percent. The districts of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan are geographically and culturally oriented toward the Punjab. Not indigenous to the NWFP, Pakhtuns "moved into it from the mountainous country of present-day Afghanistan, starting in the fifteenth century" (p. 29). Collectively, however, the Pakhtuns dominated the political and economic life of the province, although they were divided into large and small landowners (big and small khans) and landless dependents. The landless, as clients, not only served their patrons economically but also followed them politically. The British coopted the big khans and turned them into agents for collecting taxes and maintaining peace in the countryside. By the 1930s the big khans had alienated the small khans, which followed the traditional norms of culture and leadership. The small khans' resentment of the big khans "ultimately found an outlet in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement," whose founding father, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, nurtured "the Pakhtun's sense of ethnic nationalism" (p. 61).

In the NWFP, the National Congress was established by the Hindus in 1907, the Frontier Muslim League in 1912 by the non-Pakhtun Muslims, and the Khudi Khidmatgar movement whose leader allied it with the National Congress, by the Pakhtuns in 1930. Thus developed a tripartite confrontation between, first, Pakhtun Muslims and non-Pakhtun Muslims, second, the League and the Congress, and, third, the Khudai Khidmatgars allied with the Congress and the League. Those complex dialectical tensions, which wove themselves into a bewildering maze in the NWFP, are lucidly analyzed by Rittenberg through the phase of noncooperation (1931–39) and the period of wartime politics (1939–45).

An equally fascinating part of Rittenberg's analysis is devoted to the period 1945–47, when the Muslim League finally gained popularity in the NWFP and then triumphed in 1947 when the referendum was held to determine if the population would opt to be part of India or Pakistan. Only 50.99 percent of the 572,798 eligible voters cast ballots. Pakistan received 289,244 votes, or 50.49 percent of the electorate, while India received only 2,874 votes. Pakhtuns, Rittenberg concludes, "sided with other Muslim voters in the province. . . . The referendum's real losers were the Pakhtun nationalists [Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan's followers] who had cast their lot with the Congress" (p. 245). Rittenberg rightly observes, however, that in doing so the Pakhtuns' "sense of ethnic uniqueness did not disappear, but it was superceded temporarily by a religious awareness which led them to give their primary allegiance to their Muslim identity" (p. 210).

Undaunted by those results, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, in tandem with Afghanistan's irredentist claims against Pakistan, raised the demand for the creation of Pakhtunistan in the NWFP—sometimes as an autonomous province, other times as an independent state. With the failure of Soviet intervention (1979–89) in Afghanistan, the issue of Pakhtunistan received a mortal blow, raising the first real possibility of cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan and the integration of the NWFP within the federation of Pakistan.

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CORAL BELL. *Dependent Ally: A Study in Australian Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 230.

During her rich professional career, Coral Bell has produced substantial work on Australian and American foreign policy and on wider aspects of international politics. *Dependent Ally* draws on these intellectual resources. In Bell's characteristically sensible style, it is learned but not pretentious, tempered but healthily skeptical.

Pulling in historical antecedents but focusing on the postwar period, Bell notes the forces that shifted Australia's dependency from Britain to the United States with diplomatic and security features of her subject consciously stressed. Bell's concluding observations nevertheless suggest how Australia has increasingly meshed economic objectives into its security calculations. Bell proceeds to argue that, despite occasionally florid or idiosyncratic personal outlooks among political leaders from the 1940s onward, Australia's legacies of pragmatism and incrementalism have heavily influenced its external policies. Bell reminds readers of the broad convergence between the main party groups and governing or realistically aspirant elites.

Bell maintains that if conventional assumptions about national interests and priorities are accepted, Australian security policy in the past decades must be reckoned as handsomely successful; growth and prosperity have, for instance, been accomplished with safety from hostile intrusion and with growth in international standing. "Dependency" has seldom meant

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slavishness or mindless imitation, and in Australian context should not be construed pejoratively. Indeed, Australia's dependency has increasingly been evolving *into interdependence, brought on by the pluralization* of international power and adaptations in superpower relations, by Australia's own considerable assets as both regional and world actor, and by the overdue conceptual rerendering of the match between its strategic objectives and its serviceable resources.

Throughout a book only about 200 textual pages, much of the fine grain of detail depicting Australian policy is necessarily missing. Bell has, however, been able to capture the spirit of most subthemes as well as the themes and to dispel or place in question various familiar or facile assumptions. One example is her perspective on Australia's role in the Vietnam conflict. Australia was not dragooned into a combat role by the United States, nor did it happily join in because it was thrust in by an Antipodean version of a politico-military establishment. Also placed in perspective and carried out in a typical Coral Bell manner of knowledge and sober judgment is her portrayal of the political framework of Australian-American intelligence relations.

Bell concludes that, while reflecting broad continuities, Australia's dependence as an American ally has been different from what it was under Britain. The British connection was one of status; the American is one of contract. Australia's external links are by now highly diversified. Its American links are in turn much less comprehensive and less assumed out of hand than obtained with the British connection. In effect, the U.S. connection is instrumental. Being limited and contractual, the U.S. connection rests on identifiable tradeoffs of costs and benefits, that is, on political will. By being more rationally and flexibly conducted, it yields an alliance that is more solid, capable of accommodating commitment to self-reliance and to alliance values. In the interdependent sense, America's recognition of Australia as a prized but hardly reflexive ally has itself invested Australia with wider latitude to proceed to craft its security as its own reasoning dictates.

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CLAUDIA ORANGE. *The Treaty of Waitangi.* Reprint. Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin or Port Nicholson, Wellington. 1987. Pp. x, 312. $19.95.

Of current concern in New Zealand are the racial and legal implications of the Treaty of Waitangi. This treaty, signed by British officials and Maori chiefs, transferred sovereignty of New Zealand to the British crown in 1840. In return the crown promised to confer on the Maori the rights and privileges of British subjects and to guarantee the Maori the ownership of their lands, forests, and fisheries. The treaty never became statute law in the colony, although some of its provisions regarding civil rights for the Maori were implemented. But the Maori, increasingly a small and powerless minority, had sold or alienated most of their lands by the end of the nineteenth century.

For New Zealanders of European descent, the treaty in this century has entered national mythology as a symbol of the relatively harmonious race relations enjoyed in New Zealand. Since the 1940s, the anniversary of the signing of the treaty has been marked by government-organized celebrations and is now a national holiday.

Over the last ten years, many Maori, vigorously reasseerting their identity, have challenged the myths of national unity and harmony. Grievance has commonly focused on the loss of land. Annual celebrations of Waitangi have been disrupted and are now curtailed. In partial response, a Labour government in 1975 established a Treaty of Waitangi tribunal to investigate current land disputes between the Maori and the crown; the tribunal's jurisdiction has since been extended to investigate cases to 1840. Although the tribunal can only make recommendations, its findings have unleashed for many Maori the hope of long-overdue justice and for many New Zealanders of European descent bewilderment and anger from a radical reinterpretation of New Zealand history that challenges entrenched national mythology.

This book is the first modern detailed study of the Treaty of Waitangi and its subsequent history. It begins with an account of the signing of the treaty in 1840. In particular, it examines how the Maori variously interpreted the treaty. Many of the Maori signatories believed that they were signing away governance of the country rather than sovereignty.

The book then examines the efforts by numerous Maori communities, especially in the nineteenth century, to try to have the treaty fully implemented, efforts that have included pacifist and violent protest and political activity both outside and inside the New Zealand parliamentary process and that have, for the most part, gone unheeded by the European populace. What this book reveals is the hidden Maori history of the treaty, characterized by a longstanding struggle for a measure of autonomy, a quest for recognition of Maori culture and rejection of European assimilation policies, and agitation for the return to Maori ownership of those lands and fisheries still in government hands.

This book is essential reading for New Zealanders currently debating Maori-European relations and seeking an understanding of Maori opinions. But it will also be of interest to those concerned with North American Indian–European relations in its consideration of broad legal, constitutional, moral, and cultural issues arising from treaty negotiations between colonial authorities and indigenous peoples.

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UNITED STATES

DANIEL J. BOORSTIN. *Hidden History*. Assisted by RUTH F. BOORSTIN. (A Cornelia and Michael Bessie Book.) New York: Harper and Row. 1987. Pp. xxv, 332. $19.95.

It is hard to read Daniel J. Boorstin without calling to mind that dreaded word "consensus." And indeed he does seem to pay little attention to those deep political, social, and ethnic conflicts that have made life in the New World something less than the paradisiacal hope of the American dream. He has purged much of the dissonance from the struggle for survival on the new continent by discounting the importance of ideas. The genius of America he finds in the constant practical readjustment of a sensible people to the challenge of their surroundings. To be sure there is good reason to be pleased with much that has occurred in America, but Boorstin's appetite for human accomplishment appears almost insatiable. His writings are sometimes naively celebratory. The American soul shows no darker side, at least not one he has cared to dwell on or bring to the fore of historical consciousness. He prefers to stress the practical intelligence of the Puritans over their yearning for God's kingdom or their lugubrious obsession with human frailty. In contrast, the Quakers, also a puritanical people after all, fare less well. Whatever their worldly achievements, they made the mistake of sticking to their otherworldly vision of humanity. In formally withdrawing from the political arena, they proved the futility of excessive intellectualizing.

Thus, this collection of essays and selections from a number of his books confirms much that has been written about Boorstin. But it also brings to mind other, and perhaps more pertinent, aspects of his writing. For one thing he has not always been so determined to depreciate the importance of ideas. His *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson*, although written forty years ago, remains the most perceptive examination of scientific thinking in the Jeffersonian period. Furthermore, it can be argued that Boorstin's failure to take cognizance of the divisions in American life is more apparent than real. It is true that he avoids the commonly treated social cleavages and even underplays the major political divisions in the American story. By shunning the obvious disjunctions, Boorstin is not necessarily a historian of continuity, interested in the way things hold together rather than the way they come apart. In the prologue to this volume, which he titled "The Fertile Verge," he reveals what should have been obvious in his work as a whole. Great events happen, great changes are made, at those lines of demarcation that characterize every aspect of human existence. For Boorstin, creativity resides in diversity. At the seams of life—geographical, political, technological, cultural, and generational—occur those events that startle the imagination and transform the very core of existence. At the verge, humanity increases its self-awareness and opens itself to novelty and change. Paradoxically (though it is not clear that Boorstin sees the paradox), the tension of life at the verge also increases the consciousness and cohesiveness of community. But Boorstin is not really concerned with cohesion and continuity.

His interest and indeed his sympathies are with the innovators, the makers of new things, those imaginative and bold reorganizers who have created modernity. He has little interest in lost causes. The Indians who made only a slight mark on the continent and held it as "God's Custodians" (p. 247) for the arrival of the Puritans are simply swept aside by the European settlers. And he is not taken with the world of the southern planters. He sees them oddly as similar to Quakers, "peculiar" people who lived by a form of law that they conceived of as immanent, for the Quakers in themselves and for the planters in their society. Thus, both denied the instrumental and normative character that law should have in human life. Law should be an art, no doubt resting on experience and tradition, but also the result of purposeful choice and innovation. The fascination of Boorstin's work lies in the verve and insight he can bring to the history of humanity as it adapts and changes, ever on the edge of a breakthrough in science or technology, or artistic expression, or the organization of life through law. Boorstin's imagination is every bit as fertile as the initiators of change whose history he chronicles.

But all is not well in the world of innovation. It would appear that these bold agents of the new and untried have unaccountably drifted into the realm of illusion. They have become the makers and the victims of "pseudo-events." Their grip on reality has proved less firm as their achievements have become more spectacular. Boorstin seems uncomfortable with this development, though it might have been expected given the pace of the modern world. Life in the verge, innovation as an end in itself, after all, never offered much in the way of security or clarity of vision, even when it increased certain kinds of knowledge and afforded more comfort. Under the circumstances, "pseudo-events" may be the price paid for an existence in which ideas are instrumental and life is led at the ever-receding edge of human accomplishment.

This compact collection represents Boorstin at his best, a fascinating, subtle, and provocative essayist.

BERNARD W. SHEEHAN
Indiana University, Bloomington

WILBUR ZELINSKY. *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 350. $29.95.

Wilbur Zelinsky's project in this book is to demonstrate the ways in which "Americanism" has become the civil religion of the United States. Zelinsky explores the transition in the American experience from one form of nationalism to a second, which he calls "statism." The first, which reached its apogee between 1810 and

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1830, was based on common land, heritage, interests in the present and future, and desire to have and maintain a common state. It began to give way by the late nineteenth century to another based on allegiance to particular institutions and forms of social organization. Even if we pump ourselves up with patriotism on occasions such as the centennial of the Statue of Liberty, Zelinsky implies, our public culture today is marked more by the incidence of shared events glorifying the nation-state itself than by the presence of shared national values. Indeed, to judge by the names we now give our public places, the forms taken by our works of art, and the ways in which we symbolically shape the landscape, we are today alienated from any allegiance to common ideological values.

Zelinsky traces the changes in the symbolic expression of American nationalism in great detail. Chapters include discussions of the changing characters of national heroes, place-names, holiday rituals, special events, aesthetic endeavors, national monuments, and patriotic icons. In the process, Zelinsky not only creates a strong base of evidence leading up to his principal contention, which he frames in the final chapter, but also provides some fascinating trips into particular substrata of the collective American psyche (or, at least, of the hegemonic culture that passes for "American").

In one chapter, for example, Zelinsky explores the nature of the American hero and discovers that most of the mythic figures whom individuals continue to recall as persons of stature were identified as such between 1810 and 1830. Michael Frisch has documented the tendency of contemporary students to see such "public eidolons" as Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson as the marrow and substance of American history, despite the advent of more "scientific" and pluralistic versions of the American national experience offered in secondary schools, colleges, and universities today. The problem with what Americans know about the past, Zelinsky seems to suggest, is not so much that collectively we know very little about it, as some contemporary critics believe, but that what we do know has a remote, nostalgic quality that seems irrelevant to the nation's present or future. Indeed, to the extent that we create heroes today, they are often anonymous types rather than identifiable individuals. We are ambivalent about them, and, as heroes, they often appear heroic to only a fragment of the population.

Zelinsky's concern is the decline in the ability of Americans to see their nation as a developing and promising common enterprise. Instead, he finds, our common bond now rests in a state apparatus about which many of us are ambivalent and which may be increasingly incapable of handling the complexities of an interdependent world. If we have become cynical about the appearances of presidential candidates in flag factories, Zelinsky's book suggests both why such acts are quintessentially American and why we have a right to be suspicious of their modern embodiment. Wrapping oneself in the flag is a very different symbolic act in 1988 than it was in 1888 or 1788.

MARY KUPIEC CAYTON
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

RODERICK FRAZIER NASH. *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics*. (History of American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 290. $27.50.

In this well-documented and clearly written study, Roderick Frazier Nash explores the history of the idea of extending ethics to nature. He traces the concept of natural rights from antiquity to the present and explains the gradual extension of ethical concern to a widening community that includes nonhuman life and nonliving matter. His principal interests are the rise of American environmentalism and the emergence of the idea that nature has a right to exist for its own sake, separate from human self-interest.

Nash observes that Western ethicists have spent nearly all of the last two millenniums studying the conduct of people toward people and deities, not the relationship of humans to nature. He believes that the emergence of environmental ethics in the 1970s "represents the farthest extension of ethical theory in the history of thought" (p. 122). Creators of this new field have quarreled over whether environmental ethics derive from human self-interest or whether nature has intrinsic rights. Heated debates have also arisen over whether plants, insects, rivers, rocks, and even the planet itself deserve to be included in ethical considerations.

Nash explores these and other questions, explaining succinctly diverse ideas of philosophers, theologians, and natural scientists. He emphasizes such thinkers as Charles Darwin, John Muir, and Aldo Leopold, who have fostered the idea that nature does not exist simply to serve humans. Animal rights advocates receive particular attention. Although most of the book deals with the development of ideas, Nash provides a chapter on recent efforts to put those ideas into practice through legislation, such as the Endangered Species Act, and other strategies.

Nash sees the environmental movement as an extension and new application of traditional ideals of liberalism. He notes parallels between recent efforts to extend moral consideration to nature and earlier struggles to free oppressed minorities, especially to end slavery in the United States. He argues that Americans rarely compromise their most deeply held values, especially those involving the "oppression of minority rights and the denial of liberty" (p. 210), and suggests that civil disobedience and violence may accompany the eventual freeing of oppressed animals and nature.

Not all readers will agree with Nash's priorities. The religious and ethical beliefs of American Indians receive scant treatment as do the ethical implications of

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nuclear war, while the attitudes and actions of such militant groups as Earth First, Greenpeace, and the Animal Liberation Front are discussed at greater length.

Although Nash states in his preface that his purpose is to report accurately the ideas of others and "not here advocate the extension of ethics to include the natural world," he sympathizes with "deep ecology" and the biocentric point of view. Deep ecologists believe in "the right of every form of life to function normally in the ecosystem" (pp. 146–47). Not surprisingly he is critical of reform environmentalists, whom he describes as anthropocentric and prone to compromise the well-being of the environment in the interest of materialistic goals.

Author of the widely acclaimed *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967), Nash has written a valuable introduction to the history of environmental ethics. He has also provided a provocative statement for a biocentric ethic. Scholars and environmental activists alike will benefit from this book.

DOUGLAS H. STRONG
San Diego State University

JOHN OPIE. *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1987. Pp. xxi, 231. $24.95.

This is a tract for the times in which John Opie sets out to show the ways that federal land policy created myths about farmers and farming, to argue that the United States is at a crossroads and has an "opportune 'window'" (p. 184) to reward farmers financially and protect farmland qualitatively, and to call for action. The preface and last two chapters concern assumptions and mistakes of agricultural policy during the 1970s and 1980s, which was founded on myths created by the land survey and sale system initiated in 1785. Opie wants us to break the hold of those myths for the benefit of future food supply. The connections are not as clear to me as they are to Opie. The result is a book with a split personality that also lacks smoothness and breadth. Most chapters include major subheadings on every other page, which creates a series of commentaries on elements of land policy. The focus is purposely restricted to the grain-growing regions of the Midwest and Great Plains.

In his commentary on land law, spread over ten chapters, Opie asserts that land policy mismanaged the major resource of the nation and in the process assigned a false role to agriculture that now needs to be rethought. The survey and sale system, augmented by preemption, graduated reduction in price, and homestead, transportation, and educational grants, literally forced land (good and bad) out of the public domain into private hands as quickly as possible and created the myth of the family farm as the right of all and the backbone of society. At the same time, those factors created conditions that guaranteed the failure of the small family farm in economic terms. In Opie's analysis, the legacy of 1785 was that the United States had to let anybody settle anywhere on the public domain, and, if they failed, the nation had the obligation to help them. That helps explain why the United States finds it impossible to stop wasting dollars on irrigation projects and marginal land in the plains and the Southwest. The tone of the analysis is reflected by Opie's observation that "for most of its two hundred years, land policy had one stated objective: to locate American citizens on their privately owned tracts of farmland" (p. 185). He believes that without the survey and sale system, good land would have found some true value for farming investment, and poor land in such places as southern Indiana and parts of the Great Plains might not have been settled so soon, if at all. It is unclear, however, how that would have occurred.

Opie sums up his analysis in chapter 11. There have been three phases of federal land policy: first, "the speedy and undiscriminating turnover of public domain into private hands," which ended in 1934; second, "the realization [beginning in the Progressive era] that the public lands were finite," which "centered . . . attention on land classification," epitomized by the Soil Conservation Service in 1935; and third, "aggressive government action to protect prime farmland as a strategic national resource," which has barely begun and is unclear in direction (p. 161).

The last chapter, on "the future of America's farmers and farmland," is a series of statements comparing the periods 1950–70 and 1980–85, during which farm policy was confused by the myths from the past. The United States produced an abundance and still had land to spare, but, despite huge expenditures of public funds, national farm policy was ruining the supposed objects of the program, small-scale family farms, which Opie calls "decentralized cottage industry" (p. 187). Because the massive failure of small independent farmers is predicted by 1990, land will be cheap, and the government and others will have an opportunity "to intervene to create large farmland reserves" before the food crisis of 2000 is upon us (p. 189). Opie concludes that we need to stop erosion of irreplaceable land now before it is too late; that the supposed moral duties to save independent farmers, create the proper land ethic, and produce cheap, plentiful food are on a collision course; that the world is too dependent on the American grassland; that the true cost of food is higher and should be recognized; that the current government policy favors the 575,000 primary farms, not the self-sufficient family farmer that the Ordinance of 1785 claimed to serve; and that we have to rethink the whole relationship of food, farm, and land policy.

JAMES W. WHITAKER
Iowa State University

WARREN MOTLEY. *The American Abraham: James Fenimore Cooper and the Frontier Patriarch*. (Cambridge Studies in

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American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. x, 188. $22.50.

That James Fenimore Cooper's writings reflect the man's ambivalent feelings over the course of his life toward his father and toward patriarchal authorities in general is not really news. Together, Stephen Railton's very fine critical biography, *Fenimore Cooper: A Study of His Life and Imagination* (1979), and Eric Sundquist's equally fine chapter on Cooper in *Home as Found: Authority and Genealogy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (1979) seemed to have clinched that long-standing psychoanalytic argument once and for all. Thus, it comes as a genuine and very pleasant surprise to find that Warren Motley has produced a substantial new reading of Cooper's literary patriarchs, one that establishes a new perspective not only on that author's works but also on that strain of our national literature that has undertaken to define the problematic place of the patriarchal founder in the American imagination.

This study's originality consists, first, of the grounding of Motley's analysis of Cooper's ambivalence toward patriarchal authority in new biographical and literary materials: this book is not another paean to the Leatherstocking. Motley's thoughtful and imaginative readings of the young Cooper's correspondence during the years prior to and following his marriage (readings that are wonderfully free of the dense Freudian jargon that so often clogs such psychological studies) uncover on the personal level a pattern of intertwined skepticism and respect toward patriarchal figures that soon took on professional and nationalistic overtones and informed much of the fiction that was to come. Motley then traces Cooper's evolving, often-vacillating attitudes toward patriarchal authority—his preoccupation with America's paradoxical promise to its New World sons, the right "to be both rebel and founder" (p. 39)—in a group of novels that have seldom been treated together but that Motley persuasively identifies as having the character of a distinct series. His excellent close readings of these "romances of frontier settlement" (p. 1), including *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish* (1829), *Satanstoe* (1845), *The Chainbearer* (1845), *The Redskins* (1846), and *The Crater* (1847), establish with increasing impact how clearly Cooper "understood both the rebel's implicit dread of the discord released by his own break with the father, and his consequent counterassertion of authority in his own right" (p. 26) on behalf of a society in need of sociopolitical and cultural leadership.

The second and potentially more far-reaching original offering here is Motley's identification of the "American Abraham" as a useful complement to R. W. B. Lewis's longstanding critical construct, the "American Adam" (1955). "The literature of frontier settlement," Motley argues, "is dominated not by the solitary woodsman in the [Adamic] tradition of Natty Bumppo but by the pioneer patriarch—the American Abraham—who leaves the society of his forefathers to establish his family in the wilderness" (p. 1), and "the tradition of the frontier patriarch that descends from Cooper through Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mark Twain, Hamlin Garland, Frank Norris, Ole Rölvaag, Willa Cather, and John Steinbeck demonstrate[s] the continuing"—and often troubling—"place of the patriarchal founder in the American imagination" (p. 174). This critical paradigm, like the full-length case study of Cooper that so deftly supports it, is a very good one, but, since it appears at a time when the study of American literature has shifted its focus away from literary and critical texts that highlight dominant male figures, it is difficult to predict whether the "American Abraham" will have anything like the popularity of the old "Adam."

CYNTHIA S. JORDAN
Indiana University, Bloomington

POLLY WYNN ALLEN. *Building Domestic Liberty: Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Architectural Feminism.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1988. Pp. x, 195. Cloth $25.00, paper $11.95.

More than twenty years ago, Carl Degler described Charlotte Perkins Gilman as an example of a "blackout in the history of ideas," a thinker well known in her day but later forgotten "even among historians of American social thought." A prolific writer and popular lecturer, Gilman was a leading feminist and socialist intellectual; her *Women and Economics* (1898) went through seven English editions and was translated into seven other languages. Pointing to Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan, Degler asserted in 1966 that Gilman's time had come again, that her questions about women's roles in industrial society were again live issues.

They were, of course, and Gilman has been restored to her place in the history of feminist thought. Paperback editions of her most important writings have made them available for course adoption. Introductions and afterwords to Gilman's works by Degler, Elaine Hedges, Ann Lane, and William O'Neill, in addition to Mary Hill's intimate biography and Gary Scharnhost's more literary one, provide assessments of her work. Discussions of her ideas figure in scholarly treatments of the issues that concerned her, most notably Dolores Hayden's *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (1981), which places Gilman's attacks on conventional home life and her concept of the kitchenless house within a tradition of innovation in the organization and architecture of domestic life.

Polly Wynn Allen's book develops some of Hayden's architectural themes by interweaving them with a discussion of the social ethics that Gilman considered her more important intellectual enterprise. Despite its subtitle, much of the book concerns not "architectural feminism" but Gilman's theories of social evolution and world improvement, her religious beliefs, and the

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concurrent development of those ideas and her architectural ones. Allen's assessment of that development is explicit: Gilman may have preferred her attempts at creating an abstract, universalistic, timeless social ethic, but she succeeded best when she discussed the concrete conditions of middle-class homes. "Standing in the real world of hungry people and dirty laundry," Allen writes, Gilman's "compassion for her own and other women's very palpable domestic suffering infused her voice with an authority that her more pretentious efforts at philosophy never attained" (p. 171).

This book provides a clear and structured exposition of Gilman's ideas, which those who have read some of the less lucid prose in her philosophical works will appreciate. It is written with considerable irony and from a stance that is at the same time admiring and critical. Allen bluntly exposes Gilman's racism and class bias, her denial of essential human differences, and the overstatement and pretension that characterize her attempts at writing social ethics. At the same time, Allen contributes an analysis of Gilman's approach to architecture, landscape, and neighborhood design that adds to the case for her importance.

SUSAN STRASSER
George Washington University

LAWRENCE H. SCHWARTZ. *Creating Faulkner's Reputation: The Politics of Modern Literary Criticism.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1988. Pp. 286. $24.95.

Faulkner criticism is a bog into which most scholars disappear without trace, only the odd bubble of air surfacing to denote significant struggle. William Faulkner himself is lost in the bog, a figure splattered and indistinct, inhuman in scale. It is a relief, then, to read the work of a scholar who helps to explain why so many have flung themselves into the morass, chanting praises as they go, talking mystically about the afternoon of Gettysburg.

Lawrence H. Schwartz believes that canons are not made by greatness alone, for many are great but few are chosen: canons are made by shifts in historical conditions. During the 1930s and early 1940s, Faulkner was an object of charity to his publishers, and critics deemed him a writer of secondary, macabre, and overintricate talents. Then factors external to his gifts turned to his advantage. World events made it imperative to nominate a great American writer. Southern and New York critics such as Allen Tate and Malcolm Cowley, who had come to cooperate in associated academic logrollings and were anxious to repudiate the sociological tradition of literary criticism in the 1930s, nominated Faulkner. He was recast as "an emblem of the freedom of the individual under capitalism, as a chronicler of the plight of man in the modern world" (p. 4). Collaterally, the market for paperback books expanded, to the material benefit of Faulkner the salacious connoisseur of the corn cob: profits kept his books in print and enabled him to write fiction instead of film scripts. Finally, the Nobel Prize sanctified the new verdict of American criticism.

Schwartz tells his story with clarity. Sometimes explication of the context overwhelms Faulkner himself, as with a slightly irrelevant but interesting account of the controversy over Ezra Pound and the Bollingen Prize. Too often Faulkner is diminished and passive, too little the author of his own myth. The book's most serious omission is an adequate explanation for the awarding of the Nobel Prize, which Schwartz calls the "keystone" (p. 210) of the process of canonization. That neglect is understandable in a book on American, not Swedish, literary politics, but it is an oversight that leaves the pattern of explanation incomplete. Schwartz's greatest error, I suspect, is to overstress the rapprochement between the South and New York and to overstate the boundaries of the new literary consensus: mutual hostilities were not so lightly held that the mere matter of American world power could mollify them. There is in this study the occasional splutter against modernism as the aesthetic of "the cultural revolution that followed from the revised political position of the United States and the new hegemony of its corporate interests" (p. 28) and the odd nostalgia for the supplanted order of the 1930s, but those do not much interfere with an absorbing narrative.

This is, then, a refreshing book, free of mysticism. It may have influence if others follow Schwartz's lead in skepticism. But the bog is great and dismal: more than a single hair dryer will be needed to shrink it.

MICHAEL O'BRIEN
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

DAVID R. CONTOSTA. *A Philadelphia Family: The Houstons and Woodwards of Chestnut Hill.* Foreword by E. DIGBY BALTZELL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 207. $19.95.

This book traces the history of the wealthy and politically well connected Houston-Woodward family from the extended family's founder, Henry Howard Houston. In contrast to E. Digby Baltzell's portrait of reserved and private Philadelphia elite families preoccupied with a desire for material comfort and security, David R. Contosta emphasizes this family's unusual civic-mindedness, which he attributes to their relatively late arrival in the city and to their Calvinist religious background. The life histories, philanthropic activities, and political ideas of family members are exhaustively researched and vividly detailed. Contosta is less successful at suggesting how this family's history might illuminate broader sociological issues raised by the study of elite families.

Henry Howard Houston (1820–95) rose from a position as clerk in a general store to freight agent for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Participation in the founding of the Union Freight Line during the Civil War increased his income fivefold. After the war his specu-

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lation in oil, mining, and other railroad lines generated a fortune worth more than $14 million.

Houston's other consuming interest was suburban development. Investing heavily in land in Chestnut Hill, he profited greatly when the Pennsylvania Railroad built a line connecting Chestnut Hill and Philadelphia. He also constructed houses, both his own mansion and many homes that he rented to "families whom he knew would appreciate and maintain them" (p. 30). Houston paid for the building of two churches and an arboretum and donated money to a variety of institutions.

Houston placed his second-eldest son, Sam, in charge of the family trust and bequeathed him the family residence. But Houston's true successor was his son-in-law George Woodward, who married Henry's daughter Gertrude. A nonpracticing physician engaged in real estate development and public health reform, Woodward was elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate in 1918 and served until 1946, a champion of nonpartisan municipal government.

In perhaps the book's most compelling chapters, Contosta examines the family's reactions to the deaths of Sam Houston's only son, Henry, and Woodward's eldest son, Houston, both killed during World War I, and the lengths to which the family went to perpetuate their memories. In later chapters he concentrates on the careers of third-generation family members, especially Stanley Woodward, President Harry S. Truman's chief of protocol. Contosta briefly covers the increasing problems involved in managing the growing family's real estate holdings and the legal issues entailed in the division of the principal of the estate, which was worth $145 million in 1961. By describing the continued commitment of fourth-generation family members to the good works of the family founders, including historic preservation (especially the preservation of buildings and neighborhoods built or developed by Henry Howard Houston and George Woodward), land conservation, and environmentalism, Contosta suggests that Henry Howard Houston and George Woodward left spiritual as well as material legacies.

Contosta's sympathetic stance toward all family members deserves comment. His evident affection for them allows him to create vivid and compelling portraits. At the same time, he attributes only the best, most upright motives to all their actions and utterances. The boundary between this family's history and its mythology about itself is not made clear. Contosta so emphasizes the family's own story of civic-mindedness and philanthropic generosity that he ignores the ways in which this family also functioned as an interest group in protecting its financial base.

American dynastic families may not function as a group in the closely integrated and controlling fashion envisioned by elite researchers such as C. Wright Mills and G. William Domhoff, but those families do use (or employ others to use) techniques to conserve and increase their fortunes, as George Marcus has described ("The Fiduciary Role in American Family Dynasties and Their Traditional Legacy," in Marcus, ed., *Elites: Ethnographic Issues* [1983]). Their holdings provide a means through which they participate in and influence the social and political affairs of the communities in which they live. In this book Contosta suggests the ways in which key events in American history helped to shape the Houston-Woodward family's history, but he poses only in the most schematic fashion the opposite question, that is, the ways in which this family (no doubt in conjunction with other elite Philadelphia families) helped shape Philadelphia's history and development and in what ways by so doing they themselves profited.

SUSAN KELLOGG
Bunting Institute

JACK P. GREENE. *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 284. Cloth $32.50, paper $12.95.

"All the world was not New England." This is one of the major themes of Jack P. Greene's provocative and wide-ranging reassessment of the social and cultural development of England and its colonial dependencies in the early modern era. In his view, historians have distorted the significance and centrality of New England's role in shaping American culture by assuming that the paradigm of development represented by the Puritan societies of New England was "normative" for other English colonies. Greene forcefully contends that this was not the case. Indeed, he argues that the "declension model"—originating in the doleful jeremiads of seventeenth-century Puritan divines and translated into a more modern idiom by a cluster of New England community studies that stress the breakdown of harmonious, organic, cohesive societies under the pressures of growing materialism, secularism, and individualism—constitutes the exceptional, deviant case. In its place he proposes a "developmental model," based on patterns of change in the Chesapeake, which he sees as much more representative of the nature and direction of social developments not only in the other distinct regions of Anglo-America but in England and Ireland as well.

Greene presses his argument relentlessly while presenting a richly detailed synthesis of an impressive amount of the historical scholarship of the last several decades. One of the major strengths of the study is its comprehensiveness, for in addition to comparing New England and the Chesapeake—which Greene locates at opposite ends of a spectrum running from "centripetal," cohesive societies to those exhibiting "centrifugal" tendencies—he also surveys the process of change in the Middle Colonies, the Lower South, the West Indies, the Atlantic Islands (Bermuda and the Bahamas), Ireland, and England itself. Despite important variations both within and between these societies, Greene con-

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tends that most of them were individualistic, fragmented, permissive, exploitative, and conflict-ridden at the outset and that the imprint of these characteristics remained despite the gradual movement toward greater complexity, cohesiveness, and structural differentiation. In contrast, the orthodox Puritan colonies, with their more traditional age structure and sex ratio, deep religious orientation, and unusual degree of cohesiveness, represented a highly selective transplantation of social and cultural characteristics already obsolescent in England and not to be replicated in any of the other colonies.

Greene contends that over time the Anglo-American colonies underwent a process of "convergence," moving through a three-stage sequential development marked by the interplay of "inheritance" and "experience." The first stage involved the "social simplification" of inherited forms, usually accompanied by considerable unsettledness and disorientation, but in New England produced a strengthening of traditional values and institutions already deeply eroded in England. With rapid demographic growth, the creolization of the population, and continued economic development, these societies experienced "social elaboration," the articulation of more complex and differentiated socioeconomic, political, and cultural institutions, structures, and values. Eventually they moved toward "social replication" in which members of increasingly well-defined elite groups in particular sought to replicate English social patterns and celebrated the extent to which their region resembled the metropolitan center. This slow but powerful process of convergence set the stage for the emergence of a distinctive American cultural order, largely commercial and secular in its orientation, with an emphasis on the individual's pursuit of happiness within a society structured to maximize political freedom and the opportunity for economic advancement.

I find the broad interpretation presented here considerably more compelling than the historiographical analysis Greene has used to frame the issues. As his own exhaustive and voluminous bibliography attests, the past several decades have witnessed a massive outpouring of scholarship on Anglo-American social developments, and much of it simply does not fit the New England–oriented model that Greene alleges to be dominant and that he sets out to demolish. The most significant contribution of his study, in my view, lies in its scope and inclusiveness, in its comparison, side by side, of the various distinctive cultural regions of the Anglo-American world. His bringing together of hitherto fragmented stories into a single, insightful, and penetrating analysis suffices to make this an important and enormously useful work.

JAMES H. KETTNER
University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD I. MELVOIN. *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Deerfield.* New York: W. W. Norton. 1989. Pp. 368. $25.00.

The story of colonial Deerfield, as Richard I. Melvoin puts it, is "the dramatic tale of a town's enduring struggle to survive" (p. 280). Deerfield was founded as Pocumtuck in 1665, destroyed in 1676 during King Philip's War and again in 1677, and rebuilt in 1680 only to suffer the loss of two-thirds of its population during Queen Anne's War (1701–13), mostly during the famous massacre of 1704. It is remarkable that New England's heroic frontier outpost had to wait until 1989 for its town study.

But Melvoin's book was worth waiting for. He writes with both grace and precision—the chapters on King Philip's War and the massacre are riveting—dividing his material into short, titled subchapters. He carefully frames and answers questions of historiographical importance on Indian-white relations, the nature of New England communities, colonial wars, and the frontier, yet he intersperses them in a narrative that brings to life the interacting Indian and white societies. Written with the aid of research undertaken by the wonderful staff of Historic Deerfield, Melvoin's scholarship is as thorough as one could wish in both local records (he even uses Canadian archives in French) and secondary works. Not many books cite some twenty-eight unpublished papers and dissertations, one of which dates from 1913.

I can mention only some of the work's interesting conclusions here. Melvoin stresses the role of the Mohawks in the early history of western Massachusetts, convincingly arguing that they, not the English, were responsible for King Philip's defeat. He shows that Deerfield was an unusual New England town (after a quarter-century of studies, are there any usual ones?), a poor community composed largely of young people—here the women did marry at an average age of nineteen—and a refuge for outcasts chafing under the restraints of Puritan communities to the south and east. Yet the pressure of the Indian threat compelled the motley settlers to forge a stable community that remained remarkably egalitarian in land distribution and participatory in politics into the eighteenth century. Only after peace and prosperity came to Deerfield did the contention and individualism that Frederick Jackson Turner associated with the frontier set in. The townspeople, however, were rewarded for their tribulations as Deerfield became one of New England's most prosperous communities by the mid-eighteenth century.

In short, Melvoin's book is a worthy testament both to the New Englanders who struggled the hardest to survive and to the American Indians who fought equally well to preserve their way of life. It should be issued in paperback so that undergraduates can learn

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their social history while enjoying a terrific tale of frontier adventure.

WILLIAM PENCAK
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ELAINE G. BRESLAW, editor. *Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1745–56.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xxxvii, 599. $39.95.

JOHN BARRY TALLEY. *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club, 1745–56.* (Music in American Life.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 312. $29.95.

The history of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis is a chronicle of the efforts of a Scottish immigrant doctor, Alexander Hamilton, to bring the cultured atmosphere of Edinburgh to the "barbarous and desolate corner of the world" (*Records of the Tuesday Club*, p. xv) that became his new home on the Chesapeake Bay. Between 1745 and 1756, the year of Hamilton's death as well as of the demise of the club, cultivated Annapolitan men and their counterparts from other communities held biweekly meetings known as *sederunts* that featured serious discussion of topics ranging from colonial government to the best method of growing buckwheat, informal interaction among potential business partners, and entertainments of a frivolous, even bawdy, nature.

Elaine G. Breslaw argues in her edition of the club's complete surviving records that the satirical poetry, elaborate rituals, and mock trials in which a convicted offender was condemned to sing and fines were deposited with apparent solemnity into a special box reserved for the purpose were all "contrived to satisfy the special needs of a fluid, new, and still crude wilderness society" (p. ix). If this overstates the case a bit, the editor takes her cues from Hamilton's assessment of his adopted home and its lack of enlightened culture relative to European or other eastern seaboard colonial cities. She later points to the growth of Annapolis as a locus of mercantile and British colonial power in the 1750s. As the city grew in sophistication, she argues, the Tuesday Club, "because it emulated the more sophisticated Old World organizations, was an important hallmark of civilized society and personal status" (p. xx).

Unlike Hamilton's fanciful narrative "History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club," this volume of club minutes, laws, and correspondence offers valuable source material from which to generalize about the quality of intellectual life for men of means in a growing colonial city. Breslaw asserts that the Tuesday Club was far from elitist because its membership included representatives of a wide range of occupations, from doctors and ministers to tradesmen and mariners, a phenomenon that represented the blurring of class distinctions in eighteenth-century America. Nevertheless, she also notes that the regular, or longstanding, members retained a remarkably similar cultural and economic profile and that the eloquent sea captain or artisan who may appear in the minutes was likely an occasional visitor to the colony's seaport capital rather than a regular contributor to the intellectual life of the Tuesday Club.

John Barry Talley's volume falls short of his goal of using musical sources to generalize about broader cultural patterns in colonial Annapolis, although he does provide an informative narrative of the musical interests of a small but influential group of Tuesday Club members. Talley argues correctly that cultivated music in Annapolis replicated British models, but he is on weaker ground when he tries to show that British high culture was accepted throughout Annapolis society. He tends to work from inference more than from evidence, for example, with the assertion that the presence of a particular song or catch in a collection owned by one club member indicates that the piece was "possibly known to his Maryland friends as well" (p. 32). That this volume contains many such claims emphasizes the difficulty in documenting the popularity of any musical specimen in this period.

Talley argues that the cultivated men of the Tuesday Club were "dilettantes not artists" (p. 66) and that, as performers, they could be guilty of crimes perpetrated against English melodies that were described as "tantamount to murder" by one contemporary observer (p. 38). To emphasize that club members likely did not take themselves too seriously all of the time, Talley retells the story of the member who was required to sing his votes at meetings, and he describes the surge of Annapolitan pride engendered by a poetry contest with a group of Baltimore bards. Talley's volume includes numerous examples of music used for various Tuesday Club occasions.

The research presented here on a group of cultivated colonials reveals that the musical interests and tastes of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Francis Hopkinson may have been more widely shared among the well-to-do than earlier portraits of colonial culture have indicated. Whether such interest was, as Talley argues, "typical rather than extraordinary" (p. 121) can only be demonstrated by further studies of colonial high culture at the local level.

BARBARA L. TISCHLER
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DONALD S. LUTZ. *The Origins of American Constitutionalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. 178. $25.00.

This book begins as political theory, with the impulse to make abstract distinctions among constitutions, covenants, compacts, and charters. It ends, however, as intellectual history, with incisive and often original commentary on the major political texts of the revolutionary era. For most historians, the early chapters will confirm Donald S. Lutz's assertion that his muse "is not

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Clio but Aristotle" (p. 1). But, for those who persevere, the book eventually moves past ahistorical categories to make an inherently historical argument.

Lutz contends that the political theory underlying the U.S. Constitution, although indebted to European thinkers such as John Locke, Charles Montesquieu, and David Hume, was chiefly a product of the colonial experience at making communal compacts. For example, in 1641, when Locke was only nine years old and Montesquieu and Hume were not yet born, a group of settlers on the Piscataqua River in present-day Maine drafted a written constitution creating a government based on the principle of popular sovereignty and majority rule. And in 1643, before any English or European authorities had set down the philosophical principles defining federalism, the New England Confederation had established a federal republic with the implicit commitment to dual sources of sovereignty and citizenship. Although Lutz acknowledges the creative contribution of the revolutionary generation, his main point is that the early state constitutions drafted during the American revolution, and then the U.S. Constitution itself, were heavily indebted to colonial precedents and long-established political perspectives and practices.

John Adams said much the same thing nearly two hundred years ago. Moreover, Lutz's argument that the seminal ideas underlying American constitutionalism were first institutionalized in religious covenants by New England Puritans is an insight that Charles McLean Andrews and Perry Miller championed more than fifty years ago. Still, Lutz's treatment of the core ideas that were eventually enshrined as constitutional gospel in 1789 has a fresh and focused quality. Precisely because he is a political philosopher more comfortable with abstract categories and concepts than most historians, his commentary on the emergence of "the federal principle," the elusive meanings of "checks and balances," the different notions of "virtue" circulating in the 1770s, the appeal of "bicameralism," and the doctrine of "separation of powers" as it emerged in the 1780s is pointed and refreshingly incisive.

The latter chapters offer thoughtful commentaries on several major historical questions not yet answered, despite the avalanche of scholarly books published in conjunction with the bicentennial of the Constitution. How much, Lutz asks, were the framers in Philadephia indebted to the earlier state constitutions? How was James Madison's pluralistic vision of "an extended republic" foreshadowed by the government under the Articles of Confederation? Why was Locke cited more frequently in the 1770s and Montesquieu in the 1780s? Which was the greater political fiction, the principle of popular sovereignty or the principle of dual citizenship in a nation and state? Are the most meaningful checks and balances to be found in the relationships among the three branches of government or in the staggered timing of elections? Given the overheated and somewhat bizarre character of the current debate over the meaning of "republicanism," it is nice to be called back to these elemental issues.

Critics anxious to defend Clio from a disciple of Aristotle will be able to score some points. Specialists in the early national period will find Lutz's use of the term "Whig" to mean "Antifederalist" confusing. Social historians will be able to criticize both the absence of any systematic discussion of class, gender, and race and the presence of a homogenized definition of "the American people." Colonial historians of the Chesapeake will wonder why the charters of the joint-stock companies, with their inherently capitalistic value systems, receive no attention. Despite all such justifiable caveats, this is a wise little book by a thoughtful political scientist who has steeped himself in the historial sources.

JOSEPH J. ELLIS
Mount Holyoke College

THOMAS L. PANGLE. *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of Locke*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988. Pp. x, 334. $22.50.

This is a profound, worthwhile, but curiously unsatisfactory book. Based on a learned understanding of the great political philosophers from Plato to Hume, it is repeatedly not insightful in placing the thought of the American founders in that rich context. Thomas L. Pangle is thus a far better guide to the world of political ideas within which Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and others lived than are historians or political scientists acquainted merely with the writings of the founders themselves, with the events of 1750–1820, or with modern political typologies. The author understands how the founders were partly classical (or "ancient") in their outlook but also strongly "modern" in their excitement over the thought of Locke, Montesquieu, and Hume. His analysis of the debate over the "philosophy of the founders," and consequently of the American political tradition, among Louis Hartz, Bernard Bailyn, J. G. A. Pocock and others, is searching and subtle. Scholars and students have much to ponder in it. Pangle sees that the founders had "a sense of kinship with the heroic ideals portrayed by Plutarch, . . . [yet] remained under the tutelage of modern political philosophy" (p. 124). "Intelligent Americans," then, Pangle continues, "reached out for harmonizing, compromising formulations that would enable them to incorporate or exploit the classical and biblical heritages as apparent precursors, or comfortable allies, of modern natural-rights theory" (p. 126). Exactly.

Pangle's survey, however, misses something in its analysis of the revolutionary era. To conclude that, "even among the New England clergy, the eighteenth century was in America the century of reason and rationalism" (p. 24) overlooks entirely what Alan Heimert and others have shown is the pervasive impact of those foes of the rationalists (Arminians), the evangel-

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ical heirs of Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening. Pangle also emphasizes too much the individual rights orientation of the Antifederalists and fails to see that, like the Federalists, they blended, perhaps inconsistently, classical ideas of civic virtue with modern ideas of commercial growth. The national university proposed by every American president through John Quincy Adams, for example, was not, as Pangle asserts, commercially and agriculturally oriented, "for the sake of the largely sub-political life of the nation at large" (p. 77), but explicitly tied to the education of leaders and citizens for the great public purposes envisioned by the classical philosophers.

In order to establish his argument that the founders were primarily Lockean in orientation (quite right in a way), Pangle devotes most of his book to an analysis of Locke's philosophy. This is a searching and learned effort, offering as insightful an interpretation of Locke's thought as I know, but it is almost entirely unconnected to the American founders, except perhaps to ask that one accept that they read and were impressed with Locke as Pangle propounds him. That may be so, but one suspects that the founders were less analytically rigorous and less deeply versed in Locke than Pangle is and were more comfortable with an easy blending of the classical and the modern than is possible when one insists on precise logical consistency. Thus, although Jefferson and Madison would doubtless recognize Pangle's Locke, their use of him would have been more casual and eclectic and more easily assimilated to other traditions of thought. Provoking such reflections, however, reveals how valuable a contribution this book is to our understanding of the thought of the founders.

RALPH KETCHAM
Syracuse University

PAUL K. LONGMORE. *The Invention of George Washington.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. x, 337. $25.00.

George Washington is the most written about and least understood of America's eighteenth-century mythic heroes. The two phenomena are not unrelated; it often seems that each new biography of the great man buries him deeper under the avalanche of eulogies that began long before his death, thus leaving Washington ever less accessible. In light of such barriers, it is one measure of Paul K. Longmore's accomplishment that he has cut through the myths, discovered the man, and told us some things that we did not already know about George Washington. What is more, Longmore achieves this heroic feat without the debunking style that limits the appeal of other books that share this achievement. Longmore has written an appreciative biography of Washington, which recognizes his essential contributions to the revolutionary movement, his limitations as a general, his brilliance as a politician, his humanity, and his self-conscious role in creating the Washington myth.

The book focuses on three aspects of Washington's "invention." Longmore discusses the process by which Americans created the Washington myth and engages Washington's role in the creation of his image. He also considers Washington's talent as a "political actor" (p. ix). Not surprisingly, given the creative brilliance of Gary Wills's accomplishment in *Cincinnatus* (1984), Longmore's treatment of the mythical Washington breaks little, if any, new ground. Yet, by separating out Washington's role in that process, Longmore clarifies distinctions among who Washington really was, who he thought he was, who he wanted other people to think he was, and what others really thought about him.

Longmore argues that Washington attempted to manipulate his public persona. That should not surprise any reader who has an acquaintance with politicians, especially those of us who were conscious during the past decade. But Washington's image, in his own hands and in most of what has been written about him since his day, is that he somehow transcended politics, that he was a reluctant politician, who did not aspire to public office. Longmore sets us straight on Washington the politician in a thoroughly effective treatment that covers the years of his adulthood through the revolution. His vision of Washington's "genius" as a politician (p. ix) revises the interpretations of the hagiographers and adds significantly to our understanding of Washington the man.

In both his public and private dealings, Washington broke the law, manipulated the system, and sometimes did so in ways designed to avoid damage to his public image. He postured, acted, and self-consciously dressed for the role that he and his culture scripted for men of honor who sought to distinguish themselves in public affairs. Now much of this will not be new to those who have read Bernard Knollenberg's two volumes on Washington. Nonetheless, there is some new information here, some subtlety added to the interpretation, and it is all presented within a context of appreciative understanding rather than as a debunking of the great man, which should make Longmore's analysis more palatable and perhaps more convincing to those who are open to receiving the evidence.

An essential part of the author's depiction of the political Washington addresses the general's mind, his reading, and his shrewdness in evaluating public affairs. Longmore takes Washington more seriously in those regards, finds more significance in the Mount Vernon library, and discusses Washington's political thought to better effect than any biographer to date. Indeed, the appendix on Washington's reading is in some ways the most interesting chapter of the book.

This book would have been even better had the author jettisoned much of the well-known narrative detail and carried the story forward through Washington's presidency. There is no obvious intellectual reason for ending the story early, and clearly a discussion of Washington the politician during the decades of his

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national prominence after the war would have broadened the interpretive focus. But to ask for a longer book is to ask for a different one, and it no doubt reveals something about how enjoyable this work is to read. As a writer, and as a writer of history, Longmore has accomplished a great deal in his first book. He makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Washington and his times and in the process teaches us a bit about ourselves and our national myths.

THOMAS P. SLAUGHTER
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

RONALD HOFFMAN *et al.*, editors. *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790.* (Perspectives on the American Revolution.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the United States Capitol Historical Society. 1988. Pp. xvi, 334. $30.00.

This collection of essays makes an important contribution to American economic history by examining the period from 1763 to 1790 in its own right. The conventional divisions of American history that separate the colonial and revolutionary eras from the era of the early republic encourage interpretation of the revolution as a political and military event with unexamined economic consequences and discussion of economic developments in the early national period in a contextual vacuum. Breaks in evidential series at both local and national levels also encourage neglect of this critical period.

The central theme of the volume is that on the eve of the revolution, Britain's North American colonies had achieved a high level of prosperity from production of goods for overseas markets. Hostilities disrupted trade, and, after the war, in the former colonies that revolted, internal markets assumed a new importance. The role of overseas trade declined, while the internal economy became increasingly integrated. A second theme is that of political economy—how economic and interconnected political conditions affected the outlook of colonial elites, encouraging some to choose and some to reject a bid for independence from the British empire.

James Shepherd's opening essay discusses the centrality of trade and production for overseas markets to the prosperity of the British American colonial economy. Wartime trade disruptions necessitated a greater degree of self-sufficiency and entailed a lower standard of living. By the 1790s, trade conditions improved, but the rise of exports did not keep pace with population growth. Although New England and the mid-Atlantic states increased exports, trade in traditional southern staples stagnated. In the next essay, James Henretta asks whether the war accelerated the process of internal American economic growth and encouraged a transition to a more capitalistic society. He concludes that the economy became more interdependent, and the domestic industrial base expanded. Nonetheless, British competititon, the absence of concentrated markets, the diversion of capital into mercantile enterprises rather than manufacturing, and the opening of western lands to settlement delayed the process of proto-industrialization.

Six essays follow that trace regional developments in Canada, New England, the mid-Atlantic region, the Chesapeake, the Carolina low country, and the British West Indies. The revolution allowed Nova Scotia merchants to escape the domination of New Englanders, Lewis Fischer argues, and convinced them to act independently of other mainland colonies and remain in the empire. The British West Indies suffered less from the war than did the mainland, according to John McCusker. Population continued to grow, and planters were successful in shifting resources from older to newer islands and in diversifying crops and product mixes. In 1790 the island economies were in better shape than they had been in 1770.

As Jacob Price's concluding reflective essay notes, one of the central questions for historians of the United States is whether the revolution resulted in a decline in per capita income. The regional surveys suggest varying outcomes. Winifred Rothenberg argues that, after 1781, Massachusetts experienced rapid growth and higher per capita income as local markets proliferated and became better articulated. Choice of investment opportunities widened, creditors more commonly charged interest, and credit networks thickened and deepened. Capital was accumulated and shifted out of the agricultural sector into areas producing higher returns. Thomas Doerflinger finds that a well-integrated trade in imported dry goods in the Philadelphia market area contributed to economic diversification among the region's farmers and a growing trade in agricultural commodities. Both developments encouraged greater commercialization in the countryside.

Joseph Ernst and Russell Menard deal mainly with the prewar economies of the southern colonies, both asking how peculiar regional economic developments affected the level of revolutionary zeal among elites in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Ernst finds that British policies, problems in the tobacco trade, and political factionalism contributed to greater radicalization among elites in Virginia than among those in Maryland, while Menard argues that rapid growth coupled with planter success in overcoming economic difficulties and in managing a large slave labor force produced resentment of British interference among the low country elite as well as an aggressive self-confidence in their ability to manage their own affairs.

Price characterizes the main features of the British colonial economy up to 1775 as aggregate growth of population, output, and foreign trade and a growing complexity of economic institutions. Increasing credit was a likely sign of increasing wealth per capita and of confidence in trading relationships. The revolution disrupted old trading patterns. Changes in prices and debt levels had socially destabilizing results. After the war the rise in exports did not keep pace with population growth. If increased production for the internal

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market was insufficient to compensate for declining per capita exports (and this is very much an open question), in the short run independence probably meant declining per capita incomes for many citizens of the new republic, especially those in the South.

LORENA S. WALSH
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

LAMONT D. THOMAS. *Rise to Be a People: A Biography of Paul Cuffe.* (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 187. $21.95.

Free black Quaker Paul Cuffe (1759–1817), descended from an Ashanti slave father and a Wampanoag Indian mother, became one of the wealthiest and most celebrated blacks in early nineteenth-century America. A daring capitalist, Cuffe profited from Federalist maritime policies and contacts with prominent white Quakers to amass a modest financial empire in whaling, shipbuilding, international trading, and farming. Committed to uplifting his race, Cuffe established an integrated school in Westport, Massachusetts, and led the first free black emigration movement back to Africa. He developed a triangular pan-African trading scheme, linking England, the United States, and Sierra Leone, believing that commerce would provide the best vehicle for bringing "civilization" and philanthropy to Africa. Pragmatic, conciliatory, and humble, Cuffe appealed to organizers of the American Colonization Society (ACS) who sought his endorsement for the deportation of blacks to Africa.

Lamont D. Thomas's painstakingly researched biography draws on a broad range of hitherto unexamined sources, including William Allen's letter-copy book, deeds, petitions, marriage records, newspapers, and ship registry, enrollment, and manifest lists. Thomas reinforces George Salvador's view of Cuffe as a frugal black Yankee Anglophile but revises and adds substantially to Sheldon Harris's interpretation of Cuffe as a Christian missionary to Africa. Aside from unearthing such rich documentation, Thomas breaks fresh ground by delineating Cuffe's diversified business interests and by linking them to the black capitalist's dedication to racial unity and pan-African values.

Thomas's book succeeds best in portraying Cuffe as a pragmatic black entrepreneur, one whose prosperity resulted from relentless, single-minded determination, family cohesiveness, and black solidarity. Thomas establishes Cuffe's "religious practicality" (p. 68) and suggests that his "Quaker-influenced civilizing mission" for Sierra Leone became "one of promoting a way of life, not a religion" (p. 109). Toward whites Cuffe exhibited what Thomas describes as "conciliating propriety" (pp. 29, 45). "The closer" Cuffe "came to the pinnacle of respectability, the more his own aspirations pressured him to conform" (p. 27).

For all of Thomas's careful research, his treatment of Cuffe remains too uncritical and superficial. He underestimates Cuffe's economic motivation for "civilizing" Sierra Leone and fails to assess contemporary meanings of such phrases as "civilized way of life" (p. 52). Thomas devotes too little attention to the problems of Cuffe and other black seamen who sailed in slave-trading waters. He undervalues the contradiction of Cuffe carrying slave-produced cotton aboard his ships (pp. 29, 57) and never develops his argument that Cuffe "found personal gratification in Africa" (p. 108). More detail, too, might have illumined Cuffe's clashes with Sierra Leone's white commercial establishment and his struggles to obtain English trading licenses. And, finally, Thomas glosses over the point that Cuffe proved more conservative than other blacks who, in 1817, forcefully condemned the ACS.

In this book, then, we learn too little of Cuffe's racial frustrations, his ambivalent, selective responses toward proscription, and his assimilation into the whites' bourgeois world. In the end, Cuffe stands as a tragic figure, one out of step with his black brothers and sisters who refused to accept repatriation and chose instead to fight slavery and racism in their adopted land.

JOHN DAVID SMITH
North Carolina State University

ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE. *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South.* (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 544. Cloth $34.95, paper $12.95.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese has written a powerful book that will shape historical discussion of women and slavery in the American South for a long time to come. Her book is a searching study of racial and class divisions among southern women before the Civil War and, in particular, of the work that both drew them together and pushed them apart. Fox-Genovese shows that the world of women in the slave South revolved around a system of household labor ranging from routine chores of housework to the production of King Cotton.

In its interpretation of women's work, this deeply researched study is a major contribution to our understanding of the social relations of southern slavery as constituting a distinctive society. Although clearly a part of the developing world market system of capitalism, Fox-Genovese argues, the Old South's peculiar institution fostered social relations that not only did not mirror market forces but in fact retarded the acquisitive, individualistic society in which capitalism flourished. Following a brilliantly written prologue in which many of the book's themes are seen through the life of one slaveholding woman, Fox-Genovese establishes her argument for southern distinctiveness in a long first chapter that makes manifest a further contribution of her study: the thorough integration of women's history with a wider social history. In tying women's experience to the development of southern cities, commerce, law, and race relations, Fox-Genovese suggests how

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important it is for scholars of women of other regions to make similar efforts.

In the chapters that follow, Fox-Genovese rests her analysis of southern distinctiveness and the social significance of women's work on two major points of focus. The first is the slaveowning household, at once the chief productive unit of the region's economy and the locus of women's personal lives. Like the homes of propertied northern women in the antebellum years, white southern homes increasingly came into the sentimental orbit of "woman's sphere." But in striking contrast to the North, the slaveowning household was the engine of economic prosperity as well. The mistress was not only valued as feminine "ornament" and mother but also as a shrewd manager of labor in the production of food, clothing, and, of course, cotton. Throughout her book, Fox-Genovese meticulously and tellingly reconstructs the tasks and habits of women's work around that dual notion of the household.

There is no question of the dominance of the slaveowning male in that system, particularly on the larger plantations where most slaves worked and lived. But, in Fox-Genovese's view, neither can there be much question that planter-class women's work and intellect provided crucial support of the system at its fundamental level. Women of the slaveowning class benefited from slavery and, far from being its victims as some historians have argued, devised the daily routines that made it work better. Many black women under slavery, especially those whose work drew them into close contact with their owners, also found themselves caught in the many-leveled complexity of the slave system. Their work was in the household, too, yet in tension with their work under the mistress's eye was their life in the quarters among family and friends. Everything slaves did—or refused to do—not only reflected on their personal relationships with owners and fellow slaves but also directly affected the plantation system as a whole. Person and system thus were tightly joined in a household in which women of both races found a common ground and a battleground.

The central place of the household leads Fox-Genovese to her second major focus, the conditions and opportunities for women's opposition to slavery. Black women had much to gain by resisting. Yet, in contrast to the dominant theme of recent scholarship, Fox-Genovese stresses the difficulties and costs of resistance rather than the strengths of the resisters. While taking note of the slave community as grounded in its own African-American culture, Fox-Genovese gives greater emphasis to the ability of the owners to contain and direct the influence of that community. Black women, uniquely exposed to sexual as well as other forms of exploitation, emerge in this analysis as uniquely caught between their proximity to the privileges of white power in the household and their status as slaves, which deprived them of most of the qualitites whites regarded as feminine. Even so, black women emerge as the only genuine opponents of slavery. Fox-Genovese sees slaveowning women as too implicated in slave society to develop a systematic, political criticism of it. At most, those women complained about the vexations and drudgery of mastery; they were not prepared to give up its gratifications.

Fox-Genovese's study has its shortcomings, as any ambitious study must. Her depiction of southern households at times blurs distinctions among elite planters, those she calls "yeoman slaveholders" (p. 86), and those who owned no slaves at all—distinctions that shaped power and personal relations and that demand more attention than they receive here. Moreover, Fox-Genovese's view of women's social relations as rooted fundamentally in work, however persuasive, leads her to give relatively brief attention to other crucial aspects of women's experience, such as religious devotion, sexuality, and the conviction that gender differences framed the most important matters of worldly life. Those aspects of women's lives were precisely the ones that served to stave off much of slavery's crushing weight. If the women of the Old South, black and white, did not achieve the political consciousness Fox-Genovese finds lacking, they were able to fashion the self-respect, humor, and aspiration they needed in order to embrace the choices they made.

STEVEN M. STOWE
Indiana University, Bloomington

JOSEPH B. HERRING. *Kenekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1988. Pp. xii, 176. $19.95.

Joseph B. Herring has written a perceptive study of Kenekuk, the Kickapoo prophet. Kenekuk was a "unique" Indian "patriot" (pp. 2, 131) whose revitalization movement and strategies for the cultural survival of his people have been obscured in history because he led only a small band of peaceful Indians. This short book focuses attention on Kenekuk's efforts to help the members of his band adjust to white society and retain their lands without resorting to warfare or losing their identity as Kickapoos.

Many Kickapoos supported Tecumseh and the Shawnee prophet in the War of 1812, but Vermillion Band leaders in the Wabash country along both sides of the Indiana-Illinois border urged neutrality, hoping to avoid a forced land cession should the Americans win. Although the United States finally exacted a Kickapoo land cession in 1819, Kenekuk, a master of delay, gave charismatic direction to a revitalization movement and resisted removal until 1832.

Kenekuk's new religion adopted aspects of Christianity while retaining many Kickapoo customs. The prophet's fiery speeches condemned stealing, lying, profanity, violence, and alcoholism and threatened sinners with the agonies of hell. Followers manipulated sacred "prayer sticks," renounced their sins at public confessions, and submitted to whippings to expiate sins. Kenekuk's teachings maintained discipline and

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strengthened tribal unity in the face of growing white pressures for Kickapoo lands after the 1819 treaty.

The Vermillion people and other peaceful Indians of the Old Northwest paid a heavy price for the frontier hysteria engendered by the Black Hawk War. Forced to capitulate to pressure from federal and state officials, Kenekuk signed a removal treaty in the fall of 1832, and, by the following spring, the prophet and about four hundred followers had resettled in Kansas.

Although Kenekuk's band prospered in the West, there was constant bickering with Prairie Kickapoo emigrants from Missouri over moral, financial, and legal matters. By 1839 most of the Prairie Band moved elsewhere, leaving Kenekuk free to deal with the priests and ministers who had flocked to his village in search of converts. The prophet skillfully outmaneuvered these men, many of whom he had earlier welcomed in hopes of getting them to exert influence over "Washington bureaucrats" who were not living up to their treaty commitments. Kenekuk displayed exceptional leadership in helping the Kickapoos adjust to white society and preserve their Kansas lands. The prophet's teachings continued to guide his people and to help them retain their lands and their cultural identity long after his death in 1852.

This is a well-written book that will be of interest to scholars and general readers alike. The author's careful examination of documents in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other primary sources enables him to clarify or correct information about Kenekuk and the Kickapoos in Arrell M. Gibson's *The Kickapoos* (1963) and in essays by anthropologists Charles Callender, Richard K. Pope, and Susan M. Pope; amateur historian Milo Custer; and scholar George A. Schultz. There are, however, a few places in the otherwise well documented narrative where footnotes seem warranted but are missing (see pp. 40, 44, 130). Nevertheless, this is a significant contribution to American Indian history.

RONALD N. SATZ
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EDWIN BROWN FIRMAGE and RICHARD COLLIN MANGRUM. *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 430. $27.50.

If it is true that, sooner or later, Americans turn all of their social problems into legal disputes, it is no wonder that so much of nineteenth-century Mormon history was fought out in the courtroom. Born in militant dissent to an increasingly sinful world, with converts fired by the prospect of building the Kingdom of God, the church frequently found itself in legal entanglements with the society it rejected. In this book Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum offer a comprehensive exploration of Mormon legal history, from its roots in a unique and controversial church culture to the effective destruction of the more distinctive elements of that culture at the turn of the century. Wedged in between lies a detailed examination of the prophet Joseph Smith's legal trials and tribulations, an account of the federal government's attempt to crush polygamy, and a wide-ranging discussion of the Saints' attempt to use their ecclesiastical courts to build and protect their special vision of Zion.

Firmage and Mangrum have attempted to write a definitive treatment of nineteenth-century Mormon legal history, and, in terms of compiling case law, they have succeeded. Their book will become the standard reference for anyone with a question about the church's legal history, a topic of major importance in understanding the Mormon experience. Their discussion of the agonizing dilemmas of polygamous families is of special merit, as is their often pathbreaking work on the Saints' adaptation of their ecclesiastical courts to create their own self-contained legal system.

Still, for all of its virtues, this book has some serious flaws. By far the worst is its partisan nature. This is not merely "faithful" history; behind a tone of objectivity, Firmage and Mangrum refight all of the old Mormon–anti-Mormon battles. Facts damning to the Saints are often either excused or suppressed, while those that reflect poorly on their opponents are starkly portrayed. Such is the case, for instance, in the authors' discussion of both the Mormon War in Missouri and the antipolygamy crusade in Utah. Most of the time Firmage and Mangrum seem to suggest that religious bigotry, pure and simple, is a sufficient explanation of the motives of church opponents. Perhaps part of the problem stems from the fact that, although they are well read in legal history and in Mormon sources, they have neither delved very deeply into the corresponding anti-Mormon literature nor taken advantage of insights of relevant secondary work, some of which they cite in their bibliography. Accordingly, they often betray only a modest understanding of the world view of those who opposed the church, with the net result something like a trial where only one side is allowed to testify. Their account, consequently, is untrustworthy in ways that will not always be apparent to readers. This is unfortunate, because Firmage and Mangrum have otherwise succeeded in filling an important gap in Mormon historiography with skill and intelligence.

KENNETH H. WINN
Missouri Historical Society

RICHARD E. BENNETT. *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852: "And Should We Die"* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 347. $24.95.

Richard E. Bennett has written a solid account of the Mormons in Nebraska and Iowa during their two-year sojourn on the way from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City. Touching only briefly on the troubles the Latter-day Saints had with non-Mormons in Illinois, he details the crisis of leadership and the emerging dominance of

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Brigham Young, whose influence was strengthened among those who journeyed west. Using unpublished letters, diaries, and documents from the archives of the Latter-day Saints and the Reorganized Latter-day Saints churches, Bennett explains that the agonies of organization and the hardships of the trail so slowed the Mormons' exodus that it took 130 days to travel the 327 miles to the Missouri River. There, on the western side, the Saints made their main headquarters during the winter, abandoning their efforts to place themselves west of the Rockies in a single, continuous move.

Once at the Missouri the Mormons were forced to construct a community from scratch, and they worked feverishly to provide shelter for themselves and those who lagged behind at Nauvoo or at the way stations established at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove. To survive they were forced to trade with their enemies, the Missourians. The Mormons deliberately remained vague about their true destination in the Great Basin, fearing that enemies from Missouri, Illinois, or the United States government might disrupt their exodus. Their sending of five hundred volunteers to California to fight in the Mexican War came not as a result of love of country but as a means to gain funds, prevent any government interference, and establish some of their men on California soil early, for whatever advantage that might bring.

Bennett argues that Young strengthened his hold as church leader during this interim by opposing a different emigration route proposed by the Council of Fifty and by eventually having himself named president of the church rather than depending on his role as president of the Twelve Apostles. Thus, the sojourn in Iowa had long-term consequences for centralizing church administration.

Bennett describes the social and theological developments in Iowa, arguing that the practice of polygamy was greatly expanded among the "adopted families" of church leaders during the stopover. Polygamy was seen as a reward granted primarily to those who had performed great service in the past. Women were given priesthood authority at the Missouri, in the absence of so many of the men in the battalion. After securing temple ordinances, they were able to perform religious ceremonies they later would be denied.

Bennett contends that the Mormon frontier experience in Iowa did not promote individualism, as Frederick Jackson Turner once supposed, but accentuated the Mormons' centralizing tendencies. I would agree with the author that the idea of an errand into the wilderness was strong in Mormonism and drew the Mormons westward, but that first occurred in 1831 when they went to Missouri to establish the New Jerusalem. There the most significant part of their experience was not the frontier but their encounter with Missourians who opposed their theocratic tendencies. That increased their antipluralistic inclinations and led to a militaristic response and a confrontation with dissenters when the prophet returned to Ohio. That conflict, not the frontier, led in turn to a centralization of power in the prophet's hands. It is doubtful that Young had any more power in Nebraska than he had in Nauvoo after he overcame the claims of Sidney Rigdon. He was already considered the president of the church. Establishing a first presidency may have given Young some administrative assistance, but that is a story beyond the scope of this book.

MARVIN S. HILL
Brigham Young University

DAVID M. JORDAN. *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 393. $29.95.

As a professional officer, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock served the United States and its army for forty-five years (1840–86). During that time he fought Mexicans, Confederates, and Indians of several tribes. His military exploits gave him the opportunity to seek the presidency of the United States, and it is Hancock's political aspirations that David M. Jordan describes and analyzes best.

Jordan concludes that Hancock was a Civil War corps commander of high quality and grit, the "perfect instrument" (p. 125) for Ulysses S. Grant's grinding campaigns against Robert E. Lee's rebel army. But, before Grant came east, Jordan shows that Hancock had already made his crucial contribution to the Union war effort. At the battle of Gettysburg, Hancock's tactical skill helped hold the northern positions outside of town, and his sterling leadership inspired the blue-clad defenders of Cemetery Ridge to repel Pickett's Charge. Severely wounded at Gettysburg, Hancock subsequently was hailed as one of the Union's heroes of the hour. Although other Union officers such as John Buford, John Reynolds, and George Meade all played important roles, Jordan argues that "Gettysburg was Hancock's field" (p. 100). Although Hancock later saw combat service, his wound hampered him, and he ran afoul of Grant. He blamed the general-in-chief for what Hancock believed were needless or ill-considered assaults, especially the attack at Cold Harbor that was so costly to Hancock's corps.

Jordan may have fallen prey to a risk of the biographer, that is, becoming too sympathetic with his subject. Hancock and Grant had their differences during the war and after, and Jordan appears consistently to take Hancock's side and is routinely critical of Grant (one of the "tools" of the Radicals [p. 211]) as both general-in-chief and president. Some of these antagonisms were natural ones. Other Civil War commanders became angry at their superiors when their units suffered heavy casualties in assaults. Adding to Grant and Hancock's postwar antagonisms was the fact that Hancock was a conservative Democrat and Grant a Republican, and each man wanted to be his party's presidential nominee. Furthermore, Hancock did not get along well with Philip H. Sheridan, one of Grant's favorites and another Republican. When Hancock reversed

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many of Sheridan's directives on Reconstruction in the Fifth Military District (Louisiana and Texas), Jordan's sympathies, like Hancock's, seem to lie with the Democrats. Moreover, Jordan is quick to criticize Sheridan for removing Louisiana civil officials (most of whom were partisan Democrats and some of whom were former Confederates) but sees the will of the people at work when Hancock reinstated Democrats, appointed Confederate sympathizers, and issued orders that made it difficult for black men to register to vote or serve on juries. Jordan goes on to describe how Hancock's actions were clearly connected with his first try for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1868. Then Jordan condemns Grant for improperly using "his superior position to deny Hancock the normal privileges of his rank" (p. 213) after the election of 1868, but Hancock had joined the political fray and should have expected that his actions would have repercussions on his military career. Certainly Jordan's biography reinforces the point made by Paul Hutton, in *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (1985), and others: personal disputes and political partisanship definitely affected officers' careers.

Hancock was a better nominee than any Democrat for the presidency between 1868 and 1884. When Hancock gained the nomination in 1880, he knocked the "bloody shirt" from the hands of the Republicans but still lost narrowly to James A. Garfield. The later chapters of this biography are the best. Jordan deftly explains the Democrats' party factionalism and gives a lively description of the Cincinnati convention, the nominating speeches, the backroom bargaining; one can smell the beer on the breath of the delegates as they cheer their candidates. Jordan's vibrant recounting of the presidential campaign is the product of excellent research and the highpoint of the book.

At the end, readers know that they have found a far better biography than Glenn Tucker's *Hancock the Superb* (1960). But Jordan has difficulty categorizing Hancock the general. Jordan calls Hancock one of the "great soldiers" of the Civil War (p. 2), but he makes no real effort to place Hancock in the war's military hierarchy. In a short chapter on Hancock's postwar career, Jordan acknowledges that the general was not a major strategist or the intellectual equal of John M. Scofield, for example. Jordan's book is essentially a political biography of a military man.

JOSEPH G. DAWSON III
Texas A&M University

REID MITCHELL. *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences*. New York: Viking. 1988. Pp. xi, 274. $22.95.

Although nuclear warfare has outmoded the tactics of Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant, the luster of Civil War history has not dimmed. Quite the contrary. More readers than ever are charging back and forth with the Blue and the Gray, and new studies of the war and the people who fought it continue to come off the presses in growing numbers. Three trends are apparent: an increasing concentration on the war west of the Mississippi, a tendency to focus on the intellectual and psychological aspects of the conflict, and a growing interest in the common soldiers who filled the ranks of the great armies.

Reid Mitchell's study, based on extensive research in personal diaries and journals, is a continuation of the last two trends. With an eye on what the United States in 1861–65 had been and was to become, the author probes for answers to questions that have intrigued military historians for decades. Why did Civil War soldiers go to war? Why did they fight? What were their impressions of themselves and their enemies? What events, conditions, and circumstances held their attention while in zones of combat? Were personal and moral values challenged or changed by the carnage of the conflict? And, finally, what was the legacy of this dreadful war in which Americans killed Americans?

The importance of Mitchell's study is apparent, but he neither claims too much for his efforts nor inflates his findings. Instead, reflecting a respect for the complexity of his task, he cautiously demonstrates his considerable proficiency for historical detection and penetrating reflection to advance reasonable solutions to troublesome mysteries and provide rewarding insights into the war and the travail of its participants. Although definitive conclusions and significant trends cannot always be formulated and defined, Mitchell's study nevertheless bristles with valuable details and intelligent analysis. Drawing on his considerable understanding of the social, economic, and intellectual framework of the war, Mitchell provides revealing and profitable glimpses into folk culture, sectional physiography and demography, fraternization, slavery and racism, patriotism and desertion, and the guerrilla, "the South's most mysterious inhabitant" (p. 133).

Readers with an understanding of military life in the Civil War will find much that is familiar in Mitchell's study, for it upholds the traditional interpretation of the healthy, well-equipped Billy Yank opposing the ill-clothed, poorly fed, and hard-looking Johnny Reb. But the author concludes that on many issues soldiers on both sides agreed far more than they differed. Like those of Americans in other wars, their letters and journals reflect a deep-seated aversion to regimentation, logistical insufficiencies, atrocities and death, military incompetence, drudgery, monotony, medical deficiencies, and the uncertainties of armed combat. Although Confederate and Union soldiers were convinced of the nobility of their cause and considered the civilization of their section superior to that of the enemy, they nevertheless possessed similar sociological values and cultural traits that were more national than sectional. Mitchell shows that extreme acts of kindness and cruelty were practiced by soldiers on both sides and points out that "Northern soldiers in general were not heartless barbarians . . . who took advantage of

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. . . the license warfare gave to plunder" (p. 142) and that "Confederates would have rivaled Yankees in the work of destruction" in enemy territory if they had spent more time on northern soil (p. 157). Although Mitchell warns of the dangers of generalization, he nevertheless advances the interesting conclusions that northern volunteers were more prone to detect disloyalty in their commanding officers than were southerners, that the Confederate government had a better record than the Union on freedom of speech, that far more Union soldiers deserted than Confederate, and that the concepts of total war could not have been carried out had it not been for the common soldiers who were willing to forage and burn.

I found the third chapter, entitled "From Volunteer to Soldier: The Psychology of Service," the most interesting. Working within a useful historical context, Mitchell examines civilians' attitudes toward soldiers on both sides, psychological changes among combatants, disdain for conscription and disloyalty, and the prevailing belief among soldiers that the war was God's chastisement of his disobedient children. "Northern and Southern soldiers alike could agree," Mitchell concludes, "[that] the ultimate cause of the Civil War was American sin" (pp. 88–89).

Although Mitchell tends to neglect soldiers fighting west of the Mississippi and perhaps fails to appreciate the impact early in the conflict of Henri de Jomini's principles on military thought, his book represents a truly significant advance in our understanding of the common soldier in the Civil War. In addition to its penetrating analysis and thoughtful interpretation, its contribution as a storehouse of facts and extensive documentation makes it a useful study.

B. P. GALLAWAY
Abilene Christian University

EARL J. HESS. *Liberty, Virtue, and Progress: Northerners and Their War for the Union.* (American Social Experience Series, number 10.) New York: New York University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 154. $35.00.

This book opens conveniently with its main point: northerners fought the Civil War because they believed deeply in the five values of "self-government, democracy, individualism, egalitarianism, and self-control" (p. 1). The rest of the book is a discussion of those values and tells what happened to them. Its main point is plausible, but one may disagree with the way it has been developed and conveyed.

First, there is the revealing problem of the title. Earl J. Hess says the aforementioned five values "were the values most consistently discussed by a wide variety of people" and that they were the "common property of the Northern people" (p. 1). The words "consistently" and "common" are implicitly quantitative terms, and Hess nowhere reveals any quantification. But that is not the problem here. The question is, why does he choose three other values for the book's title? Are they synonymous? Or does his choice imply that liberty, virtue, and progress overarched and contained self-government, democracy, individualism, equality, and self-control? He finally uses the title in the book's ironic last sentence, but the misfit between the title and his main point marks the beginning of a certain conceptual indeterminacy in the text.

For example, on page 13, he writes, "The American ideology that motivated Northerners was the common property of all Americans." Then, on page 28, we read, "In reality, the country consisted of two cultures sharing a common nationality." Which is it? Did northerners and southerners have separate cultures and share nothing but a common nationality, or did they share a common ideology, which is to say, a common culture? Here, and throughout the text, we need more terminological and theoretical precision. In fact, the book lacks any recognizable theory of values, culture, or ideology. Neither is the author's methodology explained; for example, how and why did he choose his sources?

Scholarly books about whole populations should proceed cautiously; this one does not. Consider the language of four of Hess's claims: Ulysses S. Grant's memoirs "reflected the attitudes of most soldiers . . . " (p. 28); "The emotional journeys of three civilians spoke for thousands more who left no record . . . " (p. 35); "This woman's dilemma was a microcosm of the Northern war effort, representing in one case what hundreds of thousands of people had to face" (p. 48); "In the army the majority were in favor of freedom for blacks" (p. 99). Those remarks may be true, but they are impossible to prove. Northerners, northerners, northerners—the word is omnipresent in the text and often attached to a debatable assertion. It has been said that generalizations must be hard won; in this book they appear not to be.

Finally, the book can be faulted because Hess does not contend with—he does not even cite—the major scholarship on northerners' national character: William R. Taylor's brilliant *Cavalier and Yankee* (1961), Bell Wiley's unavoidable *The Life of Billy Yank* (1952), and my own wooden *Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (1981), which warrants at least a dismissive remark in a book so antisociological.

Is there any virtue in this study of virtues? For all his apparent lack of discipline, Hess's book is a fine collection of telling quotations, and the author writes intelligent and provocative exegesis. He is enlightening on the value-laden meaning of the Fort Sumter attack, he is right to insist on and to detail the importance of values in soldiers' daily lives, and he is wise to concentrate on the value tensions that emerged as Lincoln's war aims shifted from preserving the Union to promoting freedom and equality. His closing thoughts on the appearance of consumer values after the war are good ideas. Thus, it is possible, even probable, that other

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Civil War historians will judge this useful and plausible book more positively than my own values will allow.

MICHAEL BARTON
Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg

RANDALL C. JIMERSON. *The Private Civil War: Popular Thought during the Sectional Conflict.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 270. $24.95.

Never completed as a historical topic, the Civil War is currently undergoing revision as social history. From such a perspective, the opinions and activities of citizens and soldiers rather than officials and officers provide the focal point for investigation.

Randall C. Jimerson's book is an example of this changing emphasis, for the author's intention is to examine "the meaning of the Civil War to those individuals who fought its battles and endured its hardships, rather than the opinions of politicians, generals, and editors" (p. 1). Using an impressive array of diaries and manuscript collections, Jimerson focuses on the popular thought of plain citizens and soldiers, North and South, as they responded to the circumstances of a lacerating civil war. Jimerson has collected these private thoughts into four essential topics considered for both sections: reasons for fighting, attitudes toward slavery and black soldiers, perceptions of the enemy, and, in the longest chapter in the book, convictions of class (rank in the military), contrary sectionalism, and local pride, which limited sectional consciousness.

For the most part, the wartime reactions of Jimerson's informants are familiar, in part because his subjects are white. While white southerners fought for liberty and freedom from northern interference, northerners went to war to protect a conflated vision of freedom, justice, union, and eventually emancipation, the latter commitment encouraged by the growing recognition that freedom for blacks was a wartime necessity. Meanwhile, the war only confirmed southern notions of the need to control blacks, and Jimerson's sample of southern opinion does not reveal a Confederacy guilt-ridden by its "peculiar institution." The war also reaffirmed northern views of southerners as backward, while, in the mirror image, southerners saw their enemies as acquisitive, greedy plunderers who lacked the grace of southern chivalry.

As is always the case in studies of popular thought, there are exceptions to these opinions. Indeed, the strength of the book is its range of fresh expression from some commentators whose ideas have never before been in print. Henceforth, historians of the period will mine Jimerson's historical lode for illustrative material on a variety of different matters—from the surprise of Confederate soldiers that not all Yankees were abolitionists to the responses of common soldiers North and South to wartime fraternization.

Nevertheless, there are conceptual problems with this study of "popular thought." A surprising number of opinions come from officers and civilian elites including Mary Chesnut, Kate Stone, and the oft-quoted Charles Colcock Jones family of Georgia. The views of southerners on the loyalty of slaves and the black soldiers of the northern armies are limited to those of the planter class. Finally, although Jimerson asserts that he has made "painstaking efforts to counter the biases" (p. 6) in his sample, he does not give any substantive or quantitative explanation of how he decided some informants were representative and others were not. (Indeed, his bibliography suggests that he used a much larger sample of southern than northern diaries and manuscripts.) Nor does he discuss the degree to which the private thoughts of his witnesses were influenced by the opinions of the decision makers and opinion makers he wishes to avoid. Doubtless the convergence of the private thought presented by Jimerson with the public ideas of leaders reflects a hegemonic influence heightened during the Civil War. Thus, the individual viewpoints that Jimerson presents are no more than the watered-down views of civilian and military leaders.

Notwithstanding these unresolved methodological dilemmas, which are inherent in most studies of popular thought, students of the Civil War will benefit from Jimerson's expansion of our understanding of what some northerners and southerners thought about the conflict.

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

DANIEL W. CROFTS. *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis.* (Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xxvii, 502. $45.00.

Daniel W. Crofts challenges the dominant historical interpretation of the period between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the start of the American Civil War. Recent accounts of the final months before the outbreak of the war have dismissed both the significance and the authenticity of the southern movement against secession. Crofts is eager to counter this view. He insists that the upper South's effort to save the Union constituted a far more powerful force and drew a substantially more loyal following than has been previously acknowledged. His volume succeeds in advancing our understanding of the sources of southern Unionism and increasing our appreciation for its possibilities.

Not content with a limited monograph on the secession crisis, Crofts examines the political environment of the antebellum upper South within which Unionism grew, tackling such large issues as the nature of party identification and the depth of regional and socioeconomic divisions in the area. He uses sophisticated yet accessible quantification to demonstrate that party loyalty, along with slave owning, was crucial in determining the response of the upper South to secession.

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Unionism, Crofts shows, was more than a regional phenomenon within the states of the upper South. It had a political base that extended beyond the low–slave owning upcountry. Specifically, areas of Whig allegiance were strongly pro-Union in both the 1860 presidential balloting and in the secession winter that followed. Party ties survived to play a major role in establishing the attitude that the upper South took toward the crisis of the Union.

Crofts's study focuses on Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, but it includes analyses of the North and the Deep South as well. As a result, his volume presents the views of all parties to the sectional conflict and offers a vivid portrait of the interaction between them. Crofts's emphasis, however, remains on the southern Unionists. He traces their growing concern over the threat that sectionalism posed to the economic diversification of their region and their deepening insistence that secession was a kind of madness based on a misunderstanding of northern intentions. By the late winter of 1861, these Unionists had organized their forces into a powerful majority party in the upper South and were working vigorously for a sectional compromise. So strong was their commitment to the Union that they remained loyal to it even after the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter. Only following Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers did they yield to the demands of southern honor and the force of community pressure and reluctantly agree to support secession.

William Henry Seward is the clear and unchallenged hero of Crofts's account. Crofts stresses that it was Seward who called for southern Unionists to be placed in Lincoln's cabinet, pushed for moderation in Lincoln's inaugural address, argued for the abandonment of Fort Sumter, tried discreetly to organize a Union party, and always held out hope to southern Unionists that a peaceful resolution of the crisis was at hand. While many Republicans saw northern inaction as the greatest threat to the Union, Seward believed firmly that war was the greatest threat and that given time upper South Unionism would grow unconditionally pro-Union. Agreeing with Seward's view, Crofts suggests that, as a consequence of this strengthened Unionism, the upper South eventually would have been able to tolerate the inevitable use of force that would have been necessary to put down the rebellion in the Deep South. The war that then would have resulted would have been shorter and less destructive than the Civil War we know.

Questions about the depth of southern Unionism remain. Many will continue to sympathize with a president who found it difficult to rely on a movement that all knew would evaporate quickly in the wake of conflict and that was circumscribed "always," as Lincoln put it, "with an *if*." Furthermore, even Crofts admits that the problems facing the nation were so severe that a compromise probably would never have worked and that Lincoln could not reasonably have been expected to accept peaceful secession indefinitely. Nevertheless, Crofts presents much to ponder in this valuable, well-executed book.

STEPHEN E. MAIZLISH
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WILLIAM A. TIDWELL. *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln*. Assisted by JAMES O. HALL and DAVID WINFRED GADDY. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1988. Pp. xv, 510. Cloth $38.50, paper $17.95.

The laws of war in Abraham Lincoln's century forbade assassination. Section 9, article 148, of the code adopted by the War Department in 1863 to guide U.S. forces did "not allow proclaiming an individual belonging to the hostile army, or a citizen, or a subject of the hostile government an outlaw, who may be slain without trial by any captor. . . . Civilized nations look with horror upon offers of rewards for the assassination of enemies as relapses into barbarism."

Although events of the present day remind us that nations can lapse into such barbarism at any time, nations in the nineteenth century may have been as little likely to do so as in any age before or since. Certainly the men who governed the Confederacy repeatedly professed their belief in the laws and customs of war. Yet the U.S. government in 1865 accused Jefferson Davis of plotting the murder of Lincoln, and that flawed theory made the prosecution of John Wilkes Booth's fellow conspirators perhaps the least satisfactory of the investigations of American assassinations.

As time passed, views of the Confederacy mellowed, and the idea that the plot to kill Lincoln might have been a Confederate scheme came to seem laughable and cruel. It was the sort of thing, as William Hanchett concluded in his definitive book, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (1983), that only vindictive "diehards" would believe.

But the present day continues to astound us, and this book returns to the long-discarded theory that Booth's plot to capture President Lincoln and hold him hostage may have been part of an elaborate clandestine apparatus that reported to the highest-ranking Confederate authorities, including President Davis. The argument is complicated and, by the authors' own admission, inferential. The book begins with a long description of the Confederate intelligence machinery, which brings together accounts of many activities that took place on the margins of what was considered legitimate warfare in the nineteenth century and which discusses everything from the Confederate Signal Corps to exploding mines. It makes a useful and interesting introduction to the subject.

But such Confederate activities by no means add up to what the authors claim for them, that is, foreshadowings of a sophisticated secret service. To see them their way is essentially anachronistic, imposing a twen-

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tieth-century espionage and intelligence mentality on an innocent century. In the Civil War, there was little intelligence worth having that could not be gained from the top of a high hill on a clear day. The era's language suggests this: the term "scout" meant at times what we mean by "spy" today as well as "pathfinder." Generals most needed to know the enemy's order of battle, and Robert E. Lee apparently kept well informed of that by reading northern newspapers and by having Yankee deserters interrogated. Only in the modern era of highly technical, immensely destructive, and fast-moving warfare, especially in the atomic age, have espionage and other clandestine activities become really important. Two of the authors of this book are "career intelligence officers," and it shows.

The rest of the work, an effort to reveal Confederate links with Booth's plot, stacks doubtful inference on perilous surmise. Between pages 416 and 464, especially, the reader encounters such phrases as "has the feel," "has the flavor," and "has all the earmarks," culminating in "one can speculate almost to a certainty."

The book is competently written, has nice maps, and contains some little-known information on marginal Confederate characters. It is based on research in the National Archives and other manuscript repositories, duly footnoted. But speculation does not lead to certainty nor, in this case, come near the truth. Assassination was an unlikely tool of war for Victorian soldiers and gentlemen like Jefferson Davis.

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EDWARD HAGERMAN. *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 366. $37.50.

In a statement on the dust jacket of this excellent book, Russell F. Weigley implies that, before the appearance of this volume, there had been no previous "sound history of Civil War military staffs." Although this unsophisticated assertion is far wide of the mark, Weigley is on target when he declares that Edward Hagerman "has mastered the technical aspects of mid-nineteenth-century warfare as well as any historian." Certainly Hagerman's vast knowledge of Civil War technology, logistics, and tactics will impress all readers, and he helps place the American Civil War in the mainstream of world military development.

Regarding the major military commanders on both sides in the Civil War, perhaps Hagerman's greatest contribution is his massively documented analysis and evaluation of Union general George B. McClellan. Although other historians have noted "Little Mac's" many contributions to the Federals' final victory, Hagerman demonstrates convincingly that this commander has been underestimated by many recent historians. "McClellan," the author states, "was the first Union field commander of a mass army to filter this heritage of organizational theory and doctrine through the 'fog' of the mid-nineteenth-century transition from traditional to modern warfare. He was the first to feel the friction of mass armies, industrial technology, and the restructuring of American institutional and intellectual culture complicated by political and geographical factors" (pp. 64–65).

Hagerman then proceeds to assess the performance of such other Civil War generals as Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and William T. Sherman. He is especially convincing in speaking of Lee's masterful capabilities and demonstrates conclusively that "Grant, with experienced personnel and efficient organizational procedures would still not maneuver successfully against Lee until Lee's field transportation gave out" (p. 66). Noting also Sherman's failures as well as his achievements, the author concludes that "the failure of others in similar or more favorable circumstances tends to support McClellan's military if not his political judgment" (p. 65). Hagerman's frequent citation of Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones's authoritative study, *How the North Won* (the book unaccountably missed by Weigley in his statement), is commendable.

Less commendable, however, are several shortcomings in this otherwise outstanding study. The book is occasionally too wordy and too repetitive, and the muscular style of writing sometimes becomes stodgy and even turgid. Hagerman too often cites entire book titles in his notes rather than the pertinent pages therein, and the bibliography, otherwise excellent, omits the highly significant two-volume work *The Army on the Eve of the Civil War* by George T. Ness, Jr. Poor proofreading has led to far too many typographical errors and misspellings. The author is a bit too favorable in his assessment of Abraham Lincoln's performance in the early part of the war, and there are too many claims of too many Civil War practices as being "new." And, finally, few military historians of the Civil War will agree with Hagerman's contention that "the cavalry battle at Yellow Tavern, in May, 1864, was the only truly mounted engagement for Lee's cavalry" (p. 322). A short chapter of summary and conclusions should have been included.

But these are essentially picayune criticisms of a book whose assets are many. The author is most thorough in showing the slowness with which Civil War generals on both sides came to grasp the superiority of the defensive force—armed with rifled muskets—over the offensive one, which was ordered to make the terribly costly frontal assaults so prevalent in both major theaters of operation throughout much of the war. In summary, this fine book deserves a place on the shelves of all military historians in this country and abroad.

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JAMES D. ANDERSON. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 366. Cloth $32.50, paper $10.95.

The traditional historiography of southern black education portrayed the freedmen's response to educational opportunity as the pathetic reaction of a superstitious people to the white man's talisman. It branded as visionary and foolish the efforts of northern white missionaries to provide a classical education to southern blacks. Its historians lauded the campaigns of northern philanthropists to bring a new vision of education to the South. Those campaigns of disinterested northern industrialists were politically expedient compromises with white supremacy designed to protect and advance blacks in the face of southern racial hostility. Industrial education was the key to the great compromise.

Liberal revisionists modified portions of that interpretation, but their concern was primarily to locate the roots of segregation and to find an integrationist heritage to cling to. Only recently have historians begun to mount a frontal assault on the traditional view. James D. Anderson's original and provocative essays have been central in the emerging reinterpretation. His latest contribution will decisively shift the terrain of research and debate.

Anderson's book is the first substantial regional study of black education since Henry Allen Bullock's *A History of Negro Education in the South* (1967). Although the volume synthesizes the recent work of other scholars, it is not primarily a synthesis but rather a powerful reinterpretation based on impressive original research. Anderson's focus is the black community and its educational culture, the educational ideologies of competing white groups, and the shifting tensions created by class formation and the dialectic of race.

Anderson is careful to note that economics and politics outweighed education by far in the struggle to define the contours of southern society and race relations. Nonetheless, this study of the contest for black schools in the South provides an invaluable lens through which to study competing visions of social and economic organization and race control and, hence, an indispensable lens for historians of many related areas.

One key to understanding southern black education, Anderson argues, is the southern black community's persistent belief in the centrality of education. That belief was not derivative, not a childish mimicking of the habits of whites. It was rooted in the values and aspirations of black culture. Although southern blacks had few opportunities to act independently on their educational vision, they retained that vision and resisted the imposition of oppressive forms of education.

A second key is to understand that the northern philanthropists were not disinterested allies of blacks seeking to protect their charges from the shocks of southern racism through expedient compromise. They were, rather, exponents of modern modes of labor socialization and mobilization who opposed both the white South's crude means of racial control and the black South's struggles for self-determination. They embraced industrial education not as a means to train black women and men for industrial opportunities in the New South but as a means to produce conservative black teachers steeped in the discipline and values of a racially stratified work force who would, in turn, become apostles of racial accommodation in black communities.

Southern historians have inadequately addressed the economic history of the South. It is thus not surprising that Anderson leaves unexplored the exact fit between the ideology of northern philanthropy and southern progressive capital. But it is unlikely that future work in that arena will challenge, and may well ramify, the tightly argued interpretation Anderson provides.

This is history of education at its best. Its audience will range far beyond the students of education, however, for Anderson speaks to historians of the South, of philanthropy, race, and ethnicity, and of American culture.

RONALD E. BUTCHART
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HENRY LEWIS SUGGS. *P. B. Young, Newspaperman: Race, Politics, and Journalism in the New South, 1910–1962*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1988. Pp. xxii, 254. $24.95.

Another neglected figure in black history has been rescued from obscurity in this biography of Plummer Bernard Young, for over fifty years publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. Henry Lewis Suggs exhaustively charts the positions Young took on a variety of issues but is less successful in assessing his overall significance, partly because Young held to conservative tenets that became increasingly anachronistic in the twentieth century.

Young's slave-born father provided him a college education and a strong orientation toward success. As a young newspaperman, Young adroitly mixed racial advocacy with a personal quest for upward mobility through elite church membership, business connections, and friendship with Booker T. Washington. He drank deeply of the Bookerite philosophy that economic progress through self-help and racial solidarity would eliminate prejudice that could not be erased through legislation. Young also emulated Washington by building bridges to New South capitalists (and racial paternalists) such as Newport News shipyard owner Homer Ferguson.

By World War I, Young was increasingly out of step with progressive black currents. He opposed the frontal attack on segregation led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), mass migration to northern cities, and student militancy on paternalistic black college campuses. Although he abhorred lynching, he opposed a federal

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prohibition as an infringement on states' rights. Regarded by whites as a "safe" black leader, he gave prosecutors details about crimes by blacks when he believed they were guilty. Yet during the Great Depression, in addition to supporting the New Deal, Young used his newspaper to battle aggressively for the Scottsboro boys. Serving on the Fair Employment Practices Commission during World War II, he played a conservative role. And as the NAACP mounted its ultimate challenge to the doctrine of separate but equal, Young undercut a teacher pay equity case in Norfolk and worried that blacks were not yet ready for full integration.

Suggs has thoroughly researched his subject, but interpretive issues are troublesome. Young came to adulthood in the New South and adopted Washington's response to that climate. But while he remained a lifelong Bookerite, the South changed, rendering the accommodationist approach anachronistic. Young's continued faith in the "better" class of whites was obsolete; conservative paternalists no longer ruled the South. Like Washington, Young fell into the trap of believing that his own good standing with whites exemplified improving race relations. Ironically, he stressed "arbitration, negotiation, and compromise" (p. 191) with whites, while ruling tyrannically over his underpaid newspaper staff.

What was Young's influence? Editorial positions on important issues and relationships with "liberal" southern whites do not necessarily define leadership. At one time the *Journal and Guide* had the largest circulation of any black newspaper in the South, but was that because of the relevance of Young's political and racial views or the coverage of community news that blacks so desperately needed? Undoubtedly Young and his newspaper provided a vital service to Tidewater communities of Virginia and North Carolina. But readers will finish this volume mystified by Suggs's conclusion that, "although Young's conservative political and social perspectives were often contrary to those of the New South's emerging black middle class," he nonetheless "epitomized black strategy and ideology in the American South" (p. 186) from 1910 to 1962.

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ERIC H. MONKKONEN. *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 332. $25.00.

This book provides a fascinating look at the history of American cities and an assessment of their future. Eric H. Monkkonen argues that, in order to understand our cities, it is necessary to examine both the inside and the outside factors that have been responsible for their development. Accordingly, he explores a variety of selected topics including urban beginnings, the service city, transportation, and home ownership. All in all he has woven a provocative sketch of the nation's urban history.

As Monkkonen suggests, his examination of the growth and development of an urban civilization in the United States differs from other studies that focus on America's urban past and present. This difference is not surprising, because every survey of the history of American cities is particularistic. Authors organize the material at hand in ways that reflect their understanding of the past, the issues they believe central in the shaping of urban centers, and the purposes they hope to achieve. In that regard Monkkonen's history is no different.

What is different about this book is the author's integration of geography and the methodological insights gained from geographers and his discussion of the premodern heritage of American cities. Monkkonen very ably discusses geographical frameworks useful in understanding urban development. Particularly important is his ability to illustrate simultaneously how theoretical insights can be gained from other disciplines and why caution is necessary in accepting these insights at face value. Of the other available surveys of America's urban past, only David R. Goldfield and Blaine A. Brownell's *Urban America: From Downtown to No Town* (1979) attempts to focus so directly on geography. Goldfield and Brownell's treatment, however, is relatively turgid and fails to demonstrate for the nonspecialist the usefulness of integrating information and theoretical approaches from other disciplines.

More so than any other author of an urban history survey, Monkkonen explores the impact of European urban traditions on the formation of American cities and sets the context for the departure of urban areas in the United States from their premodern roots. Most of the other general treatments of urban history ignore those issues. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., in *The Urban Wilderness* (1972) discusses only the English experience and its impact on American cities. In *The Urbanization of Modern America* (1987), Zane L. Miller and I briefly trace the relationship between the European planning traditions and the emerging urban form. Monkkonen, however, delves into this issue much more deeply and, although more attention to European planning traditions would have enhanced this section of the study, provides a useful context for understanding American urban centers during the colonial era.

Another strength of the study is the discussion of home ownership and mobility. The author cogently explores the importance of home ownership in America and the impact of the housing market on the development of American cities. More direct attention to the intersection between city planning and home ownership, however, would have strengthened Monkkonen's argument.

Like any monograph, this book has its shortcomings. The reliance primarily on a topical rather than a chronological approach could prove confusing for the nonspecialist. Neighborhoods are almost nonexistent

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in Monkkonen's cities. Whether myth or reality, neighborhoods figure prominently in our vision of the American city and, as a result, deserve more than cursory attention. In addition, Monkkonen implicitly portrays his argument about the necessity to consider both outside factors and internal developments in understanding the nation's urban experience as unique. This approach, however, is hardly out of the ordinary. Either implicitly or explicitly, other urban history surveys have been structured around the interaction between an internal view, which concentrates on the analysis of the urban environment as a complex of interdependent factors, and an "inside-out" perspective, which explores the relationship between larger regional, national, and international events and the history of cities.

Despite these shortcomings, Monkkonen's study should be read by all those interested in America's urban past and present. Often more suggestive than conclusive, the book encourages readers to reevaluate some of the questions we bring to our study of the past. And, perhaps most important, this monograph reminds us that studying the past provides understanding of what went before, identifies the limits under which we operate, and suggests possibilities for future action.

PATRICIA MOONEY-MELVIN
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JOHN R. STILGOE. *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820–1939*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 353. $35.00.

This book is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship dealing with what might loosely be called suburban development. It is a well-written and well-organized synthesis that is richly and pertinently illustrated. Having said that, it is a difficult book to categorize because it deals with both the images and the realities of extraurban life. Although several empirical examples of borderlands and borderland life are included (the discussion of Cleveland's Shaker Heights area is an especially welcome case study), this is one of the most philosophical studies yet published on North American suburbanization. In two dozen tersely titled chapters, John R. Stilgoe provides the reader with considerable insight into the evolution of suburban lifestyle ideals during the roughly twelve decades preceding the outbreak of World War II. Appropriately for a book that is dedicated to John Brinckerhoff Jackson, it focuses primarily on the meaning and the indicators of changing landscapes—urban, suburban, and rural.

Research into lifestyle images is no simple task. It requires painstaking reading of disparate, often ephemeral, sources. Stilgoe's mastery of those sources is impressive. To illuminate the visual elements of the borderlands, he marshals evidence from a wide range of contemporary popular and professional publications: novels, travel books, horticultural guides, how-to books, magazines and periodicals of all sorts, and newspapers. The result is an interesting and well-told tale about an "uncommon landscape" that provides perspective from the vantage points of both females and males.

Borderlands, in and of themselves, are difficult entities to study because they are hard to define. They are places where "houses are so far apart that even in winter they cast shadows only on their own lots" (p. 11). Stilgoe's borderlands were places that lay between the city and its suburbs on the one hand and the rural countryside on the other. As such, their situation was vulnerable, subject especially to invasions from the outward push of growing cities. Yesterday's borderlands are today's suburbs. While they lasted, however, they were pleasant places. Often poised on elevated ground and nearly always surrounded by trees, the borderland's fine houses and well-kept gardens signaled peace and harmony for their residents. The borderlands stood in marked contrast both to the chaos, pollution, and monotonous form of the city and to the hardships of rural life. They were comfortable havens for the fortunate few who lived in them.

Only a few matters trouble me about this book. First of all, like many works of urban history, this study is a bit parochial in its spatial focus. It deals almost exclusively with borderlands in the northeastern and midwestern parts of the United States. Although California receives a modicum of attention, more might have been said about the borderland experience in other regions, especially the South. I hope that deficiency can be corrected through future research. My second quibble with Stilgoe's effort relates to his footnotes. On the one hand, the footnotes are insufficient in number for a volume of this sort; on the other hand, they are not very helpful because the reader must consult both the footnote and the bibliography in order to obtain a complete reference for most items. That is a needlessly complicated task.

All in all, this is an important and useful book. It nicely complements and extends the existing scholarship on North American suburbanization. Combined with the writings of Gwendolyn Wright, Kenneth Jackson, Robert Fishman, Marc Weiss, and Sam Bass Warner, Jr., it provides academics with a solid base of material for courses dealing with suburbanization. A mere decade ago, the same happy statement could not have been made.

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ANN DURKIN KEATING. *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers and the Creation of a Divided Metropolis*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 230. $24.95.

Recently, a number of urban historians, including Kenneth Jackson, Henry C. Binford, and Michael H.

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Ebner, have explored the so-called cool, green, rim of the city, seeking greater insight into the nature of the urban-suburban experience. Indeed, Ann Durkin Keating's book arrived almost simultaneously with Ebner's *Creating Chicago's North Shore* (1988), a study of similar terrain. Whereas Ebner focuses more on the influence of intangible factors—Romantic era ideals, social class, community mystique, Victorian ethos—in fathoming the shaping of a collective self-consciousness of place, Keating documents tangible factors—transportation, the provision of water, sewerage, gas and electricity, police service, development profits, and village government—in the creation of suburban space.

Keating, like Sam Bass Warner, Jr., in his study *Streetcar Suburbs* (1971), finds segmentation and homogeneity as the most salient characteristics of the modern urban periphery. Warner singled out the individual builder as the producer of a "weave of small patterns"; Keating, however, points to the developers, many of them fairly large and some even syndicated, who between 1850 and 1910 platted what was once outlying farmland into suburban building lots. Progressively more efficient, innovative, and less costly transportation made those suburban lots steadily more accessible to a growing nineteenth-century population of commuting urbanites.

But Keating regards transportation as only an initiating force, not the cause of suburban form. Her thesis centers mainly on the critical importance of infrastructure, especially water, sewerage, and electrical service, the role of developers in the provision and timing of those services, and the ways both factors shaped the political and social form of metropolitan Chicago. She contends that the self-governing suburb evolved as a response to the demands of socially and economically homogeneous residential populations for a mix of services equal to that available to Chicagoans at the turn of the century.

Keating presents a clear, tightly structured argument. Transportation and the multiplier effect transformed outlying crossroad villages and railroad station towns into booming communities. That boom, she argues, was orchestrated by land developers such as Samuel Gross, who founded Brookfield Village, and Joseph Sears, who created Kenilworth. Their plans, the suburban location, the lot sizes, and the amenities offered dictated the social class, political form, and the mystique of the community. In other words, the social and political form of suburbia mirrored the history of decisions made first by developers and industrialists and then by the working- and middle-class families lured by those entrepreneurs to those outlying places.

While Keating's material explanation for the pattern of Chicago suburbanization is lucid and articulate, it begs the question whether the domains of the material and nonmaterial, and the economic and ideal, can be so easily separated. Keating's strong economic determinism strains against the evidence abounding in the works of Warner, Ebner, Binford, Jackson, Gwendolyn Wright, and others that noneconomic factors, such as Jeffersonian antiurbanism, English and Mumfordian romanticism, the rural idyll, Victorian values, and twentieth-century communitarianism, had profound impacts on the physical, social, and political form of the North American suburb.

That criticism aside, Keating has illuminated the roles of the subdivision developer and of infrastructural improvements in shaping both the government and the social homogeneity of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century suburb. Her book is a well-written, well-documented, and timely contribution to the growing literature on suburbanization.

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JOHN HOYT WILLIAMS. *A Great and Shining Road: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroad.* New York: Times of Random House. 1988. Pp. 341. $22.50.

"Done." That unusually brief telegraphic notice on May 10, 1869, set off what may have been the most widespread celebration the United States had witnessed to that time. Fifty tugboats whistled salutes along the lakefront in Chicago; New Yorkers shouted with glee at the end of a one-hundred-gun salute; the national capital staged banquets, parades, and a spectacular fireworks display; and prayers and toasts were intermingled throughout the states and territories. "Done." The message, of course, announced completion of the nation's first transcontinental railroad. The rails joined at Promontory, a desolate, windswept, and heretofore unremarked spot in what would become the state of Utah, some 690 miles east of Sacramento and 1,086 miles west of the Missouri River.

The transcontinental railroad was the realization of a glorious national dream, and its construction was, as John Hoyt Williams argues, a "great race across the continent" (p. 5). Indeed, the building process was, as Williams correctly asserts, of epic proportions.

Promoters of the Union Pacific had anticipated that a single company, theirs, would build the entire line. They were surprised and not a little chagrined when four audacious Californians upstaged them by forming the Central Pacific Rail Road Company and then convincing President Abraham Lincoln to authorize two companies, not one, to work toward each other to a meeting point and share in government support.

All of this has attracted a multitude of writers over the years. None, however, has told the story with more literary skill. That is the greatest contribution of the book. Williams tells us little that is new, but he tells the story with grace and zest. There are, sad to say, a few annoying errors of fact. For instance, rails were not shouldered over the Sierra in the dead of winter (1866–67); they had been delivered by road in August and September 1866 (p. 160); the Southern Pacific and not the Union Pacific built the Great Salt Lake causeway (p. 199); the Central Pacific did not build a line between Ogden and Salt Lake City (p. 259); and the

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Central Pacific met the Union Pacific at Promontory or Promontory Summit, not Promontory Point. More important, Williams often confuses the private ventures of Collis Huntington and Charles Crocker with those of the railroads they managed. But Williams has captured the essential story, and he has told it well.

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KENNETH D. ACKERMAN. *The Gold Ring: Jim Fisk, Jay Gould, and Black Friday, 1869*. New York: Dodd, Mead. 1988. Pp. xii, 340. $21.95.

"Great political scandals follow a ritualized path in the United States, from Aaron Burr to Teapot Dome, Watergate, and Iranscam," writes Kenneth D. Ackerman. "Public outrage gives way to carnival, and heroes and villains bask in publicity and become celebrities. Daily revelations in the press, drumbeats for heads to roll, and speculation on how high the guilt spreads all intermix with righteous indignation and moral posturing by politicians" (p. 256). In his book Ackerman neatly fits this model to the infamous Gold Corner scheme of 1869. Although writing before the Black Monday of October 1987, which triggered the current craze of interest in Wall Street, Ackerman draws some unflattering parallels between 1869 days and our own time. "And now as then," reads his final sentence, "the world is full of young Fisks and Goulds waiting to make their marks" (p. 287).

Ackerman roots his account in the Erie War of 1868 and follows the convoluted course of events through the inevitable congressional investigation three months after the debacle. As the first full history of the Gold Corner, this book provides new and welcome details on a convulsion that rocked the nation and nearly implicated President Ulysses S. Grant in the bargain. It will, however, neither satisfy the historian seeking fresh interpretations of the event nor persuade those familiar with the case.

The Gold Corner is one of those episodes in which the truth lies hidden in a bewildering maze of evidence riddled with gaps, contradictions, and outright lies. New insights into the event require either new source materials, fresh slants on the old story, or reappraisal of the leading characters. Ackerman falls short in all three areas, largely because his handling of source materials is suspect.

A surprising amount of the narrative simply goes undocumented even at controversial points. In effect, Ackerman asks the reader to take his interpretations of motive and action on faith. At the same time, his indiscriminate use of the sources he does cite may discourage readers from trusting his judgment. Although he lists most of the relevant secondary works, he leans most heavily on such authors of popular histories and biographies as Robert Warshow and Richard O'Connor on Jay Gould, W. A. Swanberg on Jim Fisk, Matthew Josephson, and Meade Minnigerode.

A similar problem arises with primary sources. In using Wall Street memoirs, Ackerman makes no distinction between the unreliable Henry Clews and the more careful E. C. Stedman. Despite all the obvious caveats about newspapers as sources, he uses them extensively for detail and color. In handling the testimony from the congressional investigation—the major source that is the starting point for any study of the Gold Corner—Ackerman strives diligently to make sense of its maddening contradictions and inconsistencies but with only partial success. He realizes that Jim Fisk was a liar, for example, but cannot resist taking Fisk's colorful testimony at face value when it suits his needs.

Although Ackerman presents full portraits of the major players, he offers few new insights into the men or their motives. One reason for that may be that he knows them only through sources that are at bottom unreliable. And he does not fully grasp the context of their world or the nexus of relationships among the characters. The result is a book that tells the story in more detail but not in a new way. Ackerman's version is neither scholarly enough to break new ground nor well written enough to entice the general reader. If anything, it has the disheartening effect of reinforcing some of the stale old robber baron myths.

MAURY KLEIN
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GEORGE DAVID SMITH. *From Monopoly to Competition: The Transformations of Alcoa, 1888–1986*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxiv, 554. $29.95.

Unlike their predecessors on the Right and the Left, the "new business historians" neither praise nor condemn a priori. Instead, they analyze. At their best, they borrow conceptually from economics and sociology without sacrifice of polished prose or narrative method. When they do commissioned work, they insist on full access to corporate archives and total freedom of interpretation. The wisest of them set up advisory boards that bring together distinguished scholars and senior executives who, for the duration of the project, meet regularly to exchange views and discuss drafts of chapters. Sometimes these meetings become heated, given the clashing agendas of those in attendance, but usually they prove helpful to the author, who turns out to have overlooked some important detail well known to the executives, some theory or historical analogue familiar to the advising scholars. Done properly, sponsored histories can be structured to yield a positive-sum game. Those who pay the piper may not end up calling the tune.

In this splendid history of Alcoa, the tune caller is George David Smith, who is also the piper. Were it not for the lavish attention paid to executives still living (who provided invaluable interviews), the reader would have little hint of the company's sponsorship. Throughout the story told here, Smith remains skep-

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tical of Alcoa's claims and critical of its strategies. On the one hand, he judges the company to have exhibited great skill in industrial research and also in finance, as it minimized dividends and plowed its earnings back into the business. Alcoa earns high marks as well in developing its markets. Aluminum typically displaced other materials such as copper and steel, and, for almost the entire century of the company's existence, its sales force had to demonstrate the superiority of its product to skeptics in industrial markets. Those markets proved inordinately diverse, ranging from cookware and power lines to skyscrapers and beverage cans.

On the other hand, Smith candidly evaluates the company's persistent tunnel vision, its organizational rigidities, its reluctance to modernize a management structure comprised of an inbred Pittsburgh elite. He is especially good at delineating the self-indulgent behavior of Alcoa's founding generation: of Charles Martin Hall, the eccentric genius whose breakthrough in electrolytic smelting began the industry and who, with his subsequent fortune, endowed Oberlin College but who did little else besides make a pest of himself within the company; of Hall's business partner, Arthur Vining Davis, five feet of ill temper whose vanity (as in the eponymous Arvida Real Estate) and unfortunate longevity meant sixty-odd years of misery for Alcoa employees; and of executives even into the second and third generations who regarded the company's aluminum monopoly as God-given and reacted with outrage to perennial antitrust prosecutions. Those executives also objected vehemently to the federal government's creation in 1946 of strong industry rivals through the bargain sale of huge war plants to Reynolds and Kaiser. Alcoa's management underestimated the spur to innovation that the new competition brought to their company.

All of this Smith recounts in an uncommonly sophisticated yet matter-of-fact narrative augmented by eighty-three photographs, twenty-six tables, and twenty-three charts. Of the charts, nine depict Alcoa's organizational structure. Considering that the company long disdained formal organization, the conspicuous presence of these charts underscores the Chandlerian (strategy-structure) approach to business history in which Smith explicitly frames his work. Yet this is no mere book by recipe. In addition to many conventional virtues, the author provides some delightful bonuses: a deft capsule history of the rise of big business and its regulation; a primer on the economics of oligopoly; an informed assessment of recent American industrial decline; and a substantial analysis of Alcoa's workforce and labor relations—a feature usually absent even from some excellent company histories. Overall, Smith's book invites comparison with the very best institutional studies.

THOMAS K. MCCRAW
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DONALD FINLAY DAVIS. *Conspicuous Production: Automobiles and Elites in Detroit, 1899–1933*. (Technology and Urban Growth.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 282. $29.95.

In a new twist on Thorstein Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption, Donald Finlay Davis contends that Detroit's pre-automobile social and business elite invested in automobile manufacturing to engage in the "conspicuous production" of luxury cars to gain social prestige rather than to make a profit. The engineer-entrepreneurs of more humble origins who followed them into the automobile business, such as Roy D. Chapin and Walter Flanders, similarly sought to produce higher-priced cars as their personal fortunes increased and as they rose in social rank. Davis grants that there is little direct evidence that the need for social prestige outweighed rational business judgment in the minds of the Detroiters, so his argument rests in the main on the correlation of wealth and status of investors in Detroit automobile companies with the price of the product these companies produced.

Davis sees the Ford Motor Company as the single exception to his rule of conspicuous production in its intransigent commitment to the Model T as a single static model at an ever-decreasing unit price. He attributes the Ford market strategy to an initial abhorrence of rich men both by Henry Ford and by James Couzens, the man who was the brains of the company from its formation in 1903 to his resignation in 1915, which was strengthened even as they became wealthy themselves because of rejection by Detroit's social and business establishment.

Davis considers both General Motors and Chrysler "absentee owned" rather than Detroit companies; their investors and managers were part of the New York rather than the local elite. He explains how they prospered through developing multicar lines, whereas Ford had the low-price car market largely to himself.

By the late 1920s the bulk of Detroit's automobile companies had failed because of their commitment to conspicuous production, and nearly 80 percent of the market was accounted for by General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. The Detroit elite, after a promising start, not only lost leadership in the auto industry but declined relatively in status nationally. This was the high price paid for engaging in conspicuous production.

Davis provides a chapter recounting the controversy over mass transit in Detroit in the 1920s, which pitted the old business elite against Ford and Couzens on the issues of public ownership of the city's street railways and subway and freeway construction. In a final chapter he recounts how Ford and Couzens evened the score. They humiliated and forced the resignation from the U.S. Senate of Truman Newberry, who had defeated Ford for the seat in 1918 through corrupt campaign practices. And they caused the ruin of the old elite by their actions as the key players in the Detroit banking collapse of 1933, which initiated the national collapse of banking.

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It is unfortunate that this book is marred by the extraneous setting up of a straw man, which Davis calls "the automotive paradigm," in the first chapter. He asserts that "research into the automobile industry since 1928 has been largely paradigm-based. This has been especially true of the work of John B. Rae, who may well be regarded as the head of the paradigmatic community since his first publications on automotive history in the 1950s" (p. 15).

Davis disputes, for example, the "underlying assumption that automobile manufacturers shared a commitment to creating a 'democratic technology'" (p. 18). Neither Rae nor anyone else has in fact taken such an extreme (and absurd) position. Rather, it has been generally recognized that there was great diversity in product philosophy and market strategy in the early American automobile industry but that American manufacturers, for a variety of reasons, were both far more prone and far more able to attempt production for a mass market than their European counterparts. Nothing that Davis says refutes this well-established generalization.

Davis further disputes the "conclusion that there were no significant barriers to entry into the early automobile industry, because dealers and parts suppliers provided the bulk of its capital requirements." He counters that "the sums involved were far from trivial: the typical Michigan automobile company incorporated before 1912 started with authorized capital of $300,000, one-third of it actually paid into its treasury" (p. 18). A footnote makes clear that by "typical" he means the mean average capitalization of a sample comprised of eighteen Detroit auto companies. A weighted average is a meaningless measure of "typical" in this context. The modal capitalization of these companies would be more revealing, but still irrelevant, because ease of entry is determined not by average capitalization, no matter how measured, but by the minimal capital needed to succeed in business. As Davis is aware, that sum was only $28,000 paid in capital for the Ford Motor Company, and not a cent was put up by Henry Ford himself. Notably, Davis himself goes on to document the commonly held view that the bulk of capital needed to enter automobile manufacturing was either easily diverted from other business enterprises or provided by dealers and parts makers. Davis then reverses himself to declare that between 1907 and 1914 there was "a brief moment of opportunity for entrepreneurs with more courage than capital" and that "after 1907 the industry became temporarily much easier to enter because it settled on a universal design—the four-cylinder touring car [*sic*]—that could be assembled from standard parts bought from specialists" (pp. 84–85). In fact, with the development in 1906–08 of the volume-produced four-cylinder runabout, exemplified by the Ford Model N and Model T and the Buick Model 10, capital requirements for successful entry into automobile manufacturing were raised considerably.

Davis's argument that the need for social prestige was more important than calculations of possible profit to Detroit's elite investors in automobile manufacturing is interesting but based largely on circumstantial evidence and innuendo. I also think that he fails to blow down the straw man that he sets up. Nevertheless, his book contains an abundance of new information on the Detroit auto elite during the industry's formative years. It also contains the most comprehensive account in print of the 1933 Detroit banking collapse. Therefore, this book is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature of automotive history.

JAMES J. FLINK
University of California, Irvine

E. KIMBARK MACCOLL. *Merchants, Money, and Power: The Portland Establishment, 1843–1913*. Assisted by HARRY H. STEIN. Portland, Oreg.: Georgian. 1988. Pp. xvi, 516. Cloth $29.95, paper $19.95.

E. Kimbark MacColl provides an encyclopedic account of the development of a merchant elite in Portland, Oregon, between the founding of the city and the emergence of the city's Progressive movement. MacColl begins by tracing the roles merchants played in the establishment and growth of Portland as the mercantile center of the Pacific Northwest. Through their control of mining, lumber, and, most importantly, the grain trade of the Oregon country, Portland's business leaders quickly achieved dominance over their region, and, with the establishment of railroad links to the rest of the nation in the late nineteenth century, they were able to expand their enterprises. MacColl shows how the first generation of merchants came to form an "establishment," a closely knit group joined together by ties of business, friendship, and marriage. In the 1890s and early 1900s, the first generation gave way to a second generation of business leaders. Despite tremendous growth in size and population, Portland long remained, MacColl demonstrates, a city dominated by its founding merchant families.

MacColl is at his best in describing the business linkages among Portland's leading families. The picture that emerges is a familiar one. As in many other commercial cities in the United States, the same families that controlled trade also dominated financial institutions, street railroads, and real estate development. Moreover, as MacColl shows, those families ran the politics of the city, frequently to their own benefit. In describing Portland's politics, however, MacColl's account often becomes diffuse with numerous digressions into state politics. Here the reader sometimes becomes lost in a welter of detail. MacColl is even less successful in delving into the social and cultural lives of Portland's business establishment. He states that as Portland became increasingly diverse, its business elite came to exercise power indirectly "through secondary spheres of community life: private relationships, voluntary organizations, and philanthropic and cultural

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organizations" (p. 450). That is a provocative but never fully proven assertion. When describing social and cultural life, MacColl is too often content to list memberships in organizations without fully explaining the dynamic interactions among different groups of Portlanders.

As in his earlier histories of Portland, *The Shaping of a City* (1976) and *The Growth of a City* (1979), MacColl provides an account that will be of value primarily to those interested in the history of Portland and the Pacific Northwest. He has assiduously unearthed every imaginable detail about Portland's business elite. Well-chosen photographs grace each chapter of his volume. Readers seeking a study addressed to a broader audience, however, will be disappointed. Although he alludes to the findings of other historians, MacColl fails to relate his research fully to that of others. Nor does he draw out the conclusions that might follow from his own work. Those hoping to find new insights into urban, business, or frontier history will have to look elsewhere. Scholars interested in how Portland's business development related to national trends would do better to examine Carl Abbott's excellent *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City* (1983).

MANSEL G. BLACKFORD
Ohio State University

THOMAS D. HALL. *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350–1880.* (Studies in Historical Social Change.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1989. Pp. xvi, 287. $35.00.

At the 1989 St. Louis meeting of the Organization of American Historians, a session composed of Martin Ridge, Richard Etulain, Michael Malone, and Patricia Limerick strove mightily to transcend Frederick Jackson Turner in conceptualizing the American frontier. Regionalism, globalization, and conquest were the operative words and the contending possibilities. This book by Thomas D. Hall would have made a fascinating injection for that debate, which among these and other scholars, such as Donald Worcester and John Mack Faragher, has become the liveliest donnybrook to enliven the historiography of the American West in generations.

Hall is a sociologist, and he seeks a broad interpretive theory of frontier change. As a historical sociologist, he is faced initially with the distinction between history and sociology, and he begins with Robert Nisbet's injunction that social theory must be based on concrete historical data. Hall takes the Spanish, Mexican, and American "Southwest" from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries as his reference point. It is a useful historical delimitation, he contends, because within it one can see the interactions of state and nonstate societies and compare the effects of the imposition of both declining mercantilism and rising capitalism.

In this time and place, he explores interpretations such as modernization, dependency, and world-system theories and then comes down clearly on the side of a reformulated theory of incorporation. Indeed, at one point he defines a frontier as "where, in social and geographical space, incorporation occurs" (p. 24). He does not favor the first three approaches (the names of Immanuel Wallerstein, Charles Tilly, and Eric Wolf are the most prominent examples) because, among other things, they limit "the range of social changes examined" and hold that range constant (p. 15). Hall is more concerned with interactions, processes that work both ways, and thus he finds incorporation theory more useful. "Incorporation involves a complex 'interaction effect'" (p. 242). "Incorporated groups, especially nonstate societies, play a more active role in the process than is typically accorded them" (p. 247). In such ways, Hall would endear himself to the American frontier's process theoreticians (such as Howard Lamar and Limerick).

Using these theoretical tools, Hall proceeds to sketch the preconquest situation with the native (nonstate) peoples and the effects on them of the endemic warfare produced by Spanish policies and replicated in New Mexico. Flowing in the opposite direction, the Pueblo Revolt, for example, induced a different kind of subsequent colonization in the area. More peaceful strategies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were again undercut or reinforced by the differences in local economic and ecological conditions. Mexican independence made possible the Santa Fe trade with Missouri, and one of the consequences was another breakdown of frontier peace. Hall's final major topic is the American conquest and its slow consolidation, a process he sees as taking at least a half-century and probably more.

In all these respects, Hall finds dynamism far more important than tradition. If, as he claims, his historical sociology accents sociology, it is probably because he constantly eschews parochialism for the wider context. The discussion of social change in a four-hundred-year period of the Southwest comes down finally to "how one interprets the world" (p. 237). In this respect Hall comes closer to really good history than he might imagine.

ROBERT V. HINE
University of California, Riverside

FERENC MORTON SZASZ. *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865–1915.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. 288. $27.50.

Historians, film makers, and novelists have evoked an American West of epic scale and universal popularity but, astonishingly, have scarcely mentioned religion in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains. As a result, "the story of the churches in the trans-Mississippi West," writes Ferenc Morton Szasz, "is still largely *terra incognita*" (p. 6).

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Focusing on Protestant churchmen and churches in this region between 1865 and 1915, Szasz finds that obscure figures such as Sheldon Jackson, Brother Van, and Bishop Tuttle sought to "Christianize" and "civilize" the new West in much the way that the more famous Lyman Beecher and Horace Bushnell sought to "save" the first West. Western clergy conveyed a national cultural tradition of "stability, decorum, and morality in the context of a harsh and shifting world" (p. 29). Like eastern clergy, they served not only as Sunday preachers but also as public lecturers, librarians, counselors, peace keepers, social workers, and educators.

Protestant clergy in the American West, however, were more than clones of their counterparts in the East. In a land of incredible vastness, ministers reached beyond their plain frame churches by way of novel forms of itineracy, such as the railroad chapel car (the "Episcopal Palace") and the later auto chapel cars (the first campers). When revivals and camp meetings on the East Coast were serving as fashionable family "resorts," in the new West they retained the rustic tone of antebellum years. And the older West's proliferation of theological factions and new sects gave way beyond the Mississippi to relatively cooperative relations among the churches.

Western Protestant clergy also faced "exceptional populations" in proportions unknown in the East. Protestant-Catholic relations in New Mexico remained rather peaceful because of splits within both camps. In Utah, Protestant ministers may have converted few Mormons, but Szasz credits them with "mainstreaming" (p. 174) Mormonism by destroying polygamy and establishing the public school system. Missionary efforts to "redeem" American Indians produced Indian hospitals and Indian schools, but Indian cultures were revitalized by blending Christian teachings and traditional ways. The Social Gospel adopted a western flavor in its programs for western immigrants, its language schools for the Chinese, its southwestern health care, and in Kansan Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps*.

Szasz has produced a finely crafted monograph on the integral role of religion in western life marked by both perceptive analysis and artful narrative. He studies clergy from the following groups (listed in order of their numerical importance in 1850): Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians. But his coverage of them seems to me (without making an actual count) to reverse the order, drawing somewhat more from the Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians than from the Methodists and Baptists. Even the splendid photographs (pp. 103–29) reflect this imbalance. That is a minor complaint, however. Szasz has reopened the trans-Mississippi West in a book that will prove indispensable not only to historians of American religion but to those of social, cultural, and, of course, frontier history as well.

JONATHAN M. BUTLER
Riverside, California

DUANE A. SMITH. *Mesa Verde National Park: Shadows of the Centuries*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1988. Pp. xi, 254. Cloth $25.00, paper $12.95.

Duane A. Smith's well-written narrative provides an entertaining and perceptive analysis of the first cultural national park in the United States (and the world) established at Mesa Verde in 1906 to preserve the magnificent cliff dwellings of the Anasazi in southwestern Colorado. Well-known publicizers and friends of Mesa Verde have included Frederick Law Olmsted, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Willa Cather, and photographer William H. Jackson. Unfortunately, publicity also alerted amateur "pot hunters" and commercial artifact scavengers who ravaged the archaeological treasures during the decades before Mesa Verde became a national park.

Arguments to set aside Mesa Verde as a federal reserve emphasized the national significance of the ruins and their imminent destruction if protection were not forthcoming, the unsuitability of the area for agriculture because of its aridity, and the potential for tourism revenues to pump life into the region's depressed economy. The chambers of commerce of the nearby towns of Cortez, Mancos, and Durango competed with each other for the travelers' dollars. Yet during the early years only a trickle of visitors came because of the park's remoteness and lack of water and good roads at the site itself. Eventually the federal government built a million-gallon water reservoir and improved roads and tourist facilities. Consequently, visitation has increased from 27 in 1906 to a record high of 676,935 in 1976. During its first eight decades, Mesa Verde averaged almost 200,000 visitors annually for a cumulative total of 15,670,456, an impressive number indeed.

Predictably, the hordes of tourists have threatened the park's delicate natural and cultural resources, in particular the cliff dwellings and other antiquities (four thousand sites in the park have been identified). The author's case study of Mesa Verde documents the evolution of archaeological awareness in the United States and the development of a model cultural resources management program at the nation's only World Heritage Cultural Site (designated by UNESCO in 1978). Other issues that Smith ably covers include strained relations between whites and the Ute Indians over boundary disputes and other misunderstandings that have continued into the 1980s, wartime pressures on the park to tap its resources for national defense, the means by which employees and their families coped with life in a remote desert park (some of the most humorous anecdotes in the book relate to this topic), controversies with neighboring ranchers who viewed Mesa Verde as a sanctuary for predators, and other administrative, political, and environmental problems (for example, tight budgets, forest fires, industrial pollution, sonic booms from U.S. Air Force jets, and squabbles with concessionaires, to name several).

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Smith's thoroughly researched book is a valuable addition to the monographic literature of the history of natural and cultural resource sites in the United States. The author has left no stone unturned, drawing on interviews and correspondence, private and government archival collections, newspapers, theses, government documents, and other published materials. Because Smith deals with his subject chronologically, some may find the chapters repetitive as the same problems recur decade after decade. But this is minor and is more than compensated for by Smith's skill as a storyteller. And, finally, the attractive book is further enhanced by over fifty photographs, including, on the dust jacket, William H. Jackson's masterpiece of Cliff Palace.

JOHN R. JAMESON
Kent State University

EDMUND BERKELEY and DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY. *George William Featherstonhaugh: The First U.S. Government Geologist.* (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 357. $39.95.

George William Featherstonhaugh was born in England but came to the United States in 1806, where he spent many years as farmer, businessman, and geologist before returning to Europe in the early 1840s to serve as British consul at Le Havre. He is known mainly for his work in geology during the 1830s. In Philadelphia he was closely linked with a number of individuals and institutions important in the development of that science in the United States. He founded the *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science*, in which he published, among other things, the proceedings of the Geological Society of Pennsylvania and the papers of many of its members. In 1834 he was hired to do a geological survey of the area between the Missouri and Red rivers. It was the first of several surveys he did for government officials and the survey from which his title as U.S. geologist derives. His work for the government also included a geological survey of the Maine–New Brunswick border, which was done in an effort to settle a boundary dispute.

This biography by Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley is based on Featherstonhaugh's correspondence and journals and a limited number of secondary works. It is the first extensive study of his life. The authors provide a useful survey of his activities and give a broader vision of a man who is generally thought of only in connection with his work in geology. As a narrative or chronicle of his life, this biography will have some popular appeal, but historians are not likely to find it a satisfying work.

Although Featherstonhaugh's activities are discussed, sometimes in such detail that we learn what he had for breakfast, it is unfortunate that there is little or no insight into his work or its significance or into his place in the overall development of geology as a scientific pursuit in the United States. Anyone who has studied that development during the 1830s is acutely aware of Featherstonhaugh. His lectures, his activities in the Geological Society and other organizations in Philadelphia, his friendships with others interested in geology, and his role as U.S. geologist suggest that more should be known of him than is generally the case. He, with some of his Philadelphia friends such as Richard Harlan, was often involved in combative relationships with other geologists, and, although he seemed to have considerable influence shortly after he began to dedicate himself to geology about 1830, by the mid-1830s his influence had declined markedly. Some of his contemporaries believed that he and his closest colleagues were out of step with new trends in geology, and some scoffed at what they considered to be his self-designation as U.S. geologist. The authors have missed much of that side of Featherstonhaugh, and so the issues that may be involved go unnoticed.

Nor do the authors explore whether Featherstonhaugh's observations made on his surveys contributed meaningfully to an understanding of the geology of the United States. In fact, very little is said about his actual geological work except in the most general sense. For example, the authors make several references to Featherstonhaugh's identification of Silurian rocks, but for a time almost all the older rocks of the continent were called Silurian, so that lacking some further exploration of his work, such references are almost meaningless.

PATSY GERSTNER
Cleveland Health Sciences Library

SYDNEY A. HALPERN. *American Pediatrics: The Social Dynamics of Professionalism, 1880–1980.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 228. $27.50.

Medicine underwent a dramatic transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sydney A. Halpern has investigated one aspect of this phenomenon, the creation and development of pediatrics. This specialization began at the end of the nineteenth century in the form of pediatric professional organizations and hospitals and was fueled at least in part by a changing view of children. High infant death rates were frequently correlated with poor feeding practices, which early pediatricians analyzed within emerging scientific theories of nutrition.

By the early twentieth century, pediatrics had become a full-time specialty for a small but growing number of physicians as an increasing number of hospitals provided workplaces for specialists and as a revised medical curriculum incorporated pediatrics as an autonomous department in the modern medical school. At the same time, physicians interested in pediatric issues joined with concerned child-health activists in national and local organizations devoted to the prevention of infant mortality and the improve-

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ment of child health. These developments helped broaden the base of physicians interested in pediatrics.

By the 1920s and 1930s, the specialty had grown well beyond infant feeding and childhood illness to include many aspects of normal growth and development in children. Well-baby clinics were manifestations of this reorientation. At the same time, professional and educational changes helped redefine pediatrics. By 1933, pediatricians had established the American Board of Pediatrics, a national certifying body.

Halpern finds that a similar constellation of interrelated factors, with the addition of new research and new technology, encouraged the later appearance of subspecialties such as pediatric endocrinology and pediatric cardiology. The author also recognizes the important influence of funding sources, particularly, after World War II, of the National Institutes of Health.

This book presents a detailed portrait of a medical specialty, providing an interesting analysis of the creation of a profession. Halpern documents the concerns of leading professionals, such as Abraham Jacobi and Edwards A. Park. She examines the aims and ideals of organizations, such as the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the significance of changes in the medical school curriculum. Halpern has constructed a careful history of pediatrics from the perspective of the pediatricians involved.

Her study of contemporary professional literature, supplemented with interviews, does not provide us, however, with insight into many of the challenges faced by pediatricians. Most especially, how were people convinced that one should attend a specialist rather than a generalist and, even more significantly, that one should take a healthy child to a doctor at all? Moreover, the study lacks any gender analysis. Until recently pediatrics has been staffed almost exclusively by men, a point the author acknowledges in passing. Yet her presentation never considers that, in general, it is mothers who took, and still take, their children to the doctor and that pediatricians consciously sought to persuade mothers to bring even their healthy children to specialists.

Still, even with these limitations, the work is an important contribution to our understanding of the history of medicine and the history of the professions in general. It is a book that will be useful to historians, sociologists, and those interested in the roots of our present medical dilemmas.

RIMA D. APPLE
University of Wisconsin, Madison

HARVEY A. LEVENSTEIN. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 275. $29.95.

Between 1880 and 1930, according to Harvey A. Levenstein, the food habits of the majority of the people in the United States were radically transformed under the convergent pressures of vertically integrating food processors, commercial food conglomerates, patrician domestic economists, efficiency experts, scientific nutritionists, pure food campaigners, pediatricians, public health nurses, social welfare agencies, Herbert Hoover's Food Administration of World War I, and the advertising, or publicity, pursued by them all. Mothers in their kitchens, with fewer servants at home and more children in school, and cooks in school (and army) cafeterias began to put into practice some of the principles of the New Nutrition, which required attention to the quality as well as to the quantity of food. By the 1920s, middle-class meals were much smaller than they had been in the 1870s, "balanced" by vitamins, proteins, carbohydrates, fats, calories, and colors. Fruits and vegetables were nutritive essentials rather than ornamental condiments; beef overtook pork as the meat of choice.

Most of these points have been argued before, and Levenstein himself has published appetizers in such journals as the *American Quarterly*, the *Journal of American History*, and *Food and Foodways*. Given his previous books on labor organizations, it is no surprise that Levenstein's particular contribution is his attentiveness to the failures and then the successes of the upper middle class in its attempts to persuade the less enlightened laboring class of the benefits of the New Nutrition. The most revealing (and original) chapter concerns "The Great Malnutrition Scare" of 1907–21, in which Levenstein makes good use of the records of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor to show the complex power relations of class, science, and ethnicity.

Even so, the book does not convince me that laborers underwent a "revolution at the table" during the same fifty years in which the middle class did. It may be true that food-marketing chains in the countryside and luncheonettes in the cities gradually homogenized the foods eaten by blue-collar and white-collar Americans, by ensconced "natives" and plebeian immigrants. But predilections for sweets (early listed as one of the basic foods), white flour (later enriched to "build strong bodies twelve ways"), pie (and Bromo Seltzer), fats (butter, ice cream, frying oils), and salty but otherwise bland foods in heaping portions did not change among the laboring poor until the 1960s, when another revolution (discussed superficially in chapter 16) began to sweep across supermarket shelves.

Levenstein is at his least convincing (and perhaps least comfortable) when discussing food "fads," such as Fletcherizing, in part because he is as dismissive of faddists as are university scientists and in part because he does not seem to have decided where he stands vis-à-vis nutritional "science." On one page, he criticizes New Nutritionist calculations of daily requirements from the perspective of present-day "medical" nutrition (p. 57), and on another page he notes that, "as for nutrition, there seems little agreement on anything except that it must be important" (p. 209). His apparent ambivalence about the intellectual and cultural

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authority of science (he appears to accept with fewer qualms the integrity of medical science than the integrity of nutritional science) often saps the strength of the points he wishes to make about the collusion of nutritionists and food corporations.

As a "foray" (p. viii) into the history of changing food habits, the book is a mild success, generally well written and securely, although not thoroughly, rooted in archival and primary sources. The book also contributes to labor history, the history of social work, and immigration history but not especially to women's history, the history of medicine, or the history of science, as Levenstein hoped (p. ix). Undergraduates will enjoy it.

HILLEL SCHWARTZ
Encinitas, California

ERIC J. HOOGLUND, editor. *Crossing the Waters: Arabic-Speaking Immigrants to the United States before 1940.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1987. Pp. xiv, 188. $22.50.

The most visible figures in the American ethnic mosaic have been the largest groups, such as the Irish, Germans, Italians, Jews, and Poles. The less prominent figures, however, have been just as significant in revealing the action of historical forces that have produced the arrangement of ethnic relations. This collection of essays deals with a population that produced one of the minor figures, the Arabic-speaking immigrant groups from the Near East. These were predominantly Lebanese Christians, called "Syrians," but also included small numbers of Jews and Muslims. This book suggests that small, non-European groups constitute a potentially important field for research and shows the historiographical problems inherent in dealing with such groups.

The three sections of the book seem to reflect a concept of historical change that proceeds in levels from movements of migration and acculturation, to the impact of those movements on particular communities, to their role in shaping personal histories. The first two thematic sections are much better integrated than the last section, which consists of biographical sketches that are not anchored in the context of historical currents.

Reading this book makes it apparent that the history of Arabic-speaking immigrants is a *terra incognita*. The authors of the articles are hampered by the absence of a historiographical tradition within which to place their work. The articles are not methodologically sophisticated or comparative in vision. They also suffer from the documentary limitations on exploring the history of such small groups. The published reports of the federal and state censuses and the federal immigration bureau contain relevant crude data, but the all-important areas of demography and social structure can be approached only through a close examination of manuscript census schedules, which are still unavailable for the periods of early community building. Finally, written records commonly neglected the experiences of the Arabic speakers.

Perhaps the collection's most theoretically interesting feature is the light it throws on the process by which Syrians were involved in the drawing of the color line. Michael W. Suleiman and Raouf J. Halaby describe the barriers against accepting them as whites. Some Syrians were rejected as nonwhites when they applied for naturalization. Nancy Faires Conklin and Nora Faires describe how the Syrian community in Birmingham, Alabama, was isolated in the racial caste system and occupied a position between native whites and blacks. Policy makers questioned whether Syrians should be barred from entry to the United States on the grounds that their Near Eastern ancestry put them in a different category of assimilability from Europeans.

The experience of Arabic-speaking immigrants also reveals the organizational problems faced by demographically small communities. The development of group life was hampered by the small number of immigrants. Demographic limits required a more inclusive definition of ethnicity and institutional membership to sustain community. Highly mobile segments of the population found integration with other groups unavoidable because of their community's small size. The adoption of the label "Syrian" by Lebanese Christians who had migrated from a Turkish-ruled state exemplified how a group that did not have a modern national identity created a public ethnic identity.

Despite the uneven quality of writing and research, this book reawakens attention to the unique sociological position of small groups outside the mainstream European experience. It spotlights the complications of adjustment for Arabic-speaking immigrants caused by their small number and allows comparison with the experiences of parallel groups such as early Korean and Turkish immigrants. It points out the ambiguities of the dividing line between white and nonwhite in the United States. This collection of essays is a hopeful sign that historians will deepen their examination of small, non-European groups to grasp the subtle inclusive and exclusive processes of ethnic definition.

REED UEDA
Tufts University

MARTIN GREEN. *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1988. Pp. 325. $24.95.

The Pageant of the Paterson Strike took place a few blocks from, and a few months after, the Armory Show of modern art. Taking those two cultural events as his dramatic focus, Martin Green explores the rebellious but open spirit of 1913. He analyzes the separate sources, contexts, and consequences of the two events, and he connects them. Greenwich Village was the crucial audience for the Pageant and the Armory Show, and the Village hostess, Mabel Dodge, promoted both of them. Both "shows" rebelled against conven-

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tional middle-class values; both redefined the meaning of art. Enacted by eleven hundred silk strikers in Madison Square Garden, the Pageant was conceived by Bill Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World and John Reed of the Village as a means of publicizing the class struggle taking place in Paterson, New Jersey. The Armory Show of modern American and European art was conceived by New York artists, including realists such as Robert Henri and John Sloan, as a means of publicizing their struggle against establishment art, but many of those artists were shaken when the formal experiments of Cézanne, Picasso, and Marcel Duchamp stole the show.

Green seems more comfortable with the ironies of the Armory Show than with the idealism of the Pageant. In his book the antipolitical thrust of modernism comes through somewhat more clearly than the revolutionary thrust of workers' control. But Green realizes that any judgments he makes on the relative merits of the two events depend on artistic and political criteria that have separated since 1913. And he tries, rather like a cubist painter, to look at 1913 from the different perspectives of modernism and of radicalism simultaneously.

To make his analysis more concrete and to flesh out the connections between movements, Green uses cultural figures as signs or emblems of particular artistic and political stances. Thus, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Duchamp come to signify the opposite paths taken by radicalism and modern art after 1913. Or, even more aptly, Dorothy Day and William Carlos Williams emerge as heirs to the constructive spirit of 1913. The limit of Green's method of using people is that they rarely take on a life of their own. The exceptions, significantly, are Dodge and Duchamp—two destructive and deconstructive modern types.

Still, Green never condescends to the men and women of 1913, as many studies do, nor does he play it safe. Whenever forced to choose between a neat conceptual scheme and the actual complexities of the movements in 1913 or of our relationship to them, he chooses complexity. Like the people he is studying, Green is interested in the connections between art and politics. But unlike Reed and Dodge and Sloan, he writes with full awareness that the most powerful political and artistic tendencies have long since diverged and that today they confront each other as incomprehensible. The great strength of his study is that it does not simplify the tension between the radical and artistic movements in 1913, nor does it minimize our difficulty in appreciating how revolutionary politics and modern art ever had anything in common.

STEVE GOLIN
Bloomfield College

HOWARD KIMELDORF. *Reds or Rackets? The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 242. $27.50.

This book examines two case studies in longshore unionism during the early and mid-twentieth century. On the West Coast, longshoremen built a powerful, economically militant, politically radical union in the 1930s that broke from the all but moribund International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) to become the CIO-affiliated International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. During the Great Depression they transformed class relations on the docks, wresting control of the labor supply, imposing impressive work rules that sharply limited managers' authority, and ending many of the abuses that had characterized their trade. In contrast, the East Coast witnessed no such impressive upheaval. Under the domination of Joseph ("King Joe") Ryan, the ILA performed poorly as a union, refrained from strikes or job actions, collaborated with employers, physically crushed internal dissent, and established deep ties to organized crime. While West Coast rank-and-file longshoremen and union leaders often expressed left-wing views, in New York political and cultural conservatism was dominant. Howard Kimeldorf's main question is, how did these two groups of dock workers, based in the same industry and confronting many of the same shipping lines, come "to embrace such different political orientations" (p. x).

The answer, he finds, lies in the historical patterns of occupational recruitment, port ecology, the nature of employers' responses to unionization, and the strategies adopted by radicals. West Coast and East Coast longshoremen came from very different backgrounds. In the West, seamen and loggers constituted the most important source of longshore labor. Geographically mobile, isolated from the dominant political culture yet cosmopolitan and even international, ethnically more homogeneous than East Coast dockers, loggers and seamen were receptive to the syndicalism articulated by the Industrial Workers of the World in the aftermath of World War I. New York longshoremen were ethnically heterogeneous (though dominated by Italians and Irish) and culturally conservative, in part because of the influence of the Catholic church. They identified strongly with their immigrant neighborhood enclaves and rejected the Wobblies' brand of militancy. Employer strategies on the two coasts also differed sharply and reinforced workers' identification with radicalism or conservatism. Exhibiting a greater capacity for self-organization, West Coast employers declared war on their unions in the 1920s, reinforcing dock workers' syndicalist orientation. More numerous East Coast employers remained divided. Unable to act in a unified manner, many tolerated a weak and conservative ILA.

Of critical importance for Kimeldorf is the role of radicals in shaping the union movements. The strategies adopted by Communists, he argues, account in part for the success of the West Coast insurgency by 1934. Sensitive to rank-and-file sensibilities, local Communists exhibited a flexibility by working within the ILA at a time when the Communist party was still pursuing its Third Period strategy of dual, revolution-

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ary unionism. Remaining within the ILA, Communists were able to influence demands, tactics, and, ultimately, the character of the insurgency. On the East Coast, Communists' advocacy of dual unionism won them very few supporters; operating outside of the corrupt and conservative ILA, they exercised no influence. For Kimeldorf, proper strategy makes a difference.

This study is a work of historical sociology. What it lacks in nuanced texture and historical detail, it makes up for in the clarity of the questions it poses, its comparative focus, and its emphasis on the structures of the industry and its work forces. The book, however, devotes unequal attention to the two coasts. Kimeldorf is more interested in the success of the radical West Coast longshoremen (about which more has been written) than in the continual failures of their East Coast counterparts. As a result, the history of New York workers is less developed, serving more as a foil to examine workers' radicalism than as a means to explore their conservatism.

ERIC ARNESEN
Harvard University

AILEEN S. KRADITOR. *"Jimmy Higgins": The Mental World of the American Rank-and-File Communist, 1930–1958.* (Contributions in Political Science, number 207.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. viii, 283. $39.95.

In her preface Aileen S. Kraditor suggests that conservative analyses of the American Communist party, in deviating from what she calls "the prevailing mode of interpretation," have a difficult time finding publishers (p. ix). Unfortunately, in ignoring or trivializing virtually all of the prevailing scholarship on American communism, she seriously circumscribes her own contribution.

Kraditor describes her study as "part history, part recollection, and part rumination" (p. 4), an approach that allows her to combine an analysis of American Communist party literature with a theory of the nature of communism and, indeed, of all movements inspired by Marxism and with her own biography of disillusion and conversion.

She portrays Jimmy Higgins, the ideal rank-and-file Communist, as a true believer suffering from a disorder of the soul. Kraditor skillfully argues against approaches that reduce Communists to neurotics or cynics, although that first approach chronically seeps through her essentially ideological analysis. To Kraditor, Communists, as well as other radical utopians, suffered from the sin of moral complacency; in flight from complexity, they established closed mental and organizational worlds to protect themselves from their own curiosity, from reality itself. Kraditor offers a useful if overworked argument concerning the risks and consequences of utopian thought, but she is oblivious to the mirror-image smugness of her own conservative mental world.

Most damaging to Kraditor's case is her assumption that a mental world can be constructed from party literature. Without belaboring her heavy-handed use of such literature or the absence of systematic evidence concerning rank-and-file reading habits, one must focus on her obliviousness to the social and historical contexts within which mental worlds are constructed. Kraditor offers precious little in her analysis of the particular qualities and history of the American Communist party. For example, the best of recent social histories suggest that depression-era Communists were native-born Popular Fronters whose American character contributed to their abandonment of the party in the mid-1950s. Kraditor is satisfied to conclude that those radicals, in maintaining much of their socialist idealism after rejecting the party, demonstrated the primacy of their utopian mental world over their organizational loyalties. Her model, in which she contends that most rank-and-file Communists were "Type I" haters rather than "Type II" innocents (pp. 41–45), leads her to conclude, despite overwhelming evidence, that most rank-and-file Communists preferred Fosterite militancy to Browderite reformism. She seems astonishingly uninterested in differences among Communists of different nationalities and generations or in variations among different kinds of radicals.

At one point Kraditor promises to examine what Higgins read, felt, believed, and did. Regarding the first three subjects, her efforts are uneven and add little to our understanding. Regarding what rank-and-file Communists actually did, she offers virtually nothing. As a result, her analysis substitutes philosophical polemics for historical examination and yields, despite her intentions, a dated psychological reductionism. Despite a few insightful offerings, Kraditor's study reflects a regression to the cold war–based, demonological studies of the 1950s.

PAUL LYONS
Stockton State College

RHONDA F. LEVINE. *Class Struggle and the New Deal: Industrial Labor, Industrial Capital, and the State.* (Studies in Historical Social Change.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1988. Pp. xi, 233. $25.00.

This recent entry in the burgeoning field of New Deal analysis looks at the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration and its relations to economic and social developments in the 1930s from a Marxist point of view. Rhonda F. Levine has moved a long way, however, from the categorical statement of *The Communist Manifesto* that "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." Indeed, she criticizes some historians who claim that New Deal policies were manipulated by the dominant capitalist class to further its own interests. Such an assertion, Levine says, "oversimplifies the nature of class relations" and "fails . . . to ac-

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count for divisions within the capitalist class itself" (p. 6).

Based mainly on her extensive reading of monographs on the depression and the New Deal, Levine argues that the policies of the Roosevelt administration were shaped by the "dynamic of the class struggle in the United States during the 1930s" (pp. 14–15), and in turn those policies modified the course of the class struggle. For example, she points out that the Roosevelt Brain Trust initially planned to revive the economy in a manner similar to that suggested by such big business leaders as Gerard Swope of General Electric. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) as originally outlined contained no concessions to labor, but, because of unrest and radicalization of employed and unemployed workers, Section 7(a) was added. When the NIRA failed to produce economic recovery and instead had the unintended consequences of sharpening the struggle between capital and labor and intracapitalist conflict between monopoly and nonmonopoly business, Roosevelt backed the Wagner Act and established the Temporary National Economic Committee to investigate the growth of monopolies. Levine even attributes Roosevelt's attempt to reorganize the executive branch to the recognition that the increased concentration of capital and need for government to mediate intracapitalist and labor-management conflict mandated a rationalized state capable of performing these tasks.

Using her class struggle analysis, Levine comes to conclusions that partly agree and partly disagree with those of the two main schools of New Deal historiography. With William E. Leuchtenburg and those who emphasize the radical innovations of the Roosevelt era, she finds that the political and economic order was fundamentally altered, and the relationships among industrial capital, industrial labor, and the state "became regulated by new structural forms" (p. 4). On the other hand, she claims, as do Paul K. Conkin and other historians who stress the conservative nature of the New Deal, that it ushered in a post–World War II period in which monopoly capital increased its economic and political hegemony and labor militance was diffused by the junior status granted labor unions, purged of Communists, in the economy and government through state-sanctioned collective bargaining and their inclusion in the coalition comprising the Democratic party. Despite excessive social science jargon, this work offers a complex and rather compelling interpretation of the New Deal.

BARBARA BLUMBERG
Pace University

JAMES S. OLSON. *Saving Capitalism: The Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the New Deal, 1933–1940.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. 246. $30.00.

James S. Olson's book opens with the theme that the New Dealers learned and profited by Herbert Hoover's experiences and mistakes. The basic elements of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), even of the Emergency Banking Act of the Hundred Days, in whose operation the RFC played a leading role, were Hoover administration creations. But Franklin Roosevelt and Jesse Jones, head of the RFC, realized from the outset what Hoover learned too late, namely, that a great deal more than short-term credit was necessary to resuscitate the nation's financial institutions. Thus, the Roosevelt-era RFC adopted bolder strategies, expanding the volume of lending not merely by giving more favorable terms but also by providing working capital, mainly to banks and railroads but even to industrial enterprises.

A second theme that Olson pursues is the grand, if limited, success that the RFC enjoyed. He credits the high volume of RFC lending with the decided improvement in financial stability that marked Roosevelt's first term. This success was, of course, marred by the failure of bankers' commercial loans to recover to anything like their volume in the 1920s. Instead, the volume of such loans in 1934 even dropped below their volume in 1933. Concerned that the bankers' continuing default of their appropriate function was frustrating the recovery effort, Jones and Roosevelt adopted direct lending to businesses. This attempt to expand business activity was also frustrated. Even though the RFC renewal act of 1935 empowered Jones to offer actual investment loans as well as the long-term loans that he was already offering, the volume of applications was disappointing. Olson, accepting prevailing wisdom, takes this fact as proof that the RFC theory of recovery was wrong, that stimulation of consumption rather than of credit was the correct key to have turned.

The author's third and most important theme is that the Jones-Roosevelt brand of "state capitalism," as Olson calls it, steered a middle way. Jones used the coercive power inherent in his loan programs sparingly, his purpose fixed determinedly on bolstering and eventually restoring the health of the credit markets. Thus, the RFC's ventures into direct lending to industry and commerce were not an entering wedge for government usurpation of banking but merely a reluctant compensation for the bankers' failures.

As early as 1934, Hans Morgenthau, Jr., the budget-minded treasury secretary, began his campaign to curtail the RFC. As the financial picture improved, the RFC's lending slowed, and, in October 1937, Roosevelt actually told Jones that his agency would be phased out soon. The recession in 1938 restored the RFC to importance, however, as the spenders, who visualized the agency as a conduit for large scale and prompt public works lending and small business loans, gained Roosevelt's ear. Then Jones, unconverted by the new gospel of spending to stimulate consumption, came under fire for the caution he exercised. In 1939 Roosevelt attempted to reduce Jones's grip on RFC policy but failed, and Jones continued to expand the

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agency's lending at his own pace. Returning prosperity renewed the old quarrel with Morgenthau, but the approach of war spared Jones from any serious threat. Olson ends his story with a brief rehearsal of the key role that the RFC played during World War II.

Olson's overall conclusion is that "state capitalism," the underwriting of the credit institutions, was necessary (although it failed to stimulate recovery) and, together with Keynsianism, constituted the major legacy of the New Deal era. The RFC therefore should rank with the National Recovery Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration as one of three key recovery agencies.

These are reasonable though not startling conclusions. A great strength of Olson's account is his true grasp of the technical intricacies of his subject and his patience with matters of detail. Certainly this is a solid contribution that establishes clearly the RFC's role as well as the recovery ideology behind it. By demonstrating the agreement over ends and means that Jones and Roosevelt shared, at least until 1938, Olson's account reveals, from a somewhat fresh angle, the conservative purposes of much of the president's activism. One might question the recapitulation here of so much of the background of the Hoover era, drawn from the author's previous book. The time and space might have been better spent expanding the chapter, which is very good but too brief, that deals with Jones's role in the recovery debate of 1938–39.

ROBERT F. HIMMELBERG
Fordham University

MICHAEL DUNNE. *The United States and the World Court, 1920–1935*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. xii, 306. $39.95.

A good study of U.S. relations with the first World Court is needed but would demand much of an author, for the material tends to be tedious, technical, and awkward to handle. Unfortunately, Michael Dunne has done nothing to enliven a difficult topic. His solidly researched study sheds some light but is often confusing and frustrating.

Dunne devotes an extraordinary amount of space to attacking all previous literature on the subject, implying that none of it is competent. He is better, however, at saying what needs to be done than at doing it. Those without this literature at their fingertips will not gain any clear picture of issues that Dunne considers vital. He complains that most authors devote insufficient attention to the court's end of the equation, but he skimps as well, particularly on the court's origins. He demands a content analysis of both American public opinion and the propaganda blitz of 1935 to garner support for the court but provides startlingly little information on either. The lack of context and the frequent unexplained allusions lead one to wonder whether Dunne is writing for the handful of authors he attacks.

Dunne reports that the court was not of "*exclusively* American origins" (p. 10) and that Elihu Root was not its sole founder without explaining why either notion gained serious currency. He argues that American conditions for adherence were drafted by the court's supporters and that moves for delay of approval in the Senate came from pro-court senators, not the opposition. He further notes that some of the court's strongest supporters damaged their cause by stressing the link between the court and the League of Nations, one reason why the Senate rejected the court, along with its function of rendering advisory opinions and Franklin Roosevelt's unsuccessful effort to cow the Senate. He concludes without elaboration that the court battle was not between liberals and conservatives nor between internationalists and isolationists, noting that southern conservatives were often internationalists. How he would define the struggle is unclear, but he declares that both sides were unilateralist and nationalist.

Dunne has done a massive amount of research in U.S. archives and private papers as well as in newspapers and the materials of peace organizations and the like. He also used Foreign Office files on the United States and a few private papers. Beyond that he has read widely in the voluminous published records of the court and the League of Nations. One only wishes that all of this research had produced a more fully elaborated book. For example, Dunne implies that the American press and opinion favored adherence, which leaves one wondering why senators deemed support tantamount to political suicide. Moreover, Dunne does not suggest that Americans were arrogant, naive, and lacking in realism or that many actions were political. He notes, admirably, that the World Court was not the chief question preoccupying political leaders, but generally his tendency to adhere narrowly to his topic is excessive.

Dunne enjoys reporting speeches, especially senatorial ones. He has many to report and does so at length. Unfortunately, there is little suggestion (except regarding Roosevelt) that the issue might have been decided by something other than oratory.

The subject, so replete with political posturing, legal technicalities, and complex court opinions, is difficult. Dunne does not make it easier for the reader. His presentation is weak in logic, organization, focus, and clarity. The reader is afflicted with obscure vocabulary, eccentric usage, erratic footnoting, and sentence fragments. Somehow Dunne's discursive style manages to convey both chattiness and arrogance. The real difficulties, however, that will cause many readers to abandon a well-researched book containing useful material are, first, the lack of context and well-elaborated conclusions and, second, the fact that a topic so full of political tactics and legal technicalities requires a sharper focus and a much stronger narrative line than Dunne has managed to summon.

SALLY MARKS
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BARBARA STALLINGS. *Banker to the Third World: U.S. Portfolio Investment in Latin America, 1900–1986*. (Studies in International Political Economy.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987. Pp. xvii, 434. Cloth $45.00, paper $12.95.

Barbara Stallings's timely book presents valuable historical and analytical perspectives on the current debt crisis in Latin America. Examining U.S. private portfolio investment in Latin America in the twentieth century, the author particularly focuses on the lending booms of the 1920s and 1970s. Why, she asks, did U.S. banks lend in such volume during these decades? What were the characteristics of these booms and their aftermaths? How might historical understanding help resolve the current international financial turmoil and prevent recurrence? In answering these questions, Stallings makes important contributions both to the available economic data and to theories of capital export. This interdisciplinary book should attract the attention of anyone interested in the international financial order.

Stallings places U.S. lending to Latin America in the context of the previous century of British overseas investment. Broadening the analysis of lending cycles developed by Charles Kindleberger, she explains the two twentieth-century lending booms as products of a cumulative process involving a variety of political, institutional, and economic factors. She uses the well-developed theoretical literature about British overseas finance to frame her analytical questions.

To examine the political context, she traces the history of government involvement in lending. Although she finds that government provided an "adequate political context" for lending (p. 57) and often actively stimulated loans at the beginning of the loan cycle, she concludes that government involvement in private foreign lending was extremely limited during the boom decades.

She also details the institutional changes in banking structure and lending patterns, including the relationships over time between direct and portfolio investment, between commercial and investment banking, and between public and private loans. Statistical appendixes, which present useful and new data series, bolster her descriptions.

In addition, Stallings scrutinizes a host of economic factors on both the supply (U.S.) and the demand (Latin America) sides. In the United States, large-scale capital exports in the 1920s prove to be statistically associated with trends in domestic income distribution (a greater share going to the top), a slowdown in domestic economic growth, and an enlarged "yield premium" between interest rates abroad and at home; during the 1970s, however, these same variables seem either irrelevant or significant in a very different form. Statistical examination of demand variables, including Latin American growth rates and fiscal and foreign balances, reflects a weak relationship between these demand variables and foreign borrowing in the 1920s and a stronger correlation in the 1970s. Overall, Stallings sees her comprehensive examination of both the "push" and the "pull" of foreign lending as a major contribution of her book.

She presents her economic history as support for specific policy recommendations. Because lenders, borrowers, and the U.S. government have all had some responsibility (though in different mixes at different historical junctures) for the binges of lending, she concludes that "fairness dictates that all should share the sacrifices to resolve" the current Latin American debt crisis (p. 317). She endorses a comprehensive policy toward debt settlement rather than the case-by-case approach that the United States long followed. Furthermore, she argues that her findings support the need for governmental and multilateral agencies to take more active regulatory roles so that the cyclical pattern of mania, panic, and slump that has characterized foreign lending for over two centuries may be ended.

Although economic models and statistical correlations inform this book, historians should appreciate Stallings's decision to embed them within descriptive and historically contingent analyses. One narrative chapter, a case study of Peru's borrowing over the past century, helps provide depth and usefully illustrates the limitations of basing historical financial analyses solely on regional aggregates or on empirical models.

Still, historians could wish for even more emphasis on specifically researched contexts. For example, Stallings disagrees with writers—from J. A. Hobson to Herbert Feis—who have stressed a close connection between private portfolio investors and their governments; she argues that government's role as a "push" factor was small. Yet she has used no State Department records except a limited number on Peru, a case in which, interestingly, she finds substantial, even critical, governmental involvement in both the early 1920s and the early 1970s. State Department records for the early 1920s actually reveal a significant promotional role by the U.S. government and might have suggested an amended hypothesis about Washington's role. In fact, maximum government involvement at the peak of a surge (because it is then unneeded in stimulating investment) should not be the test of the state's promotional activism; examining the initial stages of the process is more relevant to formulating an overall conclusion about the nature of government's role.

Despite reservations that any scholar might have about specific points, I think this book is an outstanding work. Stallings's skillful focusing of issues and her clear conclusions will enliven discussion. Because of her presentation of theoretical issues, her extensive collections of data, and her broad historical perspective, she makes a striking contribution to economic history.

EMILY S. ROSENBERG
Macalester College

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MORRELL HEALD. *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900–1940*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 281. $24.00.

In this book, Morrell Heald presents a selective portrait of American foreign correspondents in Europe between 1900 and 1940. Sources include the journalistic writings, memoirs, and personal papers of individuals considered stars of the profession. The years chosen encompass one war and the coming of another. Such a combination should yield a fascinating look at attempts to keep the United States informed about Europe and the persons and events covered.

Unfortunately, the book is uneven and often unsatisfying. At his best, Heald provides insights into news gathering, problems between correspondents and their home offices, and the coming of World War II. At his worst, Heald bogs down in trivial details seemingly unrelated to the overall project. And his Europe excludes the Soviet Union, thus omitting an important player in world developments. In addition, the book is poorly balanced chronologically, for Heald covers the years through World War I in only forty-two pages.

Despite its faults, the book is occasionally quite interesting. Of particular value are discussions of problems that journalists encountered with home offices that wanted light, feature stories and strict cost containment. Stateside editors, much to the dismay of the correspondents, also firmly believed that Americans were uninterested in foreign news.

The problems that journalists had remaining impartial are also fascinating. Of greatest interest are Heald's accounts of reporters who became too involved with either foreign governments or with the U.S. government. The ethical questions involved affected the quality of the news presented, and a fuller treatment of these issues would have been appreciated, especially in the area of the relationship between American correspondents and their own government.

Heald also focuses on the difficulties involved in sending news out of European countries. American journalism, which included news that governments did not want to see printed, was unacceptable to most European governments. One way reporters sent unacceptable news was to bury it in stories basically favorable to the country in which the correspondents worked. This method may have allowed news to slip through governmental censors, but it also meant that American editors and readers had to work hard to find bits of truth.

The correspondents' views of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler highlight another interesting section of the book. Here, however, Heald's writing style often makes it difficult for the reader to determine whether the material being quoted comes from newspaper articles, magazine pieces, books, or private correspondence. The author relies on footnotes at the back of the book to convey that information rather than providing hints in the text, which would have been more helpful. More precise treatment and evaluation of such published material are also necessary, even though Heald contends that evaluating the effectiveness of the correspondents' work is difficult.

Books are organized as authors deem best. The fact that Heald causes the reader to want more information on the topics that he includes is a compliment to his subject. But one cannot leave this volume without wishing that the author had spent more time dealing with substantive issues and less time finding out where the correspondents went to grade school.

MARGARET A. BLANCHARD
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

CHRISTOPHER N. MAY. *In the Name of War: Judicial Review and the War Powers since 1918*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 370. $29.95.

Christopher N. May's book is an important contribution to the study of judicial review and congressional and presidential war powers. May's chronicle of congressional legislation and presidential exercise of the war powers between 1917 and 1921 incorporates the lawyer's analytical skills, the historian's appreciation of context, and the political scientist's understanding of the social and economic forces that motivated the Woodrow Wilson administration's manipulation of governmental power after the armistice of 1918. In a well-written, engaging, and tightly argued book, May demonstrates that President Wilson, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, and members of Congress employed the war powers to expand the national government's authority over the states and the economy, suppress left-wing political radicalism, and repress labor unrest. Not until 1920 did the Supreme Court take "the momentous step of establishing that war powers legislation would no longer be immune from judicial review" (p. 199).

Although May argues that the court, in *Hamilton v. Kentucky Distilleries* (1920), subjected the exercise of the war powers to judicial review in principle, he acknowledges that in practice the justices have vacillated between ritualistic approval of congressional and presidential action and judicial abdication. During the Vietnam War, for example, the federal courts either refused to entertain war powers questions or invoked the political question doctrine to avoid conflict with Congress and the president. As May observes, only one federal judge, Orrin Judd, held "that the bombing of Cambodia was unlawful" (p. 269). The Supreme Court's decision in *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer* (1952) remains a rare exception to judicial legitimation of presidential war making.

Searching for a middle course between judicial abdication and legitimation, May explores the conditions that encourage and inhibit the exercise of judicial power. He argues that the timing of judicial decisions is critical to the federal judiciary's intervention in war powers controversies. May concludes that federal

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judges are more likely to restrain Congress and the president once an emergency has abated or passed rather than in the early stages of military hostilities. The Supreme Court reached a decision in *Ex parte Milligan* (1866), for example, after the Civil War had ended. May also suggests that the courts are less likely to intervene if Congress and the president act in concert than if the two branches of government conflict. Finally, May observes that the judiciary is most likely to exercise self-restraint in challenges to the president's conduct of war in or near a theater of military operations.

Pursuing a middle course, May recommends that the federal courts delay war powers decisions until the exigencies of combat have passed and public passions have cooled. He recognizes that delay may be of little or no comfort to individuals who allege that the government's conduct violates their civil liberties. Nevertheless, decisions such as *Ex parte Endo* (1944), involving the conditional release of Japanese Americans from detention camps, may mean that public officials can be held accountable in the future. Although delay causes hardships to individuals and insular, often powerless, minorities, May argues that it is preferable to constitutionalizing wartime incursions on individual rights, as the Supreme Court did in *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943) and *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). Delay may not benefit aggrieved individuals, but it probably is salutary to the American political system.

The court's record of support for congressional war powers legislation and presidential war making calls for a sober second judgment about the judiciary's capacity to rescue the American people from themselves or from a government determined to conduct wars at the price of subverting constitutional limitations. The fact that the justices sustained the original Japanese detention orders on the same day, December 18, 1944, that they ordered the unconditional release of Matsui Endo indicates that delay does not necessarily guarantee an individual's rights or chart a clear course for government officials to follow. In an era of successive emergencies, May's book is a persuasive argument for close judicial scrutiny of claims that the war powers sustain public officials' conduct.

EDWARD KEYNES
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FRANCIS D. WORMUTH† and EDWIN B. FIRMAGE. *To Chain the Dog of War: The War Power of Congress in History and Law*. Assisted by FRANCIS P. BUTLER. Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 347. $27.50.

This study is an analysis of the congressional war power in the narrow context of initiation of war. Francis D. Wormuth and Edwin B. Firmage affirm, with the use of history and especially law, that, although "the Constitution assigns the power to initiate war solely to the Congress" (p. vii), there has been a "shift of the war power from Congress to the President" (p. 247), a trend that began in 1950 and continued during the Reagan presidency. Trained in constitutional and international law, the authors present a convincing argument against presidential war making, offering overwhelming legal and historical evidence that the war power has been exercised, with notable exceptions since 1950, by Congress.

They examine the eighteenth-century origins and early usage of the war clause after a less useful background chapter on the presidency, moving from Herodotus to the War Powers Act in fifteen pages. Their approach to the subject is immediately demonstrated: they quote extensively from contemporary sources and largely legal documents and authorities (the longest quotation appears on pages 283–85); and footnoting is awkwardly keyed to the bibliography or presented at the bottom of the page or keyed to a list of government documents at the back of the book. Excessive quotation and this documentation method are my major objections to the book. Otherwise, the argument is clearly and convincingly presented.

Most of this study is devoted to an examination of the different circumstances by which the United States has entered war. Neither the broader historical context nor the debates of historians over causes of war and responsibility for war is important to the authors. Instead, they are concerned about the legal authorities. In separate chapters, they conclude that the war clause conveys exclusively to Congress the power to initiate war and the power to undertake acts of war. They also examine the basis for exclusive congressional power over the armed forces, concluding with an excellent review of the commander-in-chief clause. They conclude that it is Congress that places forces at the president's command and that sets the boundaries of his power in that role.

One of the most useful chapters for historians of American diplomacy is "Lists of Wars," a discussion of presidential war making by contributing author Francis P. Butler. Again the authors assert that the practice of war making by the executive did not alter the Constitution. Analysis of the president "as Universal Providence," actually part of a two-chapter examination of the theory of inherent executive power, produces the same conclusion. Although the framers provided a "foreign affairs partnership" in many respects, the Congress alone may initiate war. The authors also find "little textual or historical support" (p. 181) for the view, asserted often since 1950, that the president is the "sole organ" or policy maker in foreign affairs.

In other chapters, Wormuth and Firmage examine cases of congressional delegation of the war power, including what they regard as the worst modern example, the War Powers Resolution. They include, as a form of delegation, appropriation of funds for military actions undertaken by the president but opposed by Congress. The Vietnam War, of course, is the context for much of this later analysis. The authors conclude

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with discussion of the war power in the nuclear age, arguing even more forcefully that Congress must play "its constitutional role in controlling the war powers" (p. 273) in the face of executive excesses. The means of doing so are listed: by budget roles, by advice and consent, by restricting use of executive agreements, by expressions of disapproval and censures, by legal action, and by impeachment.

Wormuth and Firmage offer a thorough examination of the war power of Congress throughout American history. Their research in legal records is particularly impressive and useful to diplomatic historians not as familiar with constitutional law. Their presentation, however, will be frustrating to many historians. It is at times made disjointed by their topical approach and organization, and their method of documentation does not aid understanding. Some historians will turn to this work, after a first reading, much as they would a reference book. Despite these criticisms, therefore, the authors have made a solid contribution to the debate that will continue on the war power of Congress.

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CHRISTOPHER C. GIBBS. *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 174. $24.00.

There is a clear and emphatic thesis in this small book. Christopher C. Gibbs maintains that, government propaganda and prevailing opinion to the contrary, Missouri did not support U.S. participation in World War I. Drawing material from state newspapers, private correspondence, and records of the Missouri Defense Council, Gibbs argues that the majority of Missourians opposed the war, "slacking when possible, resisting where necessary, and going along when no other course of action was available" (p. 156).

Gibbs effectively documents and proves this thesis in his discussion of recalcitrant labor unions that disrupted war production in the state and private citizens who were less than cooperative with crusades to conserve food and fuel. St. Louis ranked near the top of American cities with labor strife during the war, and the ugly Lead Belt riot of 1917 and the Kansas City general strike of 1918 combined to give Missouri workers a reputation of questionable loyalty. Similarly, organized drives to get pledges of frugality from housewives and farmers failed to achieve their goals and, again, cast doubt on the state's support for Woodrow Wilson's mobilization efforts. The author attributes much of this resistance and rebellion to Missouri's traditional localism and distrust of corporate leadership.

Less convincing are claims that the state resisted military service, rebuffed war bond sales, and subverted food production. Gibbs's documentation here is frequently anecdotal and seldom comparative with other states, and, in the case of military volunteers, his statistics contradict his argument. Missouri was, in fact, above average among states in supplying military personnel without conscription. The book's least convincing sections are, unfortunately, characterized by the most exaggerated prose. Rhetorical excess is followed by a paucity of evidence. For example, Gibbs's implication that surrounding states were probably just as resistant to the war as Missouri remains completely unsubstantiated.

The book is a handsome physical production. Footnotes are at the bottom of the pages where they belong, errors are minimal, and several wartime posters and cartoons are clearly reproduced. These graphics, however, do more to illustrate patriotic compliance with the war than resistance to it. But let us not be too harsh on unproven points. Gibbs all but admits that silence does not necessarily prove dissent. He coaxes it in that direction and occasionally makes us hear and believe.

GEORGE T. BLAKEY
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R. MICHAEL BERRY. *American Foreign Policy and the Finnish Exception: Ideological Preferences and Wartime Realities.* (Studia Historica, number 24.) Helsinki: SHS. 1987. Pp. 492.

R. Michael Berry's announced purpose is to demonstrate that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy, that historians of great powers ignore small states, and those of small states do not understand great powers. These views are not surprising, nor are they the results of his scholarly screening of newspapers and documents.

American attitudes toward Finland before World War II were dominated by the inaccuracy that "the Finns paid their war debts" (p. 24). America was "adolescent" (p. 40) in its belief in a liberal world order; Finland was wiser but more vulnerable; luckily both were on the periphery of great power machinations. The Finns chose to resist Joseph Stalin, and their willingness to fight in 1939–40 resulted in a loss of territory but a gain of respect.

Less commonplace are Berry's judgments about 1941 and after: Finns reentered the war, as Adolf Hitler's ally, to regain territory, and, from a strong anticommunism, but unlike other East European countries, Finland lacked a fascist movement. A right wing wanted a Greater Finland by adding border territories to which a strong opposition included Socialists and ethnic Swedes.

America and Finland had allies who were enemies, but they tenaciously avoided being enemies themselves, even when Franklin Roosevelt pressured Finns not to break the vital Murmansk supply line. American isolationists leaned toward Finland and internationalists toward Russia. By early 1943, many Finns were pressuring for peace, but the United States had become confident about cooperation with Russia, which meant that U.S. policy makers made scant issue of Finland.

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Roosevelt was on the verge of breaking relations in April, when the tention between Russians and Poles raised doubts again. The problem became that Roosevelt could not guarantee what Finland needed to exit the war, namely, to get the Germans out and keep the Russians out. Recognizing that the USSR would dominate Eastern Europe, Roosevelt adopted a "brilliant strategy" (p. 373): assume that democracy there could coexist with the Soviets. This assumption proved true with the Finns, who, unlike the Czechs, had much experience with the Russians and had shown a willingness both to compromise and to fight.

The Soviets had the sense not to impose unconditional surrender, yet the progress toward peace was interrupted by Finland's promise to Joachim von Ribbentrop on June 22, 1944, not to quit the war. After Hitler sent more troops, Roosevelt finally broke relations. When the Finns stopped the last Russian advance in mid-July, they had made their point of toughness; Russia also had established its potential for dominance, so, by September, Finland could leave the war relatively unscathed. After 1945, the Soviets recognized that getting reparations meant that Finland must be linked to the capitalist world, so Finns received American aid, which the Czechs did not.

This study indicates that foreign policy did not so much reflect domestic policy as it did Finland's security needs and American regard for a democratic nation that paid its bills. Democratic ideology explained to Berry the Finns' tenaciously maintained contacts. Finns were tough enough and peripheral enough to be tolerated by Stalin.

Berry's statesmen behave with remarkable rationality, and the Soviets behave with rare restraint. Oddly, in discussing a war filled with villains or fools, Berry avoids describing villainy or foolishness, even in Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany. Hitler and Germany are largely ignored, even the ugly hostilities after the Finns quit the war. Also odd is that Berry rarely describes the war itself, although it surely affected domestic and foreign policy developments.

E. N. PETERSON
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RICHARD BREITMAN and ALAN M. KRAUT. *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 310. $27.50.

The failure of the democracies to respond to the annihilation of European Jewry is a compelling topic for historians, particularly for Americans who have been reared to believe that for two hundred years their country has always been open to refugees and dissidents, the "tired . . . poor . . . huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

Every American knows, almost mythically, of the famous statue on Liberty Island and what it represents. But a continent away, in San Francisco Bay, stands another structure, less well known but equally representative. There, on Angel Island, one can still see a nondescript building where Chinese immigrants attempting to get into America were incarcerated. The two islands, Liberty and Angel, symbolize America's refugee policy. For the Jews of Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, as Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut make clear in this book, Angel Island was a far more accurate historical representation.

Following a trail already blazed by Arthur Morse, Henry Feingold, Saul Friedman, Deborah Lipstadt, and David Wyman, among others, Breitman and Kraut attempt to understand, and to explain, why the United States turned its back on the Jews of Europe at the time of their greatest need. Why, when put to the test of civilization, did America fail so profoundly?

America was not alone, of course. No country came forward to rescue the hunted Jews of Europe from the murderous Nazis. But the United States, as this book argues, was a special case. Its failure was not the result of a single cause such as anti-Semitism; rather, it was a complex interaction of a whole variety of reasons.

Drawing on exhaustive archival research, Breitman and Kraut conclude that the American inability to respond was the result of an unholy alliance of public opinion, which was opposed to the admission of Jewish refugees; entrenched bureaucrats, who were "more efficient restrictionists than humanitarians" (p. 249); an indifferent president who feared taking risks on behalf of Jews; and, finally, preexisting immigration laws that were decidedly discriminatory and restrictionist. Above all, they argue, it was an institutional inertia, which pervaded every facet of government, that closed America's gates.

Although there is not much that is new or surprising in this book, the authors' novel approach to familiar material makes this a valuable contribution in attempting to understand what happens when humanitarian concerns and national interests collide.

IRVING ABELLA
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RICHARD RHODES. *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1988. Pp. 886. $22.95.

For Richard Rhodes, the making of the atomic bomb begins in turn-of-the-century physics laboratories and ends with a vision of apocalypse. He offers no tired retelling of the Manhattan Project story but an expansive narrative of the birth and growth of nuclear physics that climaxed in the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I will forego summarizing the events; certainly familiar in broad outline, they are not, in any event, crucial to what I want to say about the book. Ordinarily, I also would here state my view of the author's thesis. For reasons that will become clear, I want to defer that task. Doing so should pose no hardships because we may go a long way toward

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assessing such a book without worrying too much about an explicit thesis.

Although he used archival materials, Rhodes relied chiefly on published works, none of which he seems to have overlooked. He clearly sought to achieve a synthesis on the grand scale, and many readers agree that he succeeded. Uniformly favorable notice in both popular and academic quarters was followed by both a National Book Award and a Pulitzer Prize. This book combines a truly engaging narrative with unusually accurate, well-integrated, and genuinely informative explanations of the political, scientific, and technical issues. Reviewers as diverse as historian of science Lawrence Badash (*Nature*, July 23, 1987, pp. 301–02) and physicist Sir Solly Zuckerman (*New Republic*, August 22, 1988, pp. 38–39) vouch for the book's accuracy and readability. My notes, too, express little problem with its science and technology, a rare pleasure in popular books about matters nuclear. I also noted that it reads much like a novel and, like a good novel, can be hard to put down. It should come as no surprise, then, that we knew Rhodes chiefly as a novelist and magazine writer before this book.

The fully documented text comprises three unequal parts, plus a lengthy epilogue. Accounting for just over a third of the whole, part 1 traces the rise of nuclear physics to the eve of World War II. Part 2, something less than half of the text, covers the wartime work not only by the Allies but also by the Axis. Two chapters, one on the Trinity test in New Mexico, the other on the bombing of Japan, make up part 3. Finally, the epilogue continues the story into the 1950s and the testing of the hydrogen bomb. A leisured pace allows Rhodes freedom to illuminate lives as well as to advance plot. He stresses throughout the interplay of character. History may have provided the brilliant cast, but Rhodes turns that edge into the book's greatest asset. Scientists and other key actors whose research and work in one way or another made the bomb possible come to life on Rhodes's pages as they struggle against the unknown and each other with the fate of the world in the balance. Remarkable characters and world-shaking events set in a well-constructed and well-written narrative can hardly fail to make a compulsively readable book.

What the book lacks, however, is any sustained attention to the institutional shaping and constraint of events. A grant from the Rockefeller Foundation or a Nobel Prize arrives as a virtual *deus ex machina* just when a scientist needs to study in Berlin or flee fascism—no hint is given that such awards might be something other than natural phenomena. Even the Manhattan Project often seems more a matter of a physicist's views clashing with a soldier's, or a daring foray into the war zone to learn the status of German nuclear research, than the rapid construction and widespread operations of an enterprise that rivaled in size the prewar American automobile industry. Conducting experiments fills many more pages than building production plants. Certainly Rhodes gives us background in plenty but a background of ideology, politics, events impinging as news of the day—those forces, in other words, that directly affect thought and feeling. Of the deeper structure of society, the institutions that underlie the surface of events, we see little if anything.

Is this a flaw? I am not sure, but I know I found myself growing uncomfortable as I read. For me, at least, the role of universities, the army, and corporations in the Manhattan Project treated largely in terms of a handful of individual academics, soldiers, and managers seems oversimplified history. Can we really understand, for instance, the pervasive effects of secrecy on the project solely in terms of face-to-face interactions? I doubt it. On the other hand, I had to ask myself if writing history, at least history in the ordinary sense, really describes Rhodes's purpose. Upon reflection, I think not. I would state the book's thesis, perhaps extravagantly but I believe not unfairly, something like this: twentieth-century scientific hubris unleashed an elemental force that now threatens human survival, a threat against which only the vision of a few scientists such as Niels Bohr offers hope. I suspect Rhodes really wanted to write the epic of the atomic bomb, an "Atomiad" if you will. Maybe he has.

BARTON C. HACKER
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STROBE TALBOTT. *The Master of the Game: Paul Nitze and the Nuclear Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988. Pp. xvii, 416. $19.95.

This book is the third installment in Strobe Talbott's long-running account of the arms control process that has formed one of the central elements in the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union over the past two decades. Talbott's *Endgame*, published eleven years ago, detailed the negotiations that led to the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), and *Deadly Gambits*, which appeared in 1984, analyzed the arms control stalemate that characterized Ronald Reagan's first term.

This time Talbott steps back to review the entire history of the nuclear age. He does this by focusing on the career of Paul H. Nitze, who perhaps more than any other person alive today can claim to have been involved in most of the crucial American national security and arms control decisions of the past four and a half decades. Just as Neil Sheehan has recently used the life of John Paul Vann in *A Bright Shining Lie* (1989) to understand the American war in Vietnam, Talbott uses Nitze's career to explore the history of the nuclear age. Indeed, Talbott writes, Nitze is the personification of that history.

Nitze's career has been nothing if not paradoxical. He has alternately been attacked by the Right and condemned by the Left. He was one of the chief negotiators of SALT I but an outspoken critic of SALT II. As the principal author of NSC-68, the 1950 memorandum that furnished the intellectual under-

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pinnings for American foreign policy in the 1950s and 1960s, he has been blamed by many historians for unnecessarily militarizing the cold war. Yet, only a few years after penning this document, his appointment to a senior position in the Dwight Eisenhower administration was blocked by right-wing opponents in Washington on the grounds that he was not sufficiently vigilant against the Soviet threat. As a leading light of the Committee on the Present Danger, the conservative group that successfully mobilized opposition to SALT II, he was the *bête noire* of arms controllers in the late 1970s. And yet, within a few years, these same individuals looked almost exclusively to Nitze to keep the arms control process alive during the early Reagan years.

Nonetheless, underlying these convolutions lay certain concerns that gave Nitze's career an internal consistency: fear of American strategic vulnerability; a conviction of Soviet malevolence; anxiety about an excessive eagerness on the part of American leaders to negotiate with the Soviets simply for the sake of negotiating; anger at what he viewed as a lamentable reluctance to compete with Moscow in the military sphere; pessimism about a "ruthlessness gap" (p. 281) that favored the Soviet Union.

This book is divided into two roughly equal parts. The first half covers the period from 1945 to 1983 and is more a useful summary than a pathbreaking account. The volume's second half, examining the years from 1984 to 1988, offers more detail and fresher interpretation and is likely to be of value to historians of American national security policy for many years to come.

Traditionalists will deny that Talbott's book, especially those parts dealing with the recent past, is real history, and in many respects they will be correct. Much of the record detailing the events Talbott chronicles remains classified. As a consequence, this account relies heavily on anonymous interviewees, has few footnotes, and is inevitably American-centered, reflecting the scarcity of candid Soviet sources.

Yet for all of the obvious limitations of this kind of writing, Talbott also possesses certain advantages subsequent historians are not likely to enjoy: access to most of the key policy makers, including at least some Soviet officials; a sophisticated understanding of the bureaucratic shoals that frequently prevented the Reagan administration from charting any consistent arms control strategy; and a sense of the day-to-day frustrations induced by dealing with the Soviets, the West Europeans, Congress, and even colleagues within the Washington policy-making complex.

This is not a full biography; there is very little here on Paul Nitze the man, the husband, or the father. But, as a description of America's national security policies for the past forty-odd years and as an early stab at giving some larger coherence to the Byzantine story of Reagan's arms control policies, including the president's quixotic attempt to render nuclear weapons obsolete through the technological wizardry of Star Wars, this book represents a useful and at times fascinating addition to the literature.

ROBERT M. HATHAWAY
Foreign Affairs Committee
U.S. House of Representatives

DAVID MAYERS. *George Kennan and the Dilemmas of U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 402. $32.50.

George Kennan is the favorite diplomat of academic specialists on foreign policy. He had a good career as a foreign service officer for twenty-five years, rose to a prominent position in Washington during the early days of the cold war, and served two terms as an ambassador (to Moscow, 1952, and to Belgrade, 1961–63). None of that made him especially distinguished. Indeed, as David Mayers points out, his ambassadorships to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were notable failures. For ninety years U.S. foreign service officers have argued that they have made the best ambassadors, certainly better than the political friends that presidents have elevated to the top of U.S. overseas missions.

If Kennan were judged solely by the standards of his first profession, it is hard to believe that he would have earned the attention and admiration of so many thoughtful students of U.S. foreign relations. But Kennan has not just been a diplomat. For thirty-five years after he first left the Department of State in 1950, he produced a shelf of books, articles, and lectures on foreign affairs, strategy, nuclear weapons, and the state of American culture. For most of that time, Kennan has been affiliated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. Working out of a university, Kennan has directly addressed a broad academic audience in their idiom. He is a cultured controversialist, comfortable in the pages of the *New York Review of Books* and *Foreign Affairs*. His prose is accessible, and many people think it is graceful. He engages a range of academics on their own terrain. He makes foreign affairs interesting and understandable, and the academics return the favor by studying Kennan.

Mayers's book is the latest effort to make sense of Kennan's work, in government and on the sidelines, regarding U.S. foreign policy. It is based on all of the written sources about Kennan that are now available to researchers, although Mayers makes clear that others remain sequestered for the time being. The book is the fullest treatment so far of Kennan's diplomatic career and his subsequent commentary on foreign policy. Mayers carefully explains that he has not, however, written a full-scale biography. He does not have access to all of the material, and he also refrains from presenting a full discussion of Kennan's historical work on European international relations and Soviet and Russian affairs.

The result is a superb book that fills in many missing details on a story whose outline is already known.

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Mayers ranges from Kennan's early unhappy childhood in Milwaukee, through the awkward years at Princeton, to the home Kennan made in the foreign service. His coverage of Kennan's tours in the Soviet Union is splendid, although his discussion of the diplomat's stints in Germany and Czechoslovakia is less detailed. The centerpiece of the book is the treatment of Kennan's Washington service from 1947 to 1950, which was the pivotal point in Kennan's career. What is best here, and in the rest of the book, is the richness of detail. Mayers, always judicious, positions himself between Kennan's staunch supporters, such as John Lewis Gaddis, and detractors, such as Eduard Mark, when it comes to assessing how militarized Kennan's conception of containment was. Mayers is also very good at demonstrating Kennan's capacity for self-promotion and aggrandizement. The remainder of the book treats Kennan's unhappy tours as ambassador and provides detailed analyses of Kennan's observations from the sidelines on U.S. policy toward the Third World, the war in Vietnam, student protesters, nuclear weapons, and détente.

Finally, Mayers offers his assessment of the coherence of Kennan's ideas. The author places Kennan outside any main current of American thought (at least of the last century). Instead, he considers Kennan a combination of a traditional European conservative and a New England Puritan. A believer in absolutes, original sin, rule by the best, most educated, and wisest, the Kennan of Mayers's portrait feels closest to Edmund Burke. Mayers is probably right in linking Kennan to that tradition, but I believe that the author both goes too far and stops short. At times Mayers seems to take Kennan too seriously, something Kennan himself has done. Mayers occasionally places some of Kennan's idlest and silliest speculations into a philosophical framework. His youthful essay "The Prerequisites: Notes on Problems of the United States in 1938" was never published. As Mayers notes, the essay revealed that "Kennan shared many of the popular reservations of his countrymen toward blacks and immigrants" (p. 55). But Mayers also sees the European intellectual tradition at work here. He stops short by not spelling out fully the implications of his conclusions that Kennan is a European conservative. If true, the very eccentricity of Kennan's thought explains the extent and limits of his influence. Mayers might have speculated, for example, on why many academics, who would resist a Burkean characterization of their own outlook, find Kennan so appealing.

It is that influence that needs further explanation as analysts continue to study Kennan. His impact on the actual conduct of U.S. foreign affairs has been less than his supporters believe. His fascination for academics has been enormous. Mayers does not fully explain these anomalies. What he does do is provide a richly detailed account of the work of an important figure. Mayers has amassed voluminous material, organized it brilliantly, written it beautifully, and offered scores of profound insights.

ROBERT D. SCHULZINGER
University of Colorado, Boulder

ROBERT JAMES MADDOX. *From War to Cold War: The Education of Harry S. Truman*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. vii, 192. $32.95.

By the time Harry S. Truman left the presidency in 1953, the cold war and McCarthyism had ravaged the Fair Deal and Democratic liberalism, while criticism persisted that he had not contained foreign or domestic communism. Later "revisionist" historians charged that Truman-era cold warriors had precipitated Soviet-American conflicts, turned civil wars into superpower proxy battles, and created a militant national security state. But more recently some scholars have reclassified Truman as a near-great president who preserved New Deal reforms at home and the essential areas of freedom abroad, and he has gained almost mythic public status, with national leaders from Gerald Ford to Walter Mondale, Ronald Reagan, and Michael Dukakis all claiming to be latter-day Trumans.

Thus, the time seems ready for a new synthesis to illumine a vital part of our past. Unfortunately, Robert James Maddox's study of Truman's diplomatic "education" in 1945 provides little new framework or insight, wages petty attacks on revisionist historians as "prosecutors" without acknowledging their signal contributions, and concludes with a review of Truman's rejection of Secretary of State James Byrnes's Moscow Conference diplomacy that undercuts the book's thesis.

Maddox insists that Truman hoped to use "plain talk" to resolve conflicts masked by wartime diplomacy. Thus, the new president's brusque interview with V. M. Molotov in April 1945 was not a policy reversal but a signal that Soviet behavior in Poland might undermine American support for the United Nations. The Lend-Lease cutoff in May was a "bureaucratic foul-up" intended to "leverage" but not to "bludgeon" the Russians (p. 67), and Harry Hopkins was sent to Moscow to deal directly with Joseph Stalin's "soft" faction rather than Molotov's "hard" one.

Such points have merit, but Maddox often ignores far more significant evidence. For example, reparations negotiations did not fail because of "procedure," that is, Soviet refusal to survey German capacity before settling on a fixed sum. At Yalta in February 1945, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin agreed that the Soviets would get one-half of approximately twenty billion dollars. The State Department estimated that Germany could pay twelve to fourteen billion dollars, and at the Potsdam Conference the Soviets proposed to accept one-half of a much smaller figure. But Americans held that Germany was essential to European recovery. They were determined to delimit Soviet claims on the Ruhr and believed that they could impose

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their political-economic principles on the USSR in Germany.

Further, while Maddox says that Truman's interest in Soviet entry into the Pacific war and concessions on Königsberg and Silesia refute the "Machiavellian view" (p. 98) of U.S. atomic diplomacy at Potsdam, the author has hardly assessed the great psychological impact (as Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote in July 1945) that the bomb had on American thinking. Indeed, Truman's faith in his "ace in the hole" inspired him to have Byrnes press the Soviets to "impasse" and then to impose his take-it-or-leave-it deal on German zonal reparations, the Polish-German frontier, and Italy and Eastern Europe. Truman also believed that use of the bomb would cause Japan to "fold up" at once and allow him to "outmaneuver" the Soviets over China and Japan.

Maddox also understates how atomic monopoly inclined Truman toward rigid policies in autumn 1945. The president backed Byrnes's "bomb in his pocket" diplomacy at London and then sided with nationalistic advisers who resisted atomic accord with the Soviets (or British) by conjuring inexact analogies about the failure of interwar diplomacy and by arguing that America's technological-industrial genius assured permanent supremacy in an arms race.

Finally, Maddox recognizes (owing to revisionist history) that the agreements Byrnes negotiated at Moscow in late 1945 on atomic policy, European peace treaties, Eastern Europe, and the Far East were what Truman wanted. But then Maddox concedes that the president repudiated those accords (and Byrnes) because he feared growing political hostility toward the Soviets and did not want to be labeled an "appeaser." Further, Truman's reconstruction of events (then and later) was self-serving and inaccurate. Thus, the record surely suggests that Truman acquired his "militance" far less "reluctantly" than Maddox concludes (p. 178) and that the president's "limited vision" (p. 119) and defective "education" contributed more to the coming cold war than Maddox might like to admit.

ARNOLD A. OFFNER
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WILLIAM E. PEMBERTON. *Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer and Cold Warrior.* (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series, number 9.) Boston: Twayne of G. K. Hall. 1989. Pp. 227. $24.95.

This book's subtitle (can anyone imagine "Fair Dealer and Comsymp"?) tells almost all one needs to know about its author's approach. A gushing dust-jacket blurb by that eminent Truman scholar, Gore Vidal, and chapter titles such as "The Truman Merry-Go-Round" and "The Russians Are Coming" tell the rest. Harry S. Truman was a very nice man, William E. Pemberton points out, but as president he bears the onus for practically every foreign and domestic problem confronting the nation today. Often written in what can only be described as choleric prose, this volume makes the most extravagant revisionist works of the 1960s and 1970s seem like models of judicious scholarship.

Pemberton's version of the cold war is stark. Joseph Stalin initially made important concessions and carried out agreements, while Truman pursued "a policy based on force to cause the Soviets to submit to his direction" (p. 44). Stalin, poor lamb, had to negotiate "with a people who for 300 of their 350 years of habitation in North America had enslaved, pillaged, and slaughtered their way across the continent" (p. 72). Americans even had the audacity to criticize Soviet behavior in Eastern Europe, willfully refusing to understand its benign purpose of "keeping mass movements from being suppressed by the old elite" (p. 90). The author delicately omits mention of how that purpose was carried out in the Katyn forest and elsewhere. In Pemberton's view, Stalin had to react defensively against Truman's aggressive moves.

According to Pemberton, Truman's penchant for thinking in "cartoon-like schema" and for basing his most important reactions "on the simplistic script he carried in his mind" (p. 78) resulted in foreign policies divorced from reality. To gain support for those fantasies, moreover, Truman almost single-handedly foisted on the United States McCarthyism, the imperial presidency, the military-industrial complex, and the national security state. To achieve those goals his administration "increasingly came to regard the American people as objects to be lied to and manipulated" (p. 98). Pemberton is not given to understatement. Those interested in a scholarly analysis of the period should read Alonzo Hamby's *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (1973).

On other domestic matters, such as the treatment of women, blacks, and American Indians, Pemberton employs very simple criteria. He measures Truman against the ideals of a "liberated," leftist professor of the 1980s and, not surprisingly, finds Truman wanting. That is presentism with a vengeance. Even when he took positions Pemberton favors, Truman is inevitably faulted for failing to do more because of bungling or lack of commitment.

This volume provides a handy reference for secondary works critical of Truman. The author's primary research, limited to the Truman Library, yields some interesting personal anecdotes. But his biases preclude scholarly contribution. The following statements are typical. The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima killed "thousands of women and children and a few prisoners of war" (p. 55). The Berlin airlift, on the other hand, benefited the "many [Germans] recently returned from slaughtering Americans in World War II or from running the camps at Dachau and Bergen-Belsen" (p. 102). Such unrelenting Truman-bashing forfeits Pemberton's claim to serious consideration.

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CARNES LORD. *The Presidency and the Management of National Security*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1988. Pp. x, 207. $22.50.

Carnes Lord's thesis is that until now, except for a brief period under Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, the national security system has not succeeded in helping the president achieve direction and control over U.S. foreign policy. Given the increasing complexity of the global system and the need to secure the support of Congress, there can be no doubt that strengthening presidential leadership would be welcome. There is reason to question, however, the premises and evidence the author gives for the direction in which he proposes to go in strengthening that leadership.

In the first two chapters, Lord analyzes the sources of institutional fragmentation that beset the formulation and execution of foreign policy by the U.S. government. He emphasizes the well-known phenomenon of "bureaucratic politics" in which the State Department, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies strive to impose their own bureaucratic or cultural preferences on foreign policy in contempt of the president's policy preferences and decisions. By "institutional culture" Lord means, for example, the predilection of Foreign Service officers to prefer negotiation and diplomacy to military action. He even suggests that the State Department is soft on communism: "The pathologies of the department are nowhere more apparent or more damaging than in this critical area [of understanding the Soviet Union] . . . State appears constitutionally incapable of understanding the extent to which Soviet purposes are governed by an operational tradition in which diplomacy is seen primarily as a form of political warfare" (pp. 48–49). Similarly the Pentagon is beset by the competitive instinct of each service to enhance its own mission rather than attempt a unified strategy. According to Lord, even the politically appointed heads of departments, such as the secretaries of state and defense, are all too prone to succumb to the interests and culture of the agencies they head instead of serving the president's interests. This summary of only one aspect of the problem hardly does justice to the force and sweep with which the author argues his case.

In the second half of the book, Lord presents his prescription for overcoming the incoherence that he believes presently enfeebles and compromises the determination and execution of American foreign policy. He begins with a view of presidential prerogative in the conduct of national security policy that is sweeping and absolute. On page 12 he writes, "What is needed above all is a recovery of the Hamiltonian conception of the presidency as an institution uniquely capable of decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch. Such an understanding of the presidency would necessarily involve a rethinking of the relationship of the Congress." The diffusion of power among subcommittees only reinforces Lord's belief that the less Congress has to do with national security the better. A similar disdain for the public's influence also seems to mark his analysis. "Only the President is in a position to develop an integrated, synoptic understanding of issues of national security" (p. 12). He attributes the country's failure to recognize the president's unique and indispensable role to "the absence in American political culture of the idea of strategy as such" (p. 12). Historians are well acquainted with the inclination born of American "exceptionalism" for Americans to prefer or look for a moral justification for whatever foreign policy the president proposes, but it can hardly be said that the public has failed to go along with a succession of strategic doctrines beginning with containment as long as they proved workable or relevant.

To implement his proposal for strengthening the president's control, Lord proposes that the president should have the National Security Council (NSC) prepare long-term strategic plans rather than the various departments and interagency committees. His case for arrogating greater authority over national security to the NSC staff rests on some questionable assumptions about why the system presently fails to work. Granted "bureaucratic politics" plays a role; however, if it is not the State Department's responsibility to be concerned with the merits of negotiation and diplomacy, whose is it? Would the United States be any worse off today if the White House had supported Thomas Enders's attempt to contain the Sandinistas by a combination of coercion and diplomacy? Yet it was precisely the machinations of a totally inexperienced National Security adviser, Judge William Clark, that engineered Enders's departure as assistant secretary of state (p. 79).

It is not always the Foreign Service culture that breeds "clientelism" (excessive embassy identification with a foreign government). Anyone who has read *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy Of American-Iranian Relations* (1988) by James Bill, *Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy* (1987) by Raymond Bonner, or *Diplomacy and Democracy* (1987) by David Newsom will recognize that U.S. policy is often the prisoner not of State Department clientelism but of the White House's blind commitment to this or that dictator out of ill-considered adherence to just the sort of strategic plan the author appears to have in mind.

Although the author recognizes the world's deepening economic interdependence, he views it as peripheral to American national security (p. 57). He is more concerned with the problem as a function of the Soviet Union's illegal acquisition of Western technology than with America's economic decline and worsening trade relations with its principal allies or with the Third World debt problem. He does not seem aware that economic interdependence has eroded the distinction between foreign and domestic issues, so that national security strategy (for example, defense spending) can no longer be carried on in isolation from budget and trade deficits or only at the expense of weakening our alliances. In fact, this tendency to view American national security in terms of the simplifications of the East-West conflict raises the most doubts about the

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author's otherwise challenging analysis. If increasing the power of the president will enhance a "zero-sum" view of American foreign policy, then the author's proposals need to be challenged.

DAVID S. MCLELLAN
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DAVID BURNER. *John F. Kennedy and a New Generation.* (The Library of American Biography.) Boston: Little, Brown. 1988. Pp. ix, 189. $16.95.

Emphatically even-tempered and casually desacralizing, David Burner wants us to see John F. Kennedy as bound by an often wrong-headed view of the rest of the world, driven by an overheated will to power, and limited by a lack of moral imagination. Even more, Burner wants us to see that, given the realities of the world and the relative position of America in it, Kennedy was a strong and good leader of the American people. Carrying off both of those projects, which Burner does, within one very slim biography takes confidence and a sophisticated, liberal view of American history.

Burner's quick sketch of Kennedy is more a concise summary and balancing of previous works, including the author's own, than a brand new interpretation based on new materials. Burner acknowledges the criticisms of revisionist historians but, much like Herbert Parmet before him, narrowly places them into the geopolitical and domestic political turmoils of the late 1950s and early 1960s. He stays inside the purview of the Kennedy administration. In such a context, mistakes and shortcomings, while pinpointed, are, in general, exonerated. Although not as certain of Kennedy's gifts as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Burner does want to emphasize that Kennedy brought a hard-headed, though not visionary, political will to the great problems of his age.

Overall Burner portrays Kennedy's foreign policies as the reasonable moves of a committed realist. His cold war, at least in outline, "was defter, more alert, more intricately involved in the economic and social and political diversity of the regions where this nation sought an influence" (p. 64). And yet, somewhat paradoxically, Burner describes the Bay of Pigs invasion as an honest mistake caused by big picture myopia, "a sincere, albeit naive conviction . . . that people living under Communist regimes were captive populations yearning for rescue" (p. 67). Then Burner, after giving the Kennedy administration this generous out, also tosses in a McNamara self-critique, "We were hysterical about Castro at the time" (p. 89). Burner offers this seeming mélange of views on events, foreign and domestic, again and again.

Such a rush of often-contradictory statements might appear as the worst of California cuisine, interesting to look at but short on substance. But Burner knows how to write himself into and out of these kinds of interpretive corners. What Burner does well is reveal the complexity of a world view, expose its flaws and articulate its virtues, and then bring it into focus through specific cases. And he leavens this historical work with irony, a trope typical of the old style political historian. It is the irony that makes the mélange work.

For example, at the end of his narrative of the Bay of Pigs, Burner concludes, "What Kennedy did right at the Bay of the Pigs—about the only thing he did right but the most important—was to show restraint at a critical time" (p. 67). In general, Burner faithfully re-creates in his narrative the tone he sees governing the Kennedy administration, active and engaged but also restrained in emotion. On the use of napalm he quips, "The tactics were scary, but the North Vietnamese were quite willing to die if necessary" (p. 100). Such a tone can be frustrating at times.

Burner writes about a gray world—Kennedy's world—in which truth enters obliquely but the need to act comes furiously. The man at the center of this world, Burner shows, often operated with a cold heart and a touch of hubris, but he also projected an energy and resolve that illuminated the hopes of many people around the world.

DAVID FARBER
Barnard College

EDMUND F. KALLINA, JR. *Courthouse over White House: Chicago and the Presidential Election of 1960.* Orlando: University of Central Florida Press. 1988. Pp. vii, 301. $25.00.

The close popular vote in the presidential election of 1960 elicited charges from the Republican party that vote fraud in certain states "stole" the election from Richard Nixon. The Republicans particularly distrusted the vote totals from Chicago, the bastion of Richard J. Daley and his Democratic political machine. In this book, Edmund F. Kallina, Jr., has sought, first of all, to discover whether those charges against Chicago were true. He concludes that vote fraud occurred but, more significantly, that it did not cost Nixon the election. Kallina has sifted the available voting records, compared the results of vote recounts from certain precincts (recounts prompted by a Republican challenge), and evaluated the work and conclusions of the special prosecutor appointed to investigate the charges of vote fraud. On the basis of these and other materials, he ably reconstructs the extent of the vote fraud to reveal that Nixon could not have made up the 8,858 votes by which he lost Illinois. Rather, the vote fraud perpetrated during the 1960 election was far more extensive in a local race, that for state's attorney, and was intended to prevent the reelection of the Republican Benjamin Adamowski. Kallina does a statistical projection of possible vote fraud across the city, based on the above sources, to conclude that Adamowski probably had the election stolen from him.

Adamowski was a former Democrat who had broken

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with the party and for four years had harassed Daley and the party with investigations and prosecutions of corruption in the municipal government, gaining much popular support in the process. Had he been reelected in 1960, he would have been a threat to challenge Daley for mayor in 1963. This is the issue that actually constitutes the heart of the book. Kallina's analysis of and his conclusions about the extent and purpose of the vote fraud, especially that Daley was far more interested in local elections than national, are compelling and persuasive. He also provides a good description of the political climate in which the vote fraud occurred. He finds no evidence that the order came from Daley to block Adamowski, but zealous precinct captains, aware that their jobs were riding on the outcome of the election, and undertrained, compliant election judges knew what was expected of them. The Democratic Board of Election Commissioners dragged its heels for most of the investigation; the court system, filled with Democratic judges, helped make the investigation of vote fraud difficult and helped guarantee that few convictions were obtained by the special prosecutor. On the other side, the Republicans and Republican newspapers automatically charged vote fraud even when they could offer little hard evidence.

Only in attempting to situate the election of 1960 in the context of Chicago's political history is the book less successful. Kallina raises provocative questions about the connections between vote fraud in 1960 and the impotence of the Republican party in Chicago, the antagonism between Chicago and the state, the corruption in Chicago's government, and the extent of Daley's power and credibility by 1960. But how Chicago got to this point is not systematically explored, and reliance on newspaper accounts and popular books on Chicago's political machine provides unsatisfactory evidence. Nonetheless, this is good political history, particularly important because such studies are not abundant for Chicago. Anyone interested in Chicago's political development and in modern U.S. urban political history in general will benefit from reading Kallina's book.

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN
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TINSLEY E. YARBROUGH. *Mr. Justice Black and His Critics.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 323. $45.00.

To the student of the American judiciary, Hugo Black remains a towering figure. Although almost two decades have passed since he penned his last opinion—appropriately enough an eloquent defense of freedom of expression in the Pentagon Papers case—time has certainly not tarnished his reputation. Critics continue to question, and at times even ridicule, his contention that the Fourteenth Amendment extended the protection of the Bill of Rights against state infringement and his faith in the absolute protection of freedom of speech, but the inescapable fact is that few, if any, judges in the United States have had a greater impact on the development of American constitutional law. Moreover, Black's influence today stems not from a particular doctrine he championed or from a set of decisions he authored but from his unwavering devotion to a jurisprudence rooted in history and the constitutional text and hence, at least in his view, compatible with democratic principles. It is a sobering tribute to Black's stature as a judge and as a man that his "constitutional faith" presents such a stark contrast to the expediency and inconsistency that characterize the words and actions of so many in public life today.

Tinsley E. Yarbrough's book serves as an important reminder of the power of Justice Black's view of court and Constitution. Clearly admiring of Black, Yarbrough's essays setting forth the elements of Black's judicial philosophy are a beautifully crafted merger of political and legal theory with case analysis. This book, however, is not simply the most recent of many describing Black's decision making. Black was not only one of our finest judges but also one of our most controversial. Yarbrough's goal is to subject the arguments of Black's critics to the same searching scrutiny that has been applied to Black's jurisprudence. Here he succeeds almost too well. A substantial portion of this book is a systematic refutation of Black's judicial and scholarly critics. Without question, Yarbrough's work constitutes the most extensive scholarly defense to date of Black's judicial philosophy. Unfortunately, the attention to detail and the discussion of relatively obscure cases that such a defense requires may deter all but the most persistent students of Black.

That would be unfortunate, not only because this book deserves careful attention but also because anyone interested in the current Supreme Court will benefit immeasurably from an appreciation of Black's vision of the judicial role. For example, there can be little doubt that Black would have been one of the dissenters in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). In answering Black's critics, Yarbrough convincingly refutes those who maintain that such a vote would have been evidence of Black's policy preferences or the product of an older and simply more conservative judge. The best of our judges strive to remove personal values from judicial decision making. They may not always succeed in this endeavor, but the effort is an important part of the judicial process. Certainly it remained the touchstone of Black's judicial career; as Yarbrough's analysis indicates, the same cannot be said for all of his critics.

This is a fine book. There is much to be learned from it, not only about Black and his critics but about modern judicial review as well. It merits careful study by any serious student of American constitutional law.

MARK SILVERSTEIN
Boston University

GEORGE LIPSITZ. *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition.* (Critical Perspectives on the Past.)

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Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 292. $29.95.

Ivory Perry was born into an Arkansas sharecropping family in 1930. Reared by his mother, he enlisted in the army in 1948, serving in Japan and Korea. In 1954 he settled in St. Louis; drifting from job to job, Perry frequently attracted the attention of the police but was never convicted of any offense. In 1963 he joined the St. Louis chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, and involvement in the civil rights movement transformed his hitherto directionless life. Arrested time after time in demonstrations in St. Louis, Perry also served as a civil rights foot soldier in Selma, Bogalusa, and Chicago. Between 1965 and 1981, he worked as a housing officer for the local community action program, organizing tenants, supporting rent strikes, and campaigning against lead-based paint. In 1973 Perry "retired" from the civil rights movement, but the 1980s saw him in the thick of community issues and increasingly involved in Democratic ward politics.

This is an attempt to write history from the bottom up, but it is not simply a biography of an obscure grass-roots activist. George Lipsitz portrays Perry as an example of a broad social type, the "organic intellectuals" who, according to Antonio Gramsci, help form class consciousness and stimulate opposition to the hegemonic culture even though they have no formal status as intellectuals or leaders. The author takes great care to show how the personal and the political intersect, analyzing his subject's life history in the historical context of the times. Perry's army service, for example, prompts an examination of the record of black troops in Korea and the NAACP's allegations of discrimination and "ramrod justice." Analysis of Perry's work with the Human Development Corporation is accompanied by brief but judicious discussions of the War on Poverty, urban renewal, revenue sharing, and neoconservatism. There are problems with this approach in that Perry's connection with some of the background material is tenuous. The author gives an excellent account of the civil rights protests in Bogalusa, Louisiana, in 1965, but Perry played only a minor role there.

Lipsitz does not shy away from discussing Perry's dishonorable Army discharge, obsessive behavior, nervous breakdowns, and inconsiderate treatment of women. But, although this is very much a "warts and all" portrait, the author's approach to black protest does tend toward the romantic and the holistic. The concepts of "collective memory" and "underground streams of resistance" gloss over divisions between blacks and discontinuities in the black experience. Lipsitz discusses the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, for example, but Perry's family had no involvement in it or recollection of it. Similarly, he describes a boycott of a Pine Bluff department store in 1940, a protest that had no impact on the young Perry. The author concedes that the St. Louis black community was not monolithic but fails to analyze it in any depth. Nevertheless, this is a well-researched book: Lipsitz makes good use of oral history but is also thoroughly familiar with the written sources. If its arguments are not wholly persuasive, this is a stimulating and original work.

ADAM FAIRCLOUGH
Saint David's University College, University of Wales

DOUG MCADAM. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 333. $24.95.

This book is a work of sociology, not history. During the past decade, the historical literature on civil rights has been dominated by grass-roots reconstructions of social movements in communities such as Greensboro, Tuskegee, Montgomery, and Tampa. This volume centers on the violent summer of protest in Mississippi in 1964. But Doug McAdam makes no attempt to recapture and understand the world of white Mississippians (they remain merely a unidimensional, evil presence in the background), and he gives only passing attention to black Mississippians. His focus, instead, is on the elite cadre of mostly white students from prestigious college campuses in the North and West who volunteered to register black voters in the South. McAdam asks who they were, why they volunteered, what happened to them in Mississippi, and what role they played afterward in the antiwar, feminist, and student protest movements of the 1960s and beyond.

To answer those questions, McAdam found 959 original applications to the voter registration project, which was sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in the Martin Luther King archives in Atlanta. With the assistance of 269 alumni associations, he located 556 applicants and sent them questionnaires. His cover letter contained an endorsement by Staughton Lynd and a testimonial from Howard Zinn that McAdam and his research associates were "clearly committed and serious people whose work is intended to help in the promotion of social change." Roughly two-thirds of the 348 replies came from participants and the rest from a control group of applicants who were accepted but did not participate. McAdam then tracked down and interviewed forty from each of the two groups.

To transform this core of sociological data into a three-hundred-twenty-page book, McAdam retells the story of Freedom Summer by drawing heavily (and with attribution) on the standard accounts (works by Sally Belfrage, Sara Evans, David Harris, Mary King, Howard Zinn, Clayborne Carson, and many others). Despite the dust-jacket claims of myth-breaking revelations, there are few surprises for students who know the general literature. Few potential readers of this book are likely to believe that the "sell-out" (p. 212) careers of Jerry Rubin and Eldridge Cleaver are typical. But McAdam does not allow his ideological affinity for the radicalized volunteers to blunt his perceptions of the racial, sexual, and class tensions that mixed with

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the terror of that Mississippi summer and permanently altered most of their lives. The typical volunteer was twenty-four, white, affluent, and well educated, nurtured by parents in shared liberal values, and already associated with civil rights activism. The volunteers were also accustomed to leadership, and their racial liberalism (and guilt) coexisted with traditional and unexamined ideas about class and gender.

Flushed from Mississippi at the summer's end and soon driven out of the self-destroying SNCC, the volunteers transferred their intensely personal and ultimately contradictory politics of individual liberation and communitarian bonding to the antiwar, feminist, and campus protest movements. McAdam presents a sympathetic and sensitive portrait of a permanently radicalized group whose unique baptism in Mississippi in 1964 left them alienated from mainstream American society, even as Mississippi itself began to join the mainstream. While those in the control group followed careers that generally combined liberal (not radical) politics with the customary affluence and professional success of their class, the veterans of Freedom Summer suffered disproportionately from job instability and broken marriages.

McAdam's freshest insights come from following the women volunteers into the 1970s, when the burgeoning feminist movement ironically extended and thereby intensified the personal costs of political radicalism. McAdam earlier combined reformist sentiments with social movement analysis in studying black insurgency in America between 1930 and 1970. His work continues to reward careful historians, but they will have to write the social histories themselves.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
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MELVIN SMALL. *Johnson, Nixon, and the Doves*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 319. Cloth $35.00, paper $12.00.

The movement opposing America's involvement in Vietnam has been analyzed by many commentators. During the early 1970s the topic was examined by journalists such as Alexander Kendrick and Thomas Powers, and in 1984 freelance writers Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan published *Who Spoke Up?* Those books were based almost exclusively on newspaper accounts, and since then most investigations have been autobiographical, exemplified by recent works by Todd Gitlin, Tom Hayden, and Daniel Berrigan. Now, twenty years after massive demonstrations opposing the war, Melvin Small has published a very important book.

This book is unlike others; it has a different topic, uses different sources, and asks different questions. Most books have examined the antiwar movement from outside the White House—the individuals, events, and organizations that opposed the war. Small examines the impact of the movement on leaders inside the Oval Office. He uses government documents, presidential papers, and numerous interviews and secondary works in an attempt to answer a significant question: what impact did the antiwar movement have on the policies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon?

Small details Johnson's response to the antiwar movement. The first dramatic incident occurred in spring 1965 when the Johnson administration initiated the bombing of North Vietnam. The bombing, according to William Bundy, "caused a maximum of fuss here and did minimum damage on the other side" (p. 31). Although a Gallup poll demonstrated that 67 percent of those surveyed supported Johnson's overall policy, the bombing resulted in the first protests and teach-ins at universities. Administration officials responded to this small peace movement in a number of ways. They sent "truth squads" to campuses to counter antiwar professors; they assisted "friends" such as the American Friends of Vietnam to write pro-administration speeches and newsletters; they tried to improve their public relations by establishing the Vietnam Information Group; they assisted organizers of "Support Our Boys in Vietnam" parades; and they enlisted the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency to combat activists through harassment and investigations. Johnson himself gave various speeches, from announcing the Mekong River Delta plan in 1965, the promise of a Great Society building plan for all Vietnam once the enemy stopped fighting, to informing the public in 1967 that there always had been some dissent during wartime but that presidents had always been proven correct. Some advisers even suggested that the administration quell dissent on campus by sending male students to Vietnam to work during summer breaks as civilian aides, supposedly some sort of a VISTA program for Vietnam.

Small notes that, besides prompting these responses, the doves had additional influence on the Johnson administration. In 1965 the movement "played a role in the decision to announce a bombing pause from May 12 to 17," and it "contributed to the resignation of McGeorge Bundy in early 1966 and his replacement by the hawkish Walt Rostow" (p. 51). As activists became more vocal, even outrageous, their personal attacks on administration officials apparently contributed to Robert McNamara's decision to resign and even to the declining health of Johnson (pp. 118, 136).

Small surmises that, although Johnson was "worried" about the critics and although advisers were "baffled" by them, the doves' exact impact on Johnson's overall war policy remains ambiguous. After all, Johnson continued to escalate U.S. involvement. It seems to Small that antiwar protests had more impact encouraging leaders in Hanoi than discouraging those in Washington. "No doubt," Small states, "the antiwar movement in the United States assisted the North Vietnamese" (p. 89).

The doves had less impact on the Nixon administra-

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tion. At first the new officials attempted to implement their campaign theme of "Bring Us Together" by trying to maintain a dialogue with young people. Yet they did not set up an office or appoint any official to deal with the protest; there was no "Secretary of Dissent" (p. 167). As it became obvious in 1969 that Nixon's "secret plan" to end the war was simply a campaign gimmick, doves organized the Moratorium against the War, the most important one-day demonstration. Nixon and a number of his staff members were impressed with the size of the Moratorium crowd, but their approach was to announce that the president could not learn anything new from the antiwar demonstrators, that the administration would not "allow national policy to be dictated by street demonstrations." They countered by a speaking campaign—Nixon gave his "Silent Majority" address, and the vice president began his attack on protesters and the liberal press as "effete corps of impudent snobs" (pp. 184–88). Small feels that Nixon's "Silent Majority speech was his formal declaration of war against all radical and liberal activists," that by the end of 1969 Nixon decided to "take off the gloves with the movement" (pp. 187–88). He did that, of course, by initiating his secret intelligence war against the movement, policies that led his administration down the road to Watergate.

Small admits that it is more difficult to gauge the impact of the critics on the Nixon administration; because of the current absence of documentary evidence, "one is left chiefly with impressionistic clues" gained from interviews with former policy makers (p. 175). Nevertheless, the author concludes that the antiwar movement had a "significant impact on the Vietnam policies of both Johnson and Nixon" (p. 225), especially concerning specific policies such as prompting Johnson to initiate a public relations campaign in October 1967 and dissuading Nixon from initiating a massive bombing attack in 1969.

Small has written an excellent book. His writing is sprinkled with fine quotations based on extensive interviews, and he has judiciously researched available presidential files. One might argue about the need for charts in the introduction, or certain conclusions, but the point is that Small has systematically traced the movement and the response in the White House, and in doing so he has produced a study that should be read by all historians of recent America.

TERRY ANDERSON
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JEFFREY J. CLARKE. *Advice and Support: The Final Years, 1965–1973*. (United States Army in Vietnam.) Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army. 1988. Pp. xxi, 561. Cloth $25.00, paper $21.00.

Success in war depends on the maintenance of a delicate, dynamic coherence among a nation's goals, its political definition of victory, and its military theory of victory. During the Vietnam War, the American theory of victory was predicated on success in three areas: assistance in the building of a South Vietnamese nation; development of effective South Vietnamese armed forces; and effective use of American combat forces in active operations against the enemy's main forces and their sponsor, North Vietnam.

Jeffrey J. Clarke focuses on the second of these three components, but, in so doing, he sheds light on the third and brings into stark relief both the chronic incoherence and the irrelevance of the American theory of victory. He convincingly develops as a major, critical theme the uncertainty with which American strategists viewed the function and role of the South Vietnamese army between 1965 and 1969. Clarke portrays General William Westmoreland as a slow-motion Hamlet who at first concluded that American ground forces had to undertake aggressive operations against main force opponents while relegating the South Vietnamese army to pacification duties in what passed for rear areas. Later, even before the watershed events of the siege at Khe Sanh and the Tet offensive, the relatively high ratio of American to South Vietnamese combat fatalities convinced him to bring the southern army into active operations lest the American public lose its support for the war. The initial role given to the South Vietnamese army served to affect significantly, and negatively, the proficiency of its forces. The later switch provided a highly visible basis for failure.

This major discontinuity in the strategic vision of the relative roles of American and South Vietnamese ground combat forces was echoed and exacerbated by a number of other discordancies that Clarke explores. Among these were the vastly different estimates of success and failure provided by the Central Intelligence Agency and by Westmoreland's intelligence staff; inconsistent understandings of the role of the Montagnards and their Special Forces advisors; American and South Vietnamese governmental views on the necessity of basic reforms within the South Vietnamese army; and the roles of conventional, as opposed to special, operations.

The replacement of Westmoreland by Creighton Abrams and the election of Richard Nixon accelerated the transfer of major combat missions to the South Vietnamese, which resulted in even more obvious failures, such as Operation LOM SON 719. Clarke demonstrates, however, that the South Vietnamese were capable of conventional combat provided they had ready and sustained access to American logistics and fire support as demonstrated in the course of the Easter offensive. Clarke implies that it was the withdrawal of this support that made the ultimate North Vietnamese offensive in 1975 successful.

Overall, Clarke's effort upholds the longstanding, very high standards of the U.S. Army's Center of Military History. Although this is certainly not the final word on the American advisory effort after 1965, or on

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the relationship of that effort to other aspects of the American war, it is an excellent beginning.

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LEWIS L. GOULD. *Lady Bird Johnson and the Environment.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1988. Pp. xv, 312. $29.95.

"Among modern First Ladies for whom the historical record is open, only Eleanor Roosevelt surpasses Lady Bird Johnson in importance as the wife of the president" (p. xii). So Lewis L. Gould sets the theme of his book, further noting that Johnson defined environment as people, including women, inner-city blacks, and other disadvantaged minorities. Her context of environment was more than urban beautification; it also recognized the importance of a livable and sustainable human habitat. She was not, as popularly known, just a posy sniffer flailing away at billboards. Her activism ran far deeper, extending to the human condition as well as to the environment. It was that combination, Gould concludes, that earned Johnson a special place in the hearts of many Americans.

Still, Johnson was best known for her beautification efforts, traditionally defined; five of Gould's ten chapters highlight this theme, opening with titles such as "Ways to Beautify America" (chap. 4), "Beautifying Monumental Washington" (chap. 5), and "Natural Beauty for the Nation" (chap. 9). Her efforts to combine beautification and civil rights receive special attention in chapter 6, "A Pattern of Quality for Washington's Neighborhoods." The setting here is the city's black neighborhoods, not just the famous buildings and parks so familiar to every tourist.

Gould's readers up to this point will have few quibbles with his analysis. This is a good book, and he certainly makes an important contribution by providing a readable account of Johnson's White House years. He is less convincing when he tries to set that contribution in a wider historical context. The problem of interpretation begins in chapter 1, where Johnson is compared to women rather than to people in American conservation. That formula is not only overused but also leaves out major figures in the movement because they were men, most notably Frederick Law Olmsted, J. Horace McFarland, and Clinton Rogers Woodruff. McFarland is finally quoted briefly on page 59, but Olmsted and Woodruff never appear. Instead, we hear from people such as "a woman in Binghamton, New York" (p. 59) and, in general, from other female voices who, apparently, were the chorus of opinion on which Johnson's own ideas were largely based.

Granted, the role of women in conservation has often been ignored. That neglect still seems little reason to ignore, in turn, the importance of men like Olmsted. The more Gould strains his thesis to single out women, the more he ignores how deeply urban ugliness simultaneously affected men, in other words, all Americans of conscience and perception. By no means was urban beautification a women's movement only, as excluding male leaders to emphasize their female counterparts unavoidably leads us to believe. During the Progressive era, in particular, it was J. Horace McFarland who literally turned urban beautification into a national crusade, attacking the impact of industrial blight on both people and cities in every leading magazine of his day. Johnson, in truth, owed more to McFarland than to any other of her predecessors. Gould should have told us this rather than imply, if only inadvertently, that women filled a critical void that men largely had ignored.

The end result, unavoidably, is a tendency to overstate interpretations. Johnson, Gould concludes, "deserves a place with Rachel Carson among the leaders of the impressive company of American women who have imparted first to conservation and later to environmentalism more of its energy and substance than men have recognized" (p. 245). With all respect for what Johnson did accomplish, I know few women, let alone men, who would rank her with Rachel Carson. Carson was definitely revolutionary, definitely ahead of her own time. She was indeed a towering figure of American conservation. Johnson's crusade, in contrast, was most certainly borrowed. She followed in others' footsteps rather than discovering something new. That is not to say that Johnson was unimportant. It is simply to reaffirm that historians must always keep perspective, especially when honest efforts to set the record straight only risk, in the process, new and unnecessary imbalances.

ALFRED RUNTE
Seattle, Washington

BENNETT H. WALL. *Growth in a Changing Environment: A History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Exxon Corporation, 1950–1975.* Assisted by C. GERALD CARPENTER and GENE S. YEAGER. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1988. Pp. xlv, 1020.

No other company has had published a more complete scholarly record of its history than has Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), now known as Exxon Corporation. The company's decision in 1947 to open its records marked a departure in corporate public relations and the writing of business history. The work begun by Ralph Hidy and Muriel Hidy over forty years ago has now been extended to 1975 by Bennett H. Wall. His contribution, a decade in the making, reflects diligent pursuit of a wide variety of sources, internal and external to the firm, oral and written. Beginning with 1950, Wall traces the growth and changes at Jersey over the next quarter century. He covers not only developments in this country but also those around the world from Japan to the Middle East to Europe and the British Isles. Much of that story involves the application of decentralized management with overall policy direc-

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tion from the New York headquarters. This approach dictated that the origins and evolution of subsidiaries and affiliates of the Jersey company be given detailed attention, as in the case of Humble Oil and Refining, the domestic company; Imperial Oil Limited, the Canadian firm; and Esso Eastern, whose territory stretched a quarter of the way around the world.

A basic theme of the book is the continuing worldwide search for oil. The favorable terms with which Middle Eastern and Latin American countries greeted Jersey gave way to a rising tide of nationalism and greed that resulted in the formation of the OPEC cartel. The detailed coverage of Jersey's relations with Iran and Libya is particularly interesting and relevant to current problems with those countries.

Another underlying theme is the persistent problems that antitrust posed the company in this country. Those problems were inherited from the days of the old Standard Oil Trust, heightened by the World War II investigation of Jersey's relations with I. G. Farben. Among other things it was this bitter experience that led Jersey to initiate an aggressive postwar public relations effort, including the writing of scholarly histories of the company. The long arm of antitrust reached back to the 1911 breakup of the original combination with stipulations regarding the use of the Standard name. They barred Jersey's entry into some markets, including those of Indiana Standard. Wall provides a fascinating account of the search for a national trademark and name that would get over this hurdle, culminating in adoption of the nonword "Exxon."

The author covers in detail the changes in management, organization, strategies, and leadership style over time as well as the background of those changes. The administrations of Eugene Holman, Monroe Rathbone, Michael Haider, and J. Kenneth Jamieson spanned the era covered by this book. Because they appear in different contexts and at different points in the book, emerging and disappearing depending on the topic, one is never quite sure how important each was in meeting the challenge of growth in a changing environment. Clearly, committees were very important, and the tenure of many top officials, especially at the vice presidential level, was short.

Although the overall treatment of the company is sympathetic, Wall does not pull punches when he thinks Jersey fell short. For example, he devotes considerable space to the difficulties and reverses that Jersey experienced in its attempts to diversify, especially in chemicals. His account of the Italian subsidiary's misadventures in political contributions and under-the-counter dealing shows the deficiencies of operating overseas under a decentralized management philosophy and inadequate controls. But this was the exception rather than the rule and once detected was corrected.

Jersey's history during this period affected world history and in turn was affected by it. Wall undertook a herculean task in attempting to cover all of this history in a single volume, even one of this great length. Self-contained topics are handled beautifully, but overall, and almost inevitably, the book tends to suffer from a degree of choppiness. That Jersey met the challenge of growth in a changing environment is made amply clear, and this was not always easy despite its size and great resources. Executives and students of the oil industry will find this volume a valuable resource. More general readers would benefit from an abbreviated version. In sum, the author has contributed a valiant effort to the difficult task of making the giant multinational comprehensible. In the process he has demonstrated both the strengths and the weaknesses of scholarly company history.

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
Demariscotta, Maine

CANADA

KEN S. COATES and WILLIAM R. MORRISON. *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon.* Edmonton: Hurtig. 1988. Pp. 336. $25.95.

Mere mention of the Yukon, like mention of most places in the northern portions of North America, generates an exaggerated vision of a rough-and-tumble frontier full of mad trappers and Mounties; the lure and lore of gold, the building of the Alaska Highway, and big game sport are all most care to know about this huge land. This attitude irks Yukoners, who seethe when, for example, Americans appropriate the Klondike gold strikes as their own, the territory being mystically transformed into part of Alaska, and when southern Canadians think that the Klondike is just a nice place to visit and that Pierre Berton, one of Canada's premier popular writers, has told all in one of his legend-laden histories.

Ken S. Coates and William R. Morrison, a Yukoner and a transplanted but spiritual Canadian "southerner" respectively, have produced a work that may not correct popular perceptions, or be as "Bertonesque," but they set out the fundamental history of Canada's Yukon Territory. Using available writings and applying the standards of their profession, the team has written a lucid, albeit traditional, narrative. The study is augmented with somewhat smallish photographs, but those used have been chosen carefully. One only has to look at the graphic picture of the gold-dredging operations at the turn of the century to appreciate the toll taken on the Yukon landscape. There are disappointments, though; the authors mention in the text an alluring photograph of that northern belle "Snake-hips Lulu," but her photograph is nowhere to be found. Other minor lapses are few: Fort Mcpherson is referred to as "Fort Macpherson" on one of the maps (p. 14); more irritating is a note citing a source simply as an "unpublished paper, presented at a conference" (p. 311).

Coates and Morrison have placed the Yukon's usual and better-known episodes into a history that spans a

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century and a half of development. Fur trappers, whalers, missionaries, politicians, and eccentrics are given their due. So are the natives, and this is important, for the authors have rightly and deliberately included a group that for too long now has been neglected or excluded. Coates and Morrison may not have succeeded wholly in tracing the relationships between native and non-native, but they have shown, in their later chapters especially, that the firstcomers occupy a central place in the Yukon's history.

This book is a look at the Yukon on its own terms, from the "inside" as well as the "outside," an exploration of the ties to its distant colonial master, the often-uncaring and unknowing government in Ottawa. Since the gold rush and until recently, the Yukon has languished; its white inhabitants particularly have clamored for more recognition and more political power, at the same time demanding more economic attention from the Canadian government. There is a tinge of mission in the book and a lament that the territory has been undervalued, but both the Yukon and Ottawa share the blame. Yukoners expect too much, and Ottawa has other priorities. Large companies and individual entrepreneurs have also treated the Yukon imperiously, taking out what they could and leaving little in the way of reinvestments, diversification, and economic infrastructures. The Guggenheim's Yukon Gold Company was, like the government in Ottawa, just another outsider. This is nothing new in the Canadian frontier tradition, for, unlike the more orderly advance of the frontier far to the south, the Yukon experienced what other remote regions of Canada have suffered: boom to bust, bust to stagnation. The Yukon is still waiting its turn, having come a long way from reliance on single-resource development or the government. A solid addition to the growing number of northern Canadian histories, this work should be read by "insiders" and "outsiders" alike.

RICHARD J. DIUBALDO
Concordia University, Montreal

IAN RADFORTH. *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900–1980*. (The Social History of Canada, number 42.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1987. Pp. x, 336. Cloth $42.50, paper $17.95.

This study is one of a number of recent examinations of specific industries in Canada that start with a set of questions inspired by Harry Braverman that are associated with the nature of the labor process. Ian Radforth looks at logging in northern Ontario, reexamining an industry that has been studied by historians fixed on a resource staple but that has been bypassed in the scholarship on class and community of the last fifteen years. His book fills a large void in our understanding of northern Ontario, the structures of a particular regional labor market, and the nature of technological innovation and change in the bush. Through relentless description that sweeps across eighty years of development, Radforth illuminates aspects of the history of labor and capital in the forestry industry at the same time that he collapses other important features into routinized, predictable generalization and forces still other aspects of logging experience into silent obscurity.

Radforth is at his best in detailing the structures of the labor market, especially its seasonality, recruitment forms, and demographic diversity in the years before 1945 and the labor shortages that plagued the industry in the more modern period. In linked series of chapters, he explores the post–World War II managerial response to that enduring difficulty, outlining the impulse for mechanization and reformist measures for camp improvement and training programs. Along with the industry's promotion of immigration policies conducive to stocking its labor pool, those efforts secured soaring productivity and plummeting wood costs, which have made northern Ontario a dynamic center of technological diffusion, corporate-sponsored research, and on-site innovation. Much of this book's richest material grows out of Radforth's appreciation of the reciprocal relations of workers and bosses, but it is the employers who are brought into more vivid focus.

Indeed, Radforth often seems overly deferential to the ways in which bosses conditioned the history of workers, taking capital at its word. In discussions of early camp life, for instance, he is a bit too believing of the propagandistic proclamations about "good grub." He takes the existence of appetizing meals for granted, without due scrutiny of the kinds of camps where the food was almost certainly inferior or of the obvious substitution of starches, sugars, and cheapened processed vegetables for the more expensive foods rich in protein. Such substitution was a program of cost efficiency and dietary debasement that governed corporate decisions and limited the capacities of cooks. Radforth says too little about contemporary health and safety problems associated with mechanized lumbering, especially the debilitating occupational hazard of white finger, which must have an extensive history detailed in the medical and worker compensation records of the northern bush.

If Radforth sometimes neglects forcefully to examine received and ideologically purposeful statements of employer self-interest, he also lets workers off the hook too easily. Attentive to the fashionable necessity of dealing with the masculinity of an overwhelmingly male and often thoroughly isolated work force, he alludes to the machismo of the workers. According to one source cited, lumberjacks spent almost one-quarter of their time off the job talking about the erotic realm, four in ten of their words being of a sexual or excretory import. Yet Radforth has nothing to say of working-class sexuality in the camps. Stag or buck dances existed, although they apparently gave way to political argument as the major form of entertainment by the end of World War I. This suppression or fading of a

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cultural form infused with same-gender sexuality, and its supposed displacement with the rise of politics, is presented with no effort to "read" such an event as an indication of lives lived beyond the empirical happening of a curious social evening. Yet ongoing research by Karen Dubinsky into the court records of sexual crime in the northern camps as well as the oral recollections of a Quebeçois bush worker, Gérard Fortin, suggest a history of personal life that Radforth bypasses in his depiction of logger masculinity.

This text structures the history of class relations in the northern Ontario forests in specific traditional directions. In the two chapters on loggers' struggles and organizational campaigns, moreover, that traditionalism is extended into the construction of a particular view of class conflict. Where we might expect the focus on the labor process to result in a theoretical treatment of the reciprocities of work and politics, we instead find ourselves immersed in the narrative of the growth of unionism and its jurisdictional and institutional rivalries. Like the rest of the book, that material opens our eyes to a story that has been told poorly at best in the pages of Canadian working-class history. Radforth has obviously filled many gaps with precisely the kinds of empirical detail we need to understand the northern Ontario logging industry. His book nicely supplements forthcoming and recently released studies of other regions, such as British Columbia. But the main accomplishment of his study—like that of so many others in Canadian labor history—may well be to alert us to how much more needs to be known.

BRYAN D. PALMER
Queen's University, Ontario

KENNETH MCROBERTS. *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. 3d ed., rev. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1988. Pp. 530.

The first edition of this work was published in the mid-1970s, a time when Quebec was undergoing rapid change and the dramatic effects of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s were still making themselves felt. Indeed, within months of the first publication of the book, the Parti Québécois, aspiring to establish an independent Quebec state, came to power. A second edition, published in 1980 just before the referendum on sovereignty-association, retained the same general theme, as Kenneth McRoberts and coauthor Dale Posgate sought to show how economic, social, and political change stimulated nationalism and the independentist movement.

This new edition has been substantially revised and enlarged to include lengthy surveys on the events and trends of the past decade. McRoberts seeks to show how the Parti Québécois, often seen as radical from observation points outside the province, was in effect quite cautious and restrained in its actions, even during its first mandate from 1976 until 1981. State intervention did not increase markedly, new social programs were few, and language reform built generally on the preceding Liberal government's own law. Even on the controversial issue of independence (the actual project envisaged political sovereignty accompanied by an economic association with the other provinces), the government delayed holding the referendum and minimized the changes that its policy would entail for Quebec. The retreat from the ideal of the interventionist state as well as the severe depression of the early 1980s dealt nationalism a severe blow, and increasing friction within the Parti Québécois over the party's platform on sovereignty helped pave the way for the return of Robert Bourassa's Liberals in 1985. The new constitution, imposed on Quebec by the federal government in 1982, gave the province no additional powers; even the more recent constitutional amendments agreed on at Lake Meech, so hotly denounced by the apostles of strong central government, actually transfer no jurisdictions to the provinces.

McRoberts concludes on an anticlimactic note that contrasts markedly with the notion of "political crisis" present in the titles that all three editions of this work have borne. "For the moment," he writes, "Quebec nationalism is quiescent. Canada's most serious political crisis . . . appears to have run its course" (p. 440). But wait! A year has passed. The language question has returned to the fore as the Bourassa government has refused to authorize exterior commercial signs in English, while now permitting bilingual advertising within the stores. A recent poll shows that one-quarter of English Canadians now want Quebec to separate, a figure scarcely higher in Quebec itself. The Lake Meech Accord is foundering as English Canada, most of whose French-speaking minorities are fast disappearing, denounces what it terms "unfair" treatment of English-speaking inhabitants of Quebec. Such conditions could indeed provoke a revival of nationalism in the province. In the meantime, those interested in Quebec province and its development would do well to read McRoberts's study, undoubtedly the best currently available in English.

RICHARD JONES
Université Laval, Québec

LATIN AMERICA

JOHN C. SUPER. *Food, Conquest, and Colonization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 133. Cloth $24.95, paper $11.95.

John C. Super has written what he calls "exploratory essays" on food in colonial Latin America. They may be exploratory, but they succeed in uncovering hitherto unknown relationships between politics, conquest, and the biological world. Mexico and Peru are the two focal points of his study, and by far the stronger section is on Mexico, which is understandable given the author's prior research.

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Super descends from the general to the specific. He first looks at general food production in different regions, what the soil could produce, crop yields, and diets of both natives and Europeans. The great changes came when the colonists began to remake the surface of the land, when cattle and pigs were imported in large numbers, when the corn farms of coastal Peru were replaced by wheat farms, sugar haciendas, and vineyards, and when European tastes required European foods. Added to the equation was the demographic collapse of the indigenous peoples. From Mexico to Peru, like a tidal wave sweeping the land, killer epidemics of measles, smallpox, and influenza devastated the Indian and black slave populations. Plots and sometimes whole towns were thus abandoned to be occupied later by white settlers who grew foods that they were accustomed to eating and sold them to other Europeans. The production of food was regulated. Institutions and individuals had specific days for selling their produce in the market. And this activity provided a major source of information for future researchers. The *alhóndiga* books are a treasure trove of information on prices, distribution, and procurement of foods for sale.

Super has taken all of these different strands of problems and data and has woven them into a readable and solid account of this essential aspect, so long overlooked, of colonial life. Exploratory essays, yes. But they are a solid foundation for future researchers.

NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER
Empire State College

SILVIO ZAVALA. *El servicio personal de los indios en la Nueva España, 1576–1599*. Volume 3. Mexico City: El Colegio de México or El Colegio Nacional, Mexico City. 1987. Pp. 920.

This volume is the latest addition to the convoy of bulky works on native labor in colonial Spanish America that Silvio Zavala launched in 1978. Each of the three colonial centuries of Indian labor history in Peru (that is, the central Andean zone) is treated in a single volume. For Mexico, the sixteenth century alone occupies three books. To a considerable degree, Zavala is here rounding out work on the labor history of New Spain that he began many decades ago with the publication of *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España* (8 vols., 1939–46; reprint, 1980). Indeed, the present volume draws heavily on the *Fuentes* for its content.

The *Fuentes* were printed documents. The new series employs a different and unusual technique. Most of the text consists of lightly paraphrased versions of the original manuscripts. Interspersed with these are short passages of commentary by the compiler. The method allows Zavala to condense the originals, while retaining much of their period flavor (even down to divergent spellings of names). It does not make, though, for easy or quick perusal. Readers may well find themselves wishing that Zavala had provided succinct summaries of the different segments of the book. But he has not, clearly preferring that readers do their own work of synthesis. Good indexes of personal and places names will help in this task. The topical index, while welcome, would have benefited from greater subcategorization.

This book, like its predecessors, is clearly not intended for the general reader. Its user will be the researcher seeking what is essentially primary material on Indian labor in late sixteenth-century Mexico or on some particular economic activity in which native labor was used. The volume contains long sections on labor in agriculture, transport, mining, in a wide variety of urban tasks (construction, domestic service, crafts, for example), in church business, and in public works. An initial chapter offers much information on general policy on native labor as expressed in both Spain and Mexico.

The period covered by the volume is crucial in the labor history of New Spain. It embraces the final days of the *encomienda* as a labor system, the formalization of the *repartimiento* system of state-directed draft labor by Viceroy don Martín Enríquez, the population losses resulting from the epidemics of the late 1570s, the growing imbalance of labor supply and demand occasioned by those losses and the rising labor requirement of the immigrant Spanish population, and the emergence of voluntary wage labor and peonage (*gañanía*) as an outcome of that imbalance. On all of these topics, researchers will find abundant documentation in this volume, though it must be said that much of the documentation is at a fairly high administrative level and that details on the Indians actually at work in field or mine remain scarce. Nonetheless, for anyone pursuing the early history of labor in New Spain, or the development of almost any particular economic activity, this compilation will serve as a valuable starting point and a great time saver.

PETER BAKEWELL
University of New Mexico

GILBERT R. CRUZ. *Let There Be Towns: Spanish Municipal Origins in the American Southwest, 1610–1810*. Foreword by DONALD C. CUTTER. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 236. $24.95.

Three of the many Spanish institutions on the northern frontier of New Spain (colonial Mexico) were the mission, the presidio, and the town. Although the first two have received considerable attention from historians, little notice has been paid until recently to the towns and their inhabitants. This neglect is unfortunate because towns were the most lasting institutions, and they served as the political, economic, social, and cultural centers on every frontier from the late sixteenth century to Mexican independence in 1821.

Gilbert R. Cruz's book "serves as an introduction to the study of the municipal origins and early development of six of the first municipalities in the Southwest"

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(p. xvi). These communities are Santa Fe, El Paso, San Antonio, Laredo, San José, and Los Angeles. Five of the nine chapters pertain to them. In each Cruz discusses motivation, organization, planning, and implementation of town founding together with community development. He adds an introduction on Iberian municipal tradition, another chapter on the life styles of civilian settlers (limited to Texas and sketchy on everyday activities and customs), a brief concluding chapter, eight maps, six population graphs, seventeen illustrations, and four appendixes (lists of viceroys and provincial governors).

An especially notable chapter focuses on the *cabildo* (town council). Here Cruz examines in depth the organization, functions, and persistence of the institution at Santa Fe and San Fernando de Béxar (San Antonio). His intensive manuscript research and analysis of this body make the chapter one of the book's strongest contributions. Indeed, historians of Latin America might reexamine their conclusions after reading this chapter because it is obvious that the frontier *cabildos* remained a powerful opponent of royal authority while defending local autonomy and preserving judicial procedures.

This study is the product of long investigation into primary Spanish source materials in California, Texas, and New Mexico. Cruz is at his best when examining San Antonio and the development of the *cabildo* as a municipal institution. In other areas he depends mostly on a few secondary works, sometimes ignoring major ones as well as important primary sources, such as Gilberto Hinojosa's *Borderlands Town in Transition* (1983) and the Laredo archives in his chapter on that community. There are also occasional textual slips. For example, it is Chester (not Charles) Kielman (p. xvi); the "Alamo Mission" is properly San Antonio de Valero (p. 3); Durango was not founded in November 1563 but in July (p. 15); Santa Bárbara was not an area of rich farms for wheat and corn (p. 18) but a mining center, whereas agriculture was important at Valle de San Bartolomé to the east; and the villa of San Fernando became the capital of Spanish Texas forty-one years after its founding, not thirty-one (p. 64).

These distractions do not affect the book's principal value. In the foreword, Donald C. Cutter correctly notes: "The town, or pueblo, or municipality has up to now been the neglected area" (p. xii). With this contribution from Cruz and with those by others in the past two decades, historians of the Spanish borderlands have added a new dimension in the overall knowledge of Spanish colonial experience in America.

OAKAH L. JONES
St. Mary's University

WILLIAM B. GRIFFEN. *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750–1858*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 300. $35.00.

In the waning years of Spain's American empire, the small town of Janos was the site of a presidio that defended the northern frontier of New Spain. Its jurisdiction included parts of Nueva Vizcaya (which became the Mexican state of Chihuahua) and southeastern New Mexico. The presidial commanders' principal concern was to control the numerous Apache bands that lived in the region. The relations of the Janos presidio with the Indians is the subject of William B. Griffen's book.

Spaniards and Mexicans alike tried to implement a policy of peace, encouraging Apache leaders to settle their rancherías near presidios like Janos. Once Apaches agreed to peace, the government doled out rations of corn, meat, cigarettes, and other goods. The peace policy was never entirely successful. Apache leadership was fragmented with many leaders who nominally controlled only a few dozen people. Moreover, Apaches who settled at Janos failed to recognize, perhaps by design, that the terms of peace required them to refrain from raiding other Hispanic communities. The resulting condition was something called partial peace—a crazy quilt of raids and reprisals with intermittent patches of peace. Moreover, even partial peace seldom lasted long. Apaches, Spaniards, Mexicans, and eventually Anglo-Americans periodically violated the stipulations of the fragile truces.

Although the Apaches appear to have had the upper hand in many military and diplomatic engagements, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were gradually worn down. During periods of peace they became dependent on rations of food. Fighting took a relentless toll that must have been devastating in small, closely knit Apache communities. Like other tribes, the Apache population declined from the ravages of infectious diseases. Thus, regardless of military prowess and diplomatic acumen, Apaches gradually lost power in northern Mexico.

During the Mexican era the situation of the Apaches worsened. The national government could not always afford to provide peaceful Indians with rations, so Apaches left the peace establishments. The state of Sonora offered bounties on Apache scalps that lured Anglo-American mercenaries to engage in the nefarious business of Indian hunting. Those merciless forays did not bring peace but added to Apache resentment of Mexicans and Anglos. The United States would inherit Apache animosities after acquiring much of northern Mexico during the Mexican War.

Griffen has studied the Indians of northern Mexico for more than two decades. The present book is based on substantial archival research in Mexico, Spain, and the United States. The author has added much detail to the picture of Apache history, although the book would have benefited from additional analysis. Often the reader is left to divine the significance of the data that Griffen presents. Good maps accompany the text, but the table of contents lacks a list to make them conveniently accessible. Nevertheless, this is a solidly re-

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searched study that adds to our knowledge of Indian relations on the Spanish borderland frontier.

ALBERT L. HURTADO
Arizona State University

LINDA ARNOLD. *Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City, 1742–1835*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 202. $25.00.

Although Spanish colonial historiography has long included important studies of political and fiscal administration, this book is different because it carries the story into the period after independence. It concentrates on systems of management and on bureaucratic careers and is based on archival data for 2,733 Mexico City bureaucrats who held posts in both the late colonial and the early independence eras. Linda Arnold looks mainly at three parts of the colonial bureaucracy: the office of viceregal secretariat, out of which the administrative structure of four cabinet secretariats derived after independence; the judicial branch, which broke down at independence partly because of the refusal of early national governments to appoint the members of a new supreme court; and the fiscal system of audit and accounts offices, which also broke down after independence. The whole work is rather brief, a reflection of Arnold's skilled delivery and perhaps her understanding that most readers would nod off if subjected to too much of this kind of material.

The overall synthesis to which Arnold points is significant. The late colonial Bourbon administrative system was remarkably autonomous with career bureaucrats a largely self-regulating professional group. The colonial system of governance was collegiate and consultative. The bureaucrats possessed considerable influence on policy precisely because their professional experience was valued. Arnold also considers the careers and life styles of the administrators. They always opted for security over risk, they had guaranteed jobs and steady incomes, and they were not very memorable men. Arnold mentions how much they accomplished—how many papers they processed—but clearly they also possessed considerable power to obstruct. At any rate, the bureaucracy was always too small for the work it had to do.

After independence the rise of the federal republic led to the removal of the bureaucrats from their traditional autonomy as they were replaced by political institutions and politicians. From being the institutional core of the colonial political system, the bureaucrats were reduced to sycophants and political dependents. The replacement of the professional bureaucrats was no doubt important, although Arnold overstates when she says it was the essence of the political revolution. Many other momentous changes could vie for that honor. Arnold does, however, help define the extent to which the federal republic, at least in administrative matters, marks a break with the past.

It is especially important that this break was not as instant or as total as traditional historiography implies, and it occurred not in 1821 but between 1824 and 1835. The scholarship on what the events of 1821 really meant is rapidly changing. A study such as this one, by bridging the gap of that critical year and thereby underlining continuities and discontinuities, considerably furthers the revision.

TIMOTHY E. ANNA
University of Manitoba

WILLIAM HARRISON RICHARDSON. *Mexico through Russian Eyes, 1806–1940*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 287. $29.95.

The record of a people's perceptions of other peoples, nations, and states is a proper and useful concern of the historian. In the present case, William Harrison Richardson turns his attention to Russian views of Mexico in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Given the prevailing East-West characterization of recent political turmoil in the Mesoamerican region and the neo–cold war assumptions on which a decade or more of U.S. foreign policy toward Mexico and other countries of the area has rested, the topic would seem germane even beyond the intellectually delimited criteria of the historian. The present work, however, while not without merit, fails to address that topic with appropriate logic.

Indeed, Richardson offers the reader no rationale for his effort other than to observe that Russian travel accounts of Mexico "are little known" and that, unlike Western Europeans and North Americans, tsarist and Soviet travelers "have had a much more sympathetic comprehension than might be expected of the historical experience of peoples like the Mexicans" (p. 6). He suggests that Russian sympathy for Mexico derived from similarities in the historical experiences of the two countries—a notion more contrived than apparent and certainly not demonstrated in the present volume—and further asserts that all of the visitors he has selected "were influential to one extent or another in determining a Russian, then Soviet, view of Mexico" (p. 7).

Here, however, Richardson fails to develop a viable conceptual framework in which to present his research. He makes no clear distinction between policy makers and public opinion, nor does he offer the reader any insight into the nature and social composition of the Russian reading public. The importance of examining Russian and Soviet views of Mexico—or of any other country—resides in connecting those views to the evolution of particular international relationships. Richardson does not make that connection.

Rather, he selects a number of prominent Russian and Soviet visitors to Mexico—Russian-American Company governor Ferdinand Wrangell, geographer-ethnographer S. K. Patkanov, journalists S. D. Protopopov, G. A. Wollant (Devollan), and P. A. Dementev (Tver-

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skoi), poets Konstantin Balmont and Vladimir Mayakovsky, filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, and diplomats S. S. Pestkovsky and Aleksandra Kollontai—and, in a narrative treatment devoid of analysis, links their quite disparate travel experiences by stating that, insofar as a generally held view of Mexico existed in Russia and the USSR (which his own research indicates did not develop), "it was the result of the activities of the people discussed here" (p. 8). Richardson concludes his book with an inexplicable chapter on Leon Trotsky's sojourn in Mexico, which only serves to underscore the volume's conceptual weakness.

Richardson's work is episodic and thus contributes little to our understanding of Russo-Mexican relations. The author seems to have only the most cursory familiarity with the history of those relations, particularly in the watershed period of the 1890s and early 1900s. His book represents, nonetheless, considerable research of the preliminary variety, including several months' work in Soviet repositories, and will prove useful for scholars seeking to pursue this topic in a more coherent manner. Although hardly complete, Richardson's book does provide the reader with abundant references for further research.

RUSSELL H. BARTLEY
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

LINDA B. HALL and DON M. COERVER. *Revolution on the Border: The United States and Mexico, 1910–1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 205. $35.00.

This is a history of the Mexican revolution along the U.S.-Mexican border between 1910 and 1920. Making good use of a variety of archival sources—federal, state, and private; British and American; records of the State, Treasury, and Labor departments; the military; the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the claims commissions—Linda B. Hall and Don M. Coerver have narrated in a few pages (162) the history of the Mexican revolution in the borderlands. They have attempted to examine the economic and social dimensions of the political and military forces that shaped both the national histories of Mexico and the United States and the local and regional history of *la frontera*. The present book is a continuation of their earlier work on this era, an effort that resulted in the publication of the jointly authored *Texas and the Mexican Revolution* (1984) and Hall's study of the early career of Alvaro Obregón.

After a short introduction in which the authors argue that economic dependency characterized the latter years of Porfirio Díaz's rule, Hall and Coerver note that U.S. interests dominated the border economy on both sides of the international boundary, including mining, transportation, communications, petroleum, and the import-export trade. The next two chapters narrate the political history of the border, tracing the role of revolutionists and foreign agents on the Rio Grande and the intertwined events of Sonora and Arizona. Curiously, their definition of border politics excludes the Baja, a region that certainly complements their theme of dependency and U.S. expansionism.

The following two chapters deal with the military story from William Howard Taft's "noninterventionist" policy that included the use of a "maneuver division" along the border to Woodrow Wilson's "watchful waiting," a lingering that led to the interventionist phase of U.S. policy in the form of the Veracruz occupation of 1914 (an occupation that signaled the end not only of Victoriano Huerta but also of Francisco Villa—a point overlooked by Hall and Coerver) and the punitive expeditions of 1916.

Their story then focuses on the economic and social picture, with one chapter each on the politics of oil, mining, migration, and trade. The authors conclude, logically enough, that by 1920 the United States had a permanent influence in Mexico and that U.S. concerns over repayment of foreign debts and the role of the oil industry eventually led to a reshaping of the revolution and the institutionalization of the Mexican state.

A most important, yet understated, observation that the authors make is that the Mexican economy continued to function throughout the decade in spite of, and sometimes because of, the violence and revolution of civil war. This interpretation complements the conclusions of John Womack, Jr., and Stephen H. Haber, who have published their own arguments recently. In effect, according to Hall and Coerver, the American oil industry in Mexico not only grew and prospered during the revolution but also provided a sizable portion of its profits to provincial caudillos, revolutionary bandits, and government officials. Further, it was the Obregón-Calles wing of the revolution that prospered most because that group dominated the oil revenues along the coast, controlled the profits from copper mining in Sonora, and ran the export-import trade along the border. It is no wonder that border merchants on the U.S. side were pleased when Obregón came to power in 1920. His victory was a victory for the dominant economic groups along and on both sides of the international boundary. The revolution had finally been made safe for U.S. capitalism.

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J. R. WARD. *British West Indian Slavery, 1750–1834: The Process of Amelioration*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 320. $65.00.

The British government's amelioration policy of 1823 aimed to improve slavery in the West Indies and prepare the slaves for freedom; the slave owners, who used the term in the 1790s to describe their professed policy of estate management, aimed to improve slavery and perpetuate it. Based on clusters of estate papers

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about Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and Barbados, this well-researched and provocative book claims that the planters did indeed make slavery better by improving productivity and raising the slaves' standard of living.

J. R. Ward depicts in brilliant detail the sub-subsistence standards that characterized eighteenth-century slavery. The planters' passion to maximize profit maximized death rates, minimized birth rates, affected production, and forced rebellion. The pattern persisted, however, because subsistence costs "were immediate and certain while the benefits were future and contingent" (p. 36).

Modification of the sub-subsistence pattern took place when the benefits became immediate. Increased prices for imported food and uncertainty of supply followed the American revolution and prompted more estate-grown subsistence and more time allowed for household production; subsequently, the elimination of the planters' reserve army of labor in 1807 also made it necessary to support the existing labor force to the point of reproduction.

This development was facilitated by technical changes (in grinding processes and management standards, for example) that improved productivity. As a result, between 1817 and 1832, the slaves were "only just short of maintaining their numbers by natural reproduction" (p. 121). Ward concludes that in the course of three generations, despite the failure to raise birth rates, amelioration took place.

In essence the book demonstrates that to maintain an income from sugar the British West Indian planters were slowly forced to improve productivity and sustain the labor force. These changes are interpreted, however, as reflecting, first, a deliberate, planter-defined "course of amelioration" (p. 209) and, second, motives that went beyond "simple business reasoning" (p. 210). The first claim is difficult to sustain; as the author points out, modifications in the system were unevenly paced (subsistence crises, for example, continued), inconsistently pursued by slave owners whose investments diversified over the generations and erratically administered by attorneys with their own interests to consider. The evidence counteracts Ward's suggestion that amelioration proceeded by policy and turns it into a trompe l'oeuil.

The claim that the planters as a class were motivated by something more than business interests consequently lacks credibility; Ward's presentation of planters is tinged throughout, however, with this perception. Sir Henry Goulburn, for example, is presented as an absentee slave owner who tolerated diminished revenues for the good of his slaves; in fact, he endured reduced revenues ("I can scarce afford it" was his refrain) because he hoped to promote the slaves' birth rate and avoid the politically costly attentions of the antislavery movement. On the other hand, the slaves, although their rebellions are recorded and the political impact in England of Jamaica's 1831 rebellion acknowledged, are viewed primarily not as actors in the work place but as acted on. Yet, in the Caribbean as in Brazil, the most consistent pressure on resident planters for changes in the slave system came from the slaves themselves through armed revolt, murder, and multifarious forms of collective and individual bargaining.

The failure to incorporate the slaves in the dynamics of developments within the slave labor system exaggerates the degree of control that their owners and managers exerted. One example must suffice: Ward cites the transformation of the Grange Hill sugar estate into a pen to demonstrate the absentee owners' concern for rational husbandry (p. 93). But the fundamental reason for the change was the fact that the hard-working and experienced attorney who advocated it did so because he could not make the estate labor force undertake efficient sugar production. This scholarly work obscures as much as it reveals about a crucially important century in the British Caribbean.

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ANDRES A. RAMOS MATTEI. *La sociedad del azúcar en Puerto Rico: 1870–1910.* Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico. 1988. Pp. 128. $6.50.

This is a collection of essays on the Puerto Rican sugar industry from 1870 to 1910 by Andrés A. Ramos Mattei, whose recent death deprived us of a major voice on Caribbean history. In the first essay Ramos focuses on structural changes in the industry from 1873 to 1898, especially the introduction of new technology and the formation of the first *centrales*. He argues that, contrary to the standard view, centralization of production was well underway before the U.S. invasion of 1898. The 1870s alone witnessed the introduction of almost three hundred steam-powered mills, several railroad lines, and thirty-four portable railroad systems designed to haul cane more rapidly and efficiently to the mill. At the same time, sugar magnates such as Leonardo Igaranidez and George I. Finlay pioneered land consolidation and corporate financing.

In the second essay Ramos examines the history of sugar estates on the southern coast from 1880 to 1910. He discusses mill modernization, land consolidation, marriage patterns among *hacendados*, and labor relations. None of those topics, however, is particularly well developed.

In the third paper Ramos analyzes the Central Aguirre Sugar Syndicate from 1899 to 1905. The *central* was developed by the DeFord syndicate of Boston, which also ran one of the largest banks in Puerto Rico, the Banco DeFord. Between 1899 and 1905 the group invested $2 million in land consolidation, mill modernization, and railroad construction. The railroads facilitated shipment of cane from surrounding estates to the *central* for milling. Ramos views the Central Aguirre as a prime example of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico.

In the final essay Ramos chronicles the rising tide of labor unrest on Puerto Rican sugar estates from 1891 to 1905. He mentions problems of inflation, seasonal

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employment, and payment of wages in script as common causes for worker discontent. Following the U.S. invasion some confusion existed regarding the substitution of the dollar for the peso. Agitation gave rise to the creation of the Federacion Libre de Trabajadores in 1899, which later affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The union called a general strike of sugar workers in 1905 to demand higher wages and the right to collective bargaining. Planters imported strikebreakers from the British Caribbean, and police used strong-arm tactics to break up union meetings. Still, the union won a 30 percent wage increase for workers, although it failed to gain collective bargaining. The history of this and other strikes deserves fuller development by other historians.

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RICHARD V. SALISBURY. *Anti-Imperialism and International Competition in Central America, 1920–1929*. (America in the Modern World, number 2.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1989. Pp. xiii, 181. $30.00.

Scholars traditionally define inter-American relations in terms of U.S. interests and actions. Their works bear titles that begin "The United States and," in accordance, as Christopher Thorne recently noted, "with a paradigm which places the United States at the center and draws out from there simply a series of bilateral links, like the spokes of a rimless wheel" ("After the Europeans: American Designs for the Remaking of Southeast Asia," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 12, p. 206). With research in the archives of Costa Rica, Mexico, Spain, and the United States, Richard V. Salisbury tries to break out of that interpretive mode with this concise diplomatic history of Central America in the 1920s. He argues that, in the aftermath of World War I, the United States had some difficulty maintaining a regional Pax Americana. Replacing the war-weakened Western European nations, Spain and Mexico challenged Washington's influence in Central America. Moreover, Central Americans, by manipulating outside forces, defended their independence and transcended "the client stereotype traditionally associated with them" (p. xi).

Salisbury perceives the crisis in Nicaragua as the common link between Central Americans' opposition to U.S. imperialism and Mexico's and Spain's goal of expanding their influence in the region. Central Americans resented the U.S. military occupation of Nicaragua and feared that the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916, which granted the United States the option to build a canal along the Nicaraguan–Costa Rican border, threatened their sovereignty. Led by Costa Ricans, Central Americans tried to organize, in 1920–21, a Central American union to counterbalance the power of the United States. They also stoutly criticized U.S. interventionist policies at inter-American conferences in Santiago in 1923 and Havana in 1928. Mexico and Spain lent diplomatic support to these efforts. In 1926, Mexico also provided arms and ammunition to Nicaraguan Liberals who rose in rebellion against the Conservatives, the clients of the United States.

Despite these efforts, the United States preserved its hegemony in Central America during the 1920s. Acceding to U.S. directives, Nicaraguan Conservatives refused to join the proposed union. Honduras and Guatemala muzzled domestic critics of U.S. policy. And the foreign minister of El Salvador, who led the attack against the United States at the Havana Conference, was forced to resign shortly after returning from Cuba. In addition, Mexico backed off from its support of Nicaraguan revolutionaries when Washington reinforced its contingent of marines in Nicaragua. Mexico also tempered its commitment because it wanted to resolve bilateral issues, such as foreign development of oil, with the United States. In any case, Mexico found that Central Americans were unenthusiastic about the prospect of Mexico becoming the new dominant power in their region.

Salisbury is to be heartily applauded for recounting the Central American side of the inter-American relations story. But perhaps his work could be expanded. In depicting Central Americans as independent nationalists, he exaggerates their "remarkable facility" (p. xi) to fend off outside powers. In the end, the United States had its way in the region, and Salisbury should analyze the sources of U.S. conduct in Central America. He also needs to explain why some Central American political elites resisted foreign domination and why others collaborated with the United States. Did these leaders come from different socioeconomic backgrounds? Were opponents of foreign influence those Central Americans whose businesses were hurt by the expansion of U.S. trade and investment in the region during the early twentieth century? Providing answers to such questions would help historians address some of the issues raised by dependency theorists in their analyses of links between the "core" and the "periphery." Finally, a scholarly work should have a bibliography.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

Louis Harlan's presidential address, "The Future of the American Historical Association" (*AHR*, 95 [February 1990]), is a cogent and impassioned summation of the state of the profession and the direction it should steer itself in the uncertain times ahead. Academic historians must face the reality—if they haven't already—as Harlan contends, that "public historians have generally done more than academic historians to serve and promote th[e] popular interest in history"; that the professorate have, by virtue of the explosion of the monograph, thoroughly isolated themselves from the public at large—a public which cannot slake an unquenchable thirst for history though disdaining, with good cause, that served up by professional historians; and that the academic profession's isolation extends to the other learned disciplines, social studies teachers, and even specialists among the various historical fields. Harlan's biblical metaphor is particularly apt: "History . . . now . . . speaks in a babble of tongues." Most disquietingly, "academic historians who control the profession have become," he notes, "like the Chinese mandarins, increasingly out of touch with the real world."

Various scholars differ on the nature of the crisis that plagues the professional historical community (and indeed whether a crisis even exists), but more immediate is the news predicted in a spate of studies (one of which conducted recently by the Mellon Foundation Harlan quotes) that the academic market will soon swell, and not enough Ph.D.s will be available to meet student demands. This should be welcome news to a profession that for the better part of two decades could not offer decent employment opportunities to its aspirants. For the newest generation of historians, the 1990s apparently will stimulate the same hope (for job placement) that the 1960s did for most of their mentors. Yet I believe Harlan exhibits a certain *hamartia* by labeling the opening up of the field in the coming years as a "new crisis of lowered standards" in which he sees "less qualified faculty" (presumably, those without Ph.D.s) filling the void. Considering, as Harlan maintains, that the entrenched professionals have "become . . . increasingly out of touch with the real world" and have written themselves into isolation from that same world and simply no longer speak to the public they serve, then perhaps it is time that the profession re-think the qualifications required of its members to inform the community of its past.

Rare is the breed of scholar who has both mastered the labyrinth of a narrow area of historical inquiry and become an inspiring and effective teacher of undergraduates. Not that such a feat cannot or has not been accomplished. But, given that today's incoming student is woefully inadequate, even virtually illiterate in any type of basic historical preparation (as Harlan notes), the individual who must teach them in some cases the only formal history they will ever have in their lives must be up to the challange. The ascetic academic, who long ago died to the world, I contend, is more often actually the one "less qualified" to make the past come alive for our young people. Considering what has happened in the last several decades to history in the college classroom, particularly the decline in undergraduate enrollment and graduate programs, perhaps allowing the infiltration of non-Ph.D.s, despite their seeming illegitimacy, would not be such a funereal prospect as Harlan implies. Indeed, some new blood committed to teaching excellence while not so narrowly modeled to the inflexible standards of the upper echelons of academia, and thus less constrained by the necessity of regaling others with an unceasing parade of tedious monographs, might very well stir up some of the stagnation that, by most accounts, has had for some time a strangle hold on the academic historian and the teaching of history.

KEITH EDGERTON
University of Montana, Missoula

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LOUIS R. HARLAN REPLIES:

I am flattered that Keith Edgerton's letter quotes from my presidential address often and approvingly. He extends my arguments beyond where I would carry them, however, and in directions that seem to threaten the integrity of history as a discipline and teaching field. I beg him to desist from further praise.

My address suggested that the monograph is not the only way to "do" history, that Clio's house has many mansions. I see value in other forms of historical literature and activity, in scholarly editing, research and exhibiting at historical museums, archivists' labors to preserve documents and make them more accessible, the writings of independent and nonacademic historians, the work of historical societies and government historical agencies, documentary films, and even some textbooks. We need to redress the imbalance in recent historical literature by more synthetic and thematic works. We need to vary the lecture method of teaching by more use of historical documents—including private letters—and visual images, artifacts, and oral history.

Nevertheless, the way in which scholars generally advance knowledge is incrementally: through monographs, articles, and edited documents. The monograph is an essential building block of history and other scholarly disciplines. Of course, there are bad monographs as well as good ones, and I wish reviewers in scholarly journals would be more rigorous in distinguishing between them. But, when Edgerton speaks of "an unceasing parade of tedious monographs," one wonders whether he is a very discriminating reader of monographs and whether he has read many of them.

On another point of Edgerton's letter, we "ascetic academics" have not always done our teaching well or always taken it seriously enough. To suggest, however, that close study of one's subject makes a teacher "less qualified" to teach it goes contrary to my own experience and observation. The best teachers I have known, and not only in college, have been those who knew their subject, cared passionately about it, and cared enough for their students to infect them with their own enthusiasm. Let there be light, not lightness.

LOUIS R. HARLAN
University of Maryland, College Park

TO THE EDITOR:

Having begun his presidential address (*AHR*, 95 [February 1990]) by identifying as a central problem of the American Historical Association the fragmentation in the historical profession, Louis R. Harlan might have been expected to "address" the problem of how a general organization might function in a period of intense specialization. If "generalist" applied to an individual is pejorative nowadays, how can the AHA thrive as an "umbrella organization"?

That question might have led to an intellectual inquiry. How can an organization dominated by academic institutions that are themselves divided provide leadership toward integration? The terms of the discussion might need to be reversed from general-specialized to fragmented-integrated. How is *intellectual* integration to be achieved? A presidential address is a good opportunity to set the terms of such integration and to demonstrate the use of history in such an inquiry.

Instead, Harlan in his address gives a public relations plan to increase AHA membership. Doubtless, his plan will increase membership somewhat, but that will be offset by current members who will leave, dismayed by the apparent absence of an intellectual core to the AHA. It seems unlikely that building AHA membership is itself a goal that will bring historians together.

As for that goal, if the AHA is serious about opening up to non-faculty historians—at least, in order to build its membership, which was the only rationale Harlan mentioned (a bit exploitive?)—it would be well advised to clarify some terms. Harlan seems to put the following in a single basket: "public historian," "history buff," "talented amateur," "popular historian," and "nonacademic historian." He does not utter the term "independent scholar," perhaps because it seems to carry the stigma of "Ph.D. cabdriver." He appears to say that "nonacademic historians" do "nonacademic history" (p. 6). He does not mention whether retired professors—perhaps the group that will have the greatest growth in the late 1990s—are included here.

The multitude of confusions in all this suggests that Harlan is not informed about historians who are not full-time members of college and university faculties. Many do teach one course, or have affiliations with research centers, or are professionally employed on campus. Those affiliations appear beside their names in conference programs and journal articles (partly because that makes it possible for people to write to them, as long as organizations irrationally persist in refusing to use home addresses). As a result, the number and quality of independent scholars are not well known. A good example is Karen Offen, whose affiliation is always given as Stanford University, where she has a non-salaried appointment at the Center for Research on Women and Gender. Such historians are not doing "nonacademic history," but I confess to ignorance about the meaning of that term.

If Harlan is recommending the assimilation of amateur historians into the AHA, is he urging the introduction of amateur history? Surely, that would not work in the present highly professionalized environment.

Non-faculty professional historians may indeed be a promising new market for the AHA. Creating a small grants program directed exclusively to them would lend authenticity to this outreach. However, those scholars often choose also to belong to more specialized professional organizations whose annual meetings and publications are more focused on their work than those

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of the AHA. The problem of the function of an umbrella organization in a highly departmentalized world will not be solved by hiring a new membership director.

JAMES BENNETT
Northwestern University

LOUIS R. HARLAN REPLIES:

James Bennett and I agree that the American Historical Association should be much more than a club of academic historians, that its umbrella should extend over historians of all kinds and venues. To a considerable extent, he and I are reading from the same sheet music. The trend toward narrow specialization, though necessary to a degree as a means of advancing knowledge in our discipline, threatens the pursuit of common interests of the historical profession and also threatens the dialogue between various historians who have much to learn from one another. I welcome his and other suggestions as to how we may broaden the base and promote the common goals of our profession.

Perhaps there were sins of omission and lack of clarity in my address. To reduce my suggestions for change to a "public relations plan," however, is a misreading. I suggested other changes, and the membership drive is a means to the end of broader participation in the affairs of the AHA. The AHA is already open, and has been for years, to anyone interested in history.

LOUIS R. HARLAN
University of Maryland, College Park

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

The strong criticism of my contribution to Josine Blok and Peter Mason, eds., *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987), voiced by Sarah B. Pomeroy in her review of this collection of articles in the *AHR* (94 [June 1989]: 724) calls for some reaction because it seriously misrepresents what I have written. First, Pomeroy thinks I have taken "a step backward in current scholarship on social relations in the Bronze Age," but I do not pretend to say anything at all about the Bronze Age. As the title of my contribution indicates, I am after "male-female relationships in the Homeric epics," and I argue at length that the epics do not portray any historical society whatsoever, least of all a Greek Bronze Age society. Maybe Pomeroy thinks that one must conclude differently, and that I *should* have been speaking of Bronze Age social relations; but I am not, and she should criticize my arguments for rejecting the overall historicity of the epics, not my contributions to a field that I am not contributing to. This also explains my refusal to use Linear B texts, a refusal Pomeroy seems to find unpalatable. Alas, she does not say what those texts are supposed to tell about male-female relationships, even if we would think that the epic society and the society that produced those texts had much in common (which I feel was disproved with the texts in hand by M. I. Finley a very long time ago). Surely, not again those palatial water-carriers or landowning priestesses that we know nothing about (but which I have mentioned all the same, with relevant literature)? We will certainly not find in the Mycenaean material any arguments supporting ideas about an early Greek matriarchy, ideas once defended by Pomeroy and now questioned by me; alas, she did not touch upon that matter in her review.

Secondly, Pomeroy states that my analysis of the epics resembles that produced by W. K. Lacey in 1968. Anyone who cares to compare my article with the relevant chapter of Lacey's *Family in Classical Greece* will find that nothing actually could resemble Lacey less. I look at the epics as oral poetry first; Lacey does not bother about the particular nature of his source. Next, I try to elicit whatever elements of historicity the epics might contain by a careful comparative exercise; Lacey only provides a straightforward catalog of *Privataltertümer*. In contrast to Lacey's (in my view, unwarranted) answers, I have mainly asked questions: "just the right questions," according to Peter Walcot in *Greece and Rome*, n.s., 35 (1988): 226, with whom I wholeheartedly agree, not because I think myself very clever but because these are fundamental questions about the nature of our source that have to be faced before we could even contemplate a study such as Lacey's.

A minor point to conclude with: Pomeroy thinks the doubts I have expressed about the prevalance of endogamy in classical Greece are "surely disproven by the institution of the *epiklerate*, which compelled close kin to marry." Now I did not overlook the *epiklerate*; in fact, I explicitly defend the existence of the *epiklerate* in epic society against those who have denied this. Of course, the *epiklerate* is indeed close-kin marriage but of a particular nature: it is an institution that makes it possible for (but does not compel!) male next of kin to marry a sole surviving heiress. I cannot see how this could possibly be used as an argument to plead for a prevalence of endogamy in general. Of the studies of Athenian marriage patterns by Wesley Thompson and Cheryl Cox, mentioned by Pomeroy in support of her position, the one by Thompson has, as she fails to say, also been mentioned by me and found wanting in comparison with other material, presented in one of my footnotes. What I am arguing for is care: care in handling sources and care in reviewing contemporaries' writings.

FREDERICK NAEREBOUT
State University of Leiden

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SARAH B. POMEROY REPLIES:

Any scholar who would write about "Male-Female Relationships" in a book on *Sexual Asymmetry* would be ill advised to adopt the framework of M. I. Finley. Finley was a neo-Marxist who understood class distinctions and who specialized in the study of ancient slavery. However, his ideas on gender relations were superficial, and he virtually ignored women in his analyses. Finley's blindness about women is patent in his distinction between slave and free: "no slave held public office or sat on the deliberative and judicial bodies" ("Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?" *Historia*, 8 [1959]: 145–64, reprinted in *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*, M. I. Finley, ed. [Cambridge, 1960], 55).

Throughout Greek antiquity, patriarchy functioned not only as a social system but also as an economic system in which the male who headed the *oikos* ("family," "household," or "estate") appropriated the labor of his dependents, including wife, children, and slaves. However, Finley failed to give full recognition to the private sphere and the contribution of women, both slave and free, to the economy. Naerebout follows Finley by stating, "While it is obvious that the reproductive capacities of woman are highly valued in epic society, we are never told that their production is in any way essential" (p. 124). Both Finley and Naerebout do not notice that in the epics women's work is highly valued. At the very beginning of the *Illiad* (1.30–31), Agamemnon declares that Chryseis is destined to return with him to his home in Argos, where she will work at the loom and share his bed. Even females at the top of the social scale, such as Helen, Penelope, Calypso, and Andromache, manufacture textiles.

The products of women constituted a significant commodity in the gift-exchange system. For example, the ransom of Hector included a dozen each of robes, mantles, blankets, cloaks, and tunics (*Iliad* 24.229–31). The Phaeacians gave Odysseus thirteen robes and thirteen tunics (*Odyssey* 8.390–93), and Odysseus told Laertes that he was once given a dozen each of cloaks, blankets, robes, and tunics (*Odyssey* 24.273–79). These items were not for personal use but for circulation as gifts and barter. When we consider the amount of labor that must have been required to produce these textiles, we must revise Finley's view that female slaves were useful primarily for sexual purposes and that domestic slavery and products manufactured by women were important only for household consumption (see further Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary* [London, forthcoming].

The picture painted by the epics is consistent with the evidence of Linear B tablets. Among skilled workers listed on Linear B tablets from Knossus and Pylos, large numbers of female and male textile workers are recorded. The females are more than twice as numerous as the males. That these women received the same food rations as the men suggests that their work was considered both equally laborious and equal in value. (See Jon-Christian Billigmeier and Judy A. Turner, "The Socio-Economic Roles of Women in Mycenaean Greece: A Brief Survey from Evidence of the Linear B Tablets," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, H. P. Foley, ed. [New York, 1981], 1–18; John T. Killen, "The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age," *British School at Athens Annual*, 59 [1964]: 1–15; and "The Textile Industries at Pylos and Knossos," in *Pylos Comes Alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace*, C. W. Shelmerdine and T. G. Palaima, eds. [New York, 1984], 49–63.) The evidence of the tablets is corroborated by archaeological reports: enormous quantities of loom weights have been excavated in Bronze Age houses. At a congress held in September 1989 on Thíra, "Thera and the Aegean World III," I. Tzachili presented a paper, "All-Important yet Elusive: Looking for Evidence of Cloth-Making at Akrotiri," which suggested that the large number of loom weights found in the West House (belonging to the captain of Akrotiri's fleet) were intended for the manufacture of sails.

Turning to another item of controversy—in his article, Naerebout wrote that "it is doubtful whether close-kin marriage obtained in ancient Rome and Greece" (p. 123), and in his letter he raises once again the question of the "prevalence of endogamy in classical Greece." In my review, I pointed out that studies of marriage patterns by Thompson and Cox as well as the existence of the *epiklerate* (regulations governing marriages of women who lacked fathers and brothers) indicated that, in Greece, marriages between relatives were not rare. An extremely simple demographic model, ignoring issues of mortality, will clarify my point. For purposes of discussion, let us asume that there are ten *oikoi* each intending to produce two children. Two of the *oikoi* would produce no heirs, six would have one or more sons, two would have daughters only, who were potential *epikleroi*. Although the orators are frequently tendentious, Isaeus (3.64) is persuasive when he states that, because of laws governing the *epiklerate*, even married women pass into the legal power of their male next of kin, and many (*polloi*) husbands have thus been deprived of their wives.

SARAH B. POMEROY
Hunter College and the Graduate School, City University of New York

TO THE EDITOR:

The review of my book, *Carl Sandburg: His Life and Works*, by Mark E. Neely, Jr. (*AHR*, 94 [December 1989]: 1496), requires, I believe, some comment.

The review refers to the volume as a "little book," although it is 258 pages. I agree that it should have been longer—but about 100 manuscript pages were cut out by the publisher, reportedly to keep the price of the book down. The review also states that the volume "will not be of great interest to professional historians." Actually, it was not written for professional historians but for the general reader—among whom I like to

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include historians. Sandburg was not only a historian, as I point out, but also a poet, musician, biographer, novelist, and writer of children's books. (Try organizing a biography on that combination!)

Robert Frost, an enemy of Sandburg, is quoted in the review—but not the many friendly criticisms. I still say Sandburg's six-volume biography of Lincoln was a "monumental masterpiece," at least of journalistic history—and the Pulitzer Committee must have agreed, for it awarded him its prize for *history* for the work. As for the lack of analysis that the review states about my authorship, my view has always been that it is mainly sufficient to present properly factual accounts, not pontifical pronouncements, and let the readers, in whom I still have faith, judge for themselves.

NORTH CALLAHAN
PROFESSOR EMERITUS
New York University

Mark E. Neely, Jr., does not wish to reply.

THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

In my book *La città verticale: Usurai, mercanti e tessitori nella Chieri del cinquecento*, I happened to express disagreement in historical methods with one American scholar, the very same person who recently reviewed my book in the *American Historical Review* (94 [December 1989]: 1428). I hope this curious coincidence may offer us the opportunity to develop a fuller exchange of views. The observations of Samuel Cohn, Jr., are exceedingly interesting, as they originate from a point of view that once enjoyed a degree of authority: the Marxist interpretation of history. In Cohn's words, "class struggle is not something over which the nineteenth century has a monopoly, and it is not anachronistic to consider the development of class struggle in periods preceding the Industrial Revolution" (*The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* [New York, 1978], 2). It is thus hardly surprising that the word "class" appears seven times in his review, while I used it only once in my book, then only to say that the term is anachronistic in the context of urban societies of sixteenth-century Italy. In any case, it is not just a matter of different ideologies and interpretations. Cohn strives admirably to bring the book back into the established currents of research that characterize the modern historiography of cities. That drift is exactly what *La città verticale* tried to escape. The book is an attempt to apply to the study of towns a microanalytical method until now employed almost exclusively in research on little communities. However imperfectly, what I tried to do was to grasp the peculiarity of the town by reconstructing the social networks of its dwellers. All the major documentary chains have been followed for a period of fifty years: demographic records, criminal proceedings, administrative deliberations, tax rolls, and notarial records. Amounting to almost nine thousand documents, the latter represent the focus of my work. Among other things, the notarial records yielded the reconstruction of hundreds of biographies and the identification of different patterns of social networks. So the book is not founded on "examples," as Cohn writes, but on a prosopographic research that tried to include a wide range of relations among people. I endeavored to describe the social morphology of Chieri from within the circuits of credit and debt, the relationships of production, and the forms of socialization that social networks directed me to, rather than relay on a priori explanations such as the Marxist one. The image of the town that came out was strongly characterized by cohesion among different occupational and status groups. The lack of class struggle that Cohn complains about is due to the incongruity of class in the analysis of *ancien régime* social stratification.

The review advances several specific remarks to which I cannot reply for lack of space. I would only reaffirm that the decline of Chieri is to be related to the development of the other towns in the Savoyard state. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was the region's most important city, while a century later it had become a provincial town of minor importance despite its demographic recovery. Finally, Cohn scolds me because I quoted a book in the footnotes: naïvely, I thought that was the correct thing to do. But none of his criticisms seem really incisive. Rather, it is astonishing that the review omits relating the hypotheses, the methodology, and the aims of the book. Perhaps the reviewer's great familiarity with Florentine political conflicts left him with an overdrawn sense of vengeance.

LUCIANO ALLEGRA
Università degli Studi della Calabria

SAMUEL COHN, JR., REPLIES:

Luciano Allegra believes that my criticisms of his book derive from ideological prejudices (Marxism) and personal "vengeance"—the fact that he has criticized my book in a footnote. Unfortunately, he has missed the point of my criticisms. In my opening remarks, I applaud his approach but then say that his application of it fails to deepen our understanding of the period. It fails not because of the author's ideological picture of the past but because it is unsystematic in its evaluation of evidence and not comparative in scope.

In his letter to the editor, he claims to examine almost nine thousand records. In the book, however, he says little about the character of this evidence, never explaining his sampling methods or the strengths and limitations of his sources. To discuss this vast storehouse of material, only four short tables appear, and these are only "descriptive" statistics, which buttress no arguments about change over time or differences from place to place. Although the book begins with the

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important problem—Chieri's decline from "the region's most important city at the beginning of the century" to "a provincial town of minor importance" at the end of the century—the reader departs with no understanding of the dynamics of this change. Did the patterns of criminality, creditor-debtor relations and other "networks" of sociability change significantly over this period? If they did, were these patterns peculiar to Chieri or were they characteristic of other towns in Savoy or the north of Italy more generally?

Finally, I question the sincerity of Allegra's letter to the editor—"to offer us the opportunity to develop a fuller exchange of views." To illustrate the shortcomings of considering descriptive statistics in and of themselves without comparative study, I criticized in my review Allegra's common-sense conclusions derived from the high rates of intra-class crime (what he calls "conflittualità orizzontale" [p. 154]) to substantiate his thesis of the "verticality" of the city. In *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980 [not 1978, as stated in Allegra's letter]), I found the opposite. The levels of violence among artisans and workers was substantially higher in the revolutionary period of the Ciompi (the second half of the fourteenth century) than in the second half of the fifteenth century after the militant organization (both formal and informal) of the *popolo minuto* had been broken. I concluded that the reasons for this change in statistics may have derived more from changes in the organization of the state, its courts and police, than from changes in actual criminal violence. If Allegra wishes to open a discussion based on concrete historical materials instead of red-baiting his critic, why did he not take up seriously in his letter this one reference to my book, which appeared in my review to explain how the criminal statistics for Chieri may have been different from the Florentine evidence and why they should lead us to different conclusions?

In summary, I believe that Allegra's next book would benefit more from a reading of an elementary text on statistics or Marc Bloch's essays on comparative history than from a reading of *Das Kapital*. A perusal of the historical sections of that classic might not, however, be a waste of time—not because of its ideological stance and passion but rather because Marx, unlike Allegra, looked at time historically, systematically distinguishing one period from the next.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR.
Brandeis University

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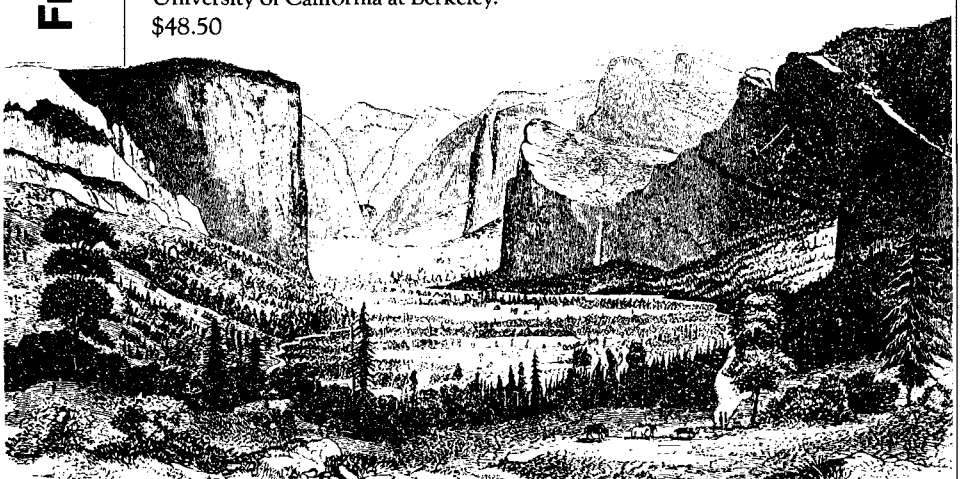
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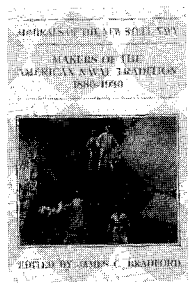
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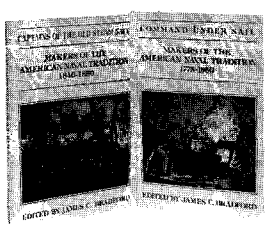
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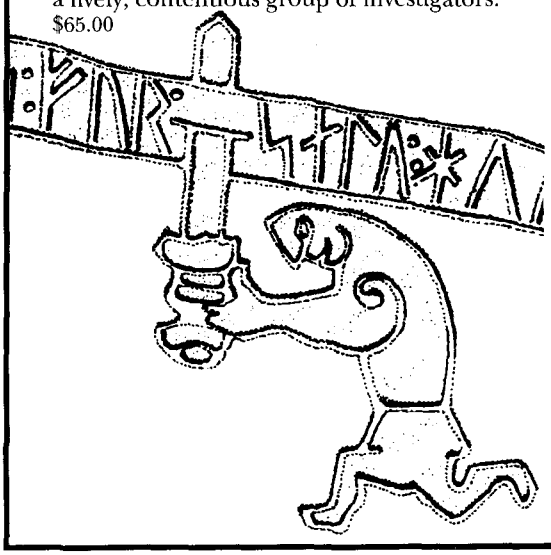
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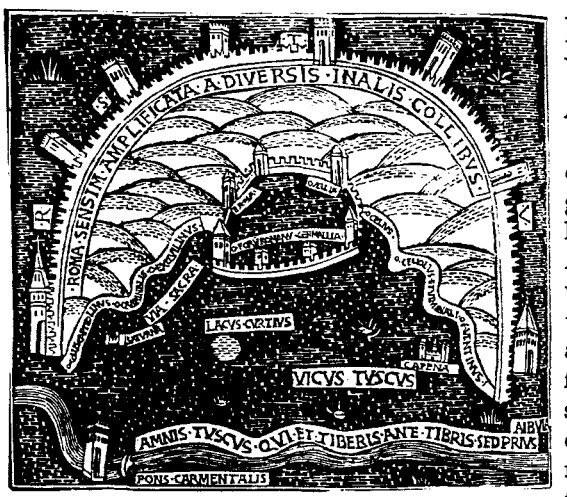
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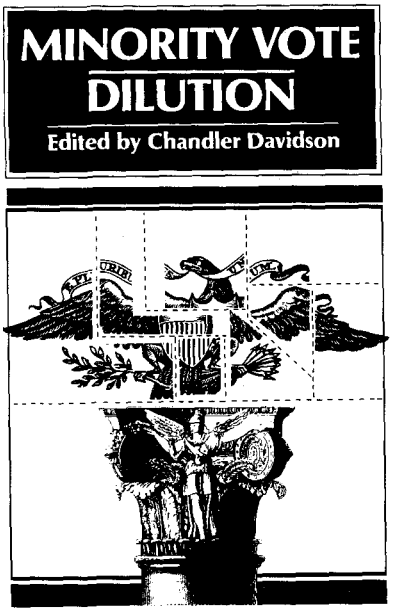
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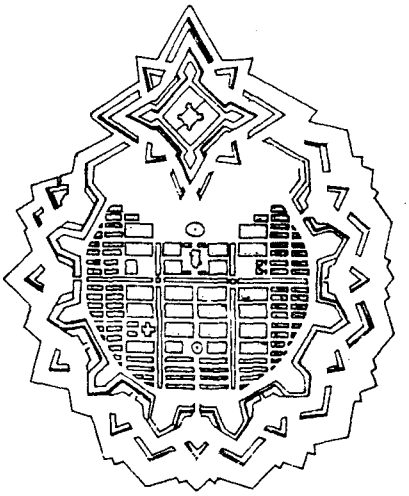
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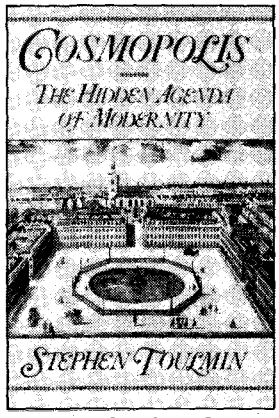
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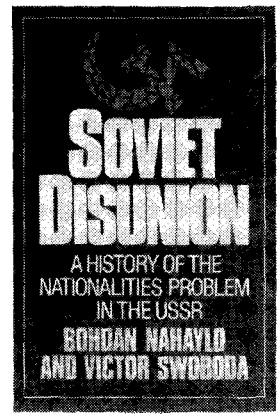
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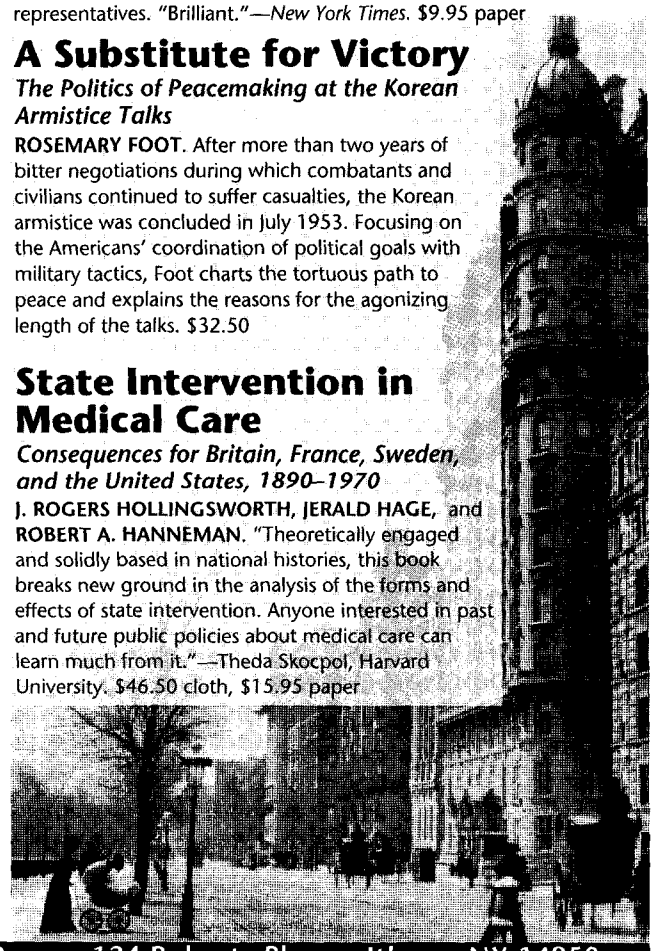
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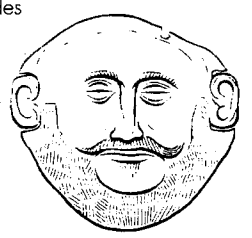
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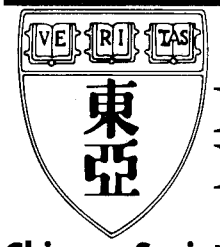
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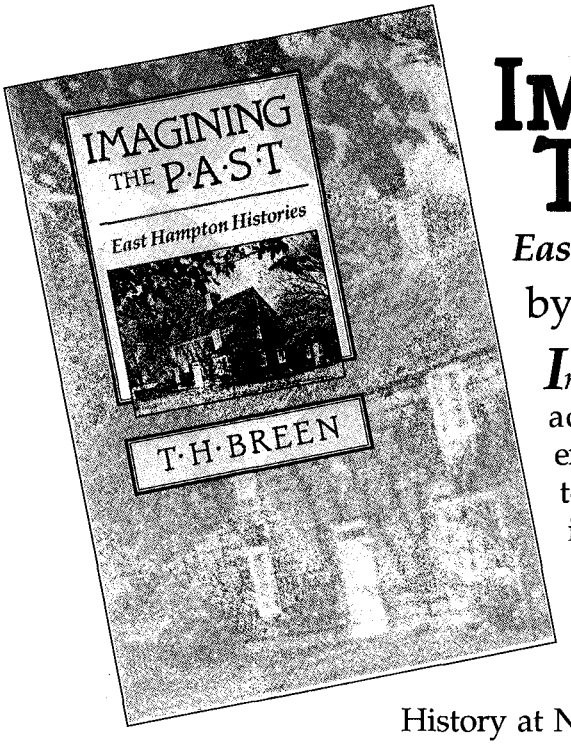
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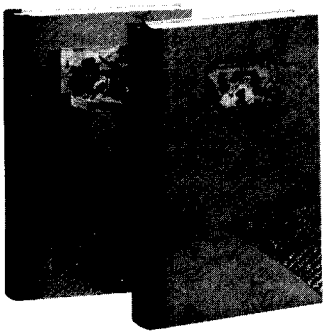
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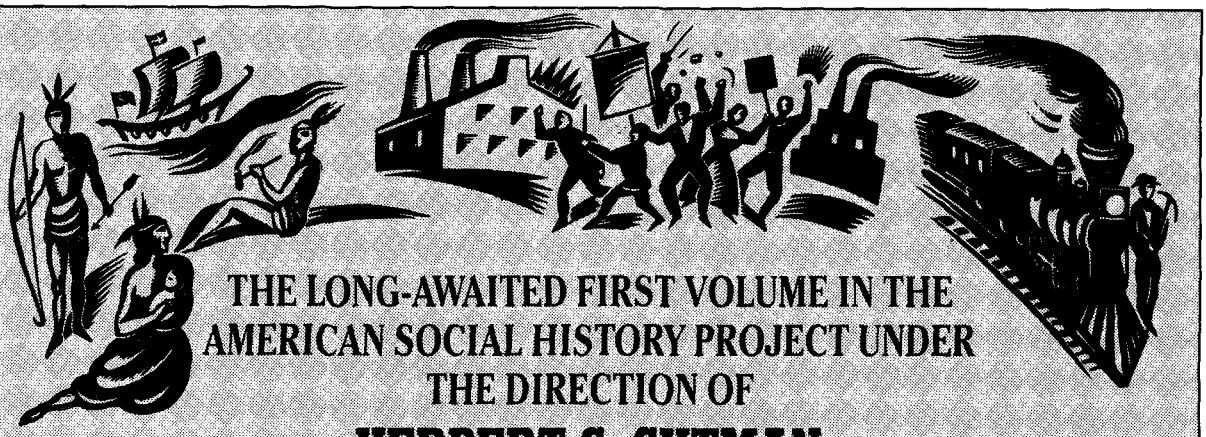
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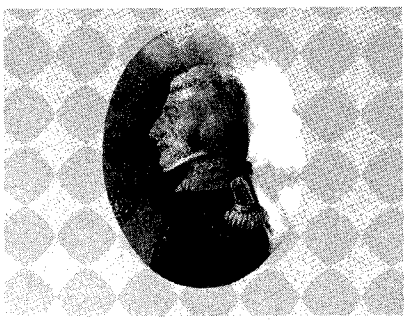
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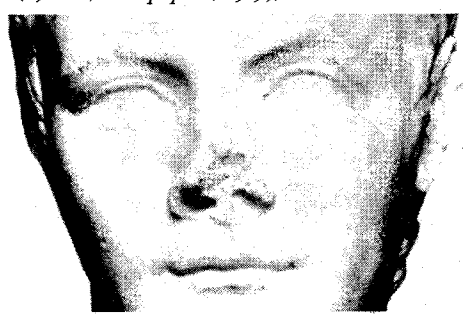
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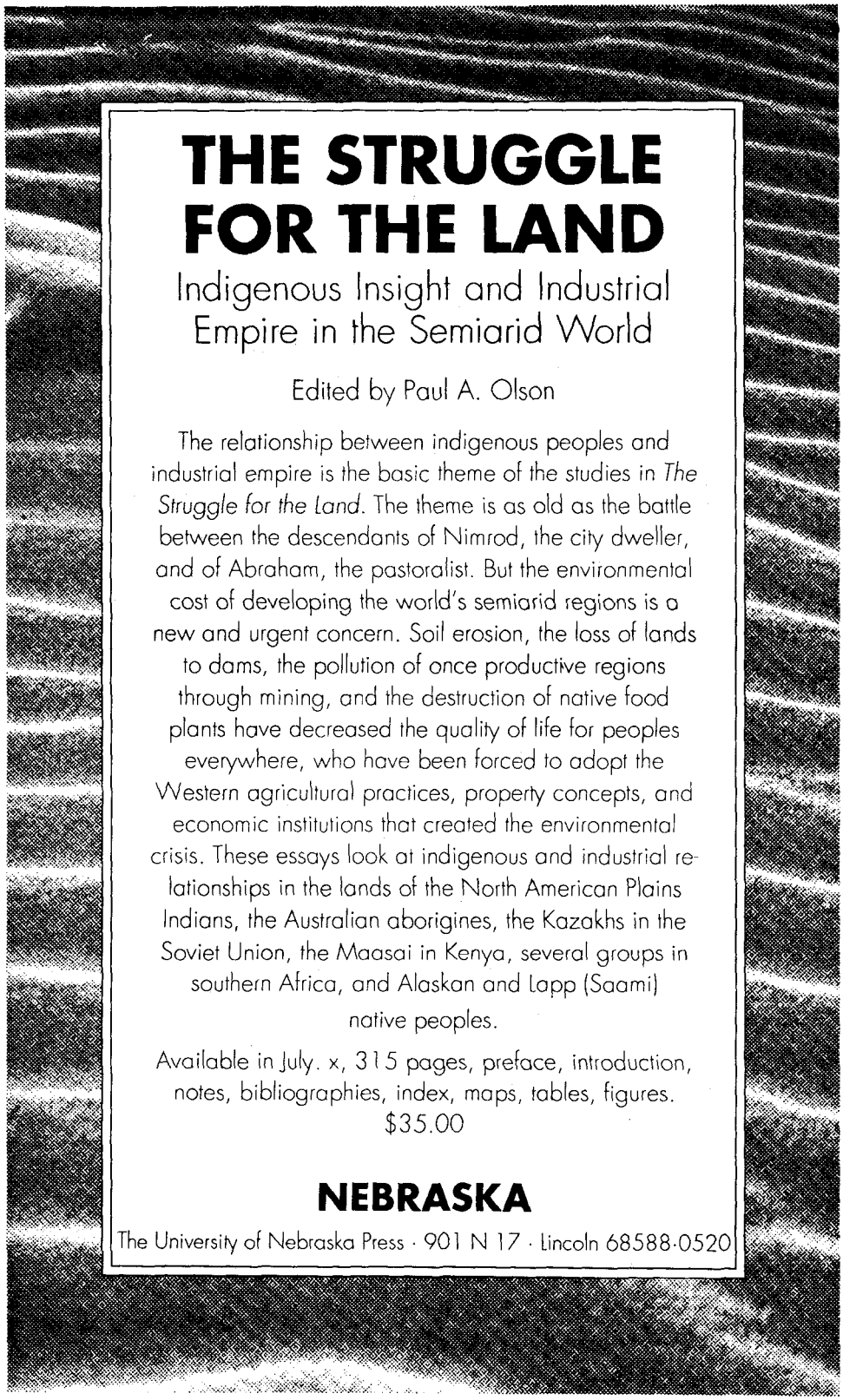
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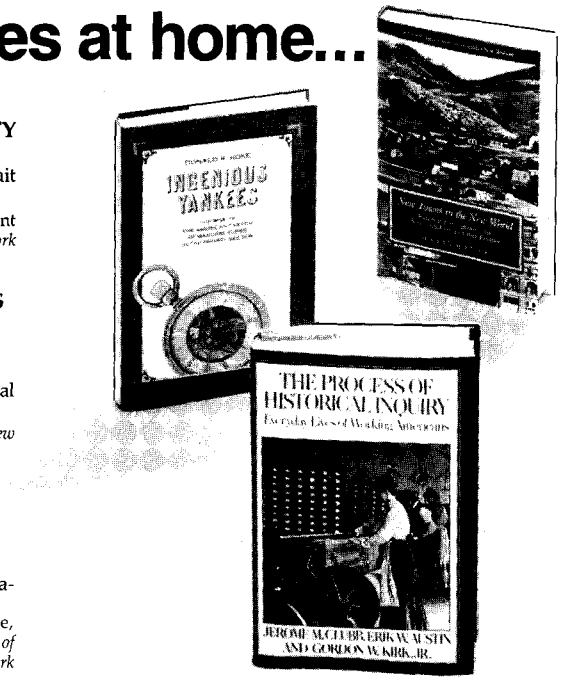
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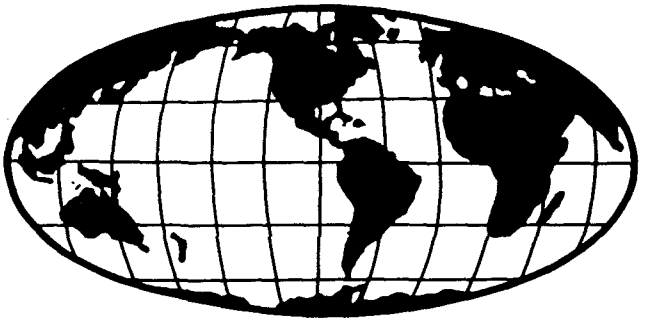
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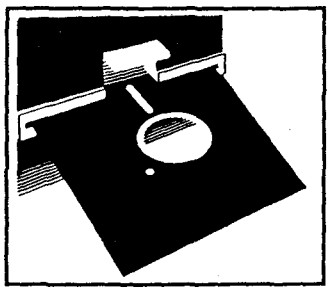
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